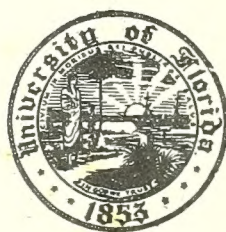


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TERENTIUS O'DONNELL, S.T.D.

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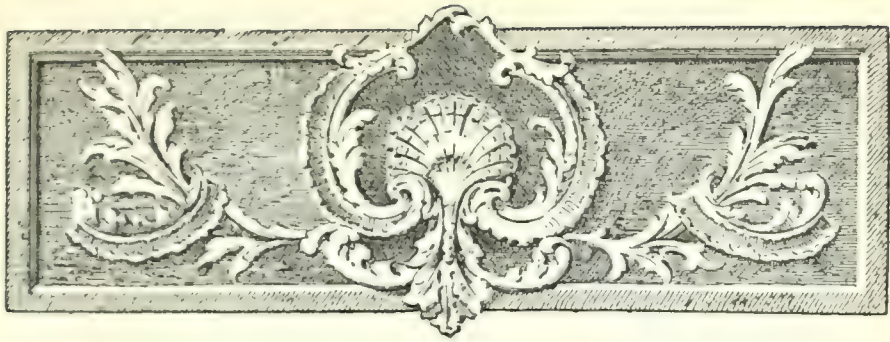
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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN 1908

THE year 1908 has passed without any serious international conflicts. Time and again the Stock Exchanges of the world were disturbed with rumours of warlike preparations. At one time it was America and Japan that were about to rush at each others' throats over the control of the Pacific, at another France and Germany regarding the settlement of Morocco; while the Near Eastern Question exercised a more disturbing influence on the Cabinets of Europe than it has done for years. An obvious explanation of this latter phenomenon may be found in the grant of a Constitution forced from the Sultan by the Young Turkey Party. Were this liberal policy to succeed in Turkey her political power would become greater, and the States still remaining under Turkish suzerainty, instead of securing absolute independence, were more likely to be again incorporated. Hence it was all important at the present juncture for Bulgaria to declare itself independent, and for Austria to formally annex the provinces of Boznia and Herzegovina. Since 1878 these were under the suzerainty of Turkey, but the dependence was only nominal, while the whole administrative power was in the hands of Austria. The annexation was, however, a violation of the Treaty of Berlin, and it remains to be seen whether Austria and Germany will recede before the ill-concealed menaces of Servia, Montenegro, Russia, France, and England.

The world, too, was startled by the news of the cowardly

assassination of King Carlos of Portugal, and of the heir-apparent to the throne. For some time previously the Constitution of Portugal had been suspended owing to the flagrant corruption of successive governments, and Senhor Franco had assumed the government of the country as Dictator. The feeling in political circles was so strong, and the excitement grew so great, that at last a group of anarchists determined to remedy the Constitutional grievance by removing the King and royal family. Fortunately, the second son of the King was saved, and proclaimed king under the title of Manuel II. This assassination, following so rapidly on the murder of the Emperor of Russia, the Empress of Austria, the King of Italy, the King and Queen of Servia, and the Presidents of France (Carnot) and of America (M'Kinley), is an alarming commentary on our boasted progress and civilization.

In the affairs of the Catholic Church, it is difficult to form a correct appreciation of the events that marked the progress of the year 1908. As usual, it has been a period of great activity, of constant opposition, of struggles maintained against open and secret enemies, and though here and there the results were unfavourable, and the enemies scored a victory, yet balancing the losses with the gains, we are not inclined to be despondent. It is again abundantly clear that the struggle is no longer between Catholicity and the Dissident Christians sects, but between Catholicity and Secularism; nor is the war to be waged henceforth on the field of battle between the armed forces of the combatants, as in the early days of the Reformation, but in the schools of the world, primary, secondary, and university. Hence it is, that turn where we will during the year that is passed, whether to Italy, or France, or Austria, or England, or Australia, the education of the child has been the bone of contention. Is the education to be religious or secular? is it to be controlled by the State or by the Church and the parent? It is an old question, but we doubt if ever the discussion has been so violent or so universal since the days of Constantine, as it is at the present time.

The celebration of the Golden Jubilee of the priesthood of Pius X, sent a thrill of joy throughout the Catholic world. In spite of the hostile attitude of the Roman civil authorities, and of the mob, pilgrims hastened from near and far to bear their congratulations to the Sovereign Pontiff, and to assure him of their sympathy and their support in the tribulations and contradictions which were foretold by Him whose representative on earth the Pope is. Nor was it, as formerly, merely the Governments of the world who sent their ambassadors to take part in the celebration, though, with the exception of France and England, the principal States were represented. The people, the working-classes, were there, too, as is evidenced by the pilgrimages from Italy, France, Spain, Germany, Austria, Ireland, England, America, North and South, to pay their homage to the Pope as the successor of St. Peter, and to express their appreciation of the estimable qualities which have secured for the present Pontiff the love of the Christian world. The welcome accorded to the pilgrims at the Vatican, and the kindly words of greeting and of thanks that fell upon their ears, make it sufficiently clear that Pius X knows no diplomacy except the diplomacy of souls; and his Encyclical addressed to the clergy on the occasion is an evident sign that he still clings by his motto, 'Renew all things in Christ.'

Unfortunately, in the midst of all the joys of the Jubilee year and all the comfort which it must have given the Holy Father to see his faithful children around him, many causes were at work to fill his mind with anxiety and his heart with sorrow. Though the vast majority of educated Catholics had never been affected by the errors of Modernism, and though the eyes of most of those who had been captivated by its apparently easy solution of the difficulties between Science and Faith were opened to the dangerous tendency of the system by the Papal Encyclical, yet a few of its leading patrons disregarded the warnings of the Pope, and refused obedience to his instructions. In France, M. Loisy, the real leader of the new school, did not hesitate to make public profession of his contempt for the

Papal condemnation, and as a result nothing remained but to issue against him a decree of excommunication. Though this decree makes no change in the position of M. Loisy, for by his own acts he had long since cut himself adrift from the Catholic Church, still it may serve as a deterrent upon his would-be admirers, and may help them to realize the dangerous nature of his teaching.

In Italy, too, serious measures had to be taken against the leaders of the new school. In fact nowhere outside France does the movement seem to have gained so many adherents as in Italy. Not that all these were followers of the doctrinal system of M. Loisy, or were united in demanding any particular reforms. In many points they differed among themselves, but realizing that in unity lies strength, they formed a coalition to force the hands of the Pope and the Roman Congregations. The new review, *Nova et Vetera*, was established in Rome, the *Rinnovamento*, although expressly forbidden, continued publication, the *Giornale d'Italia* and other newspapers and reviews opened their pages to articles smacking of Modernism. Hence the Pope felt bound to take strong measures against the leaders of the movement, men like Murri and Minnochi, and against the journals and reviews which were devoted to their cause. In Germany, too, the attitude of Professor Schnitzer, Professor of the History of Dogma in Munich, demanded his suspension from the priestly functions and from his Professorship, while the articles of Professor Ehrard of Strassburg in the *Internationale Wochenschrift*, though by no means a repudiation of the doctrine of the Encyclical, were condemned as disrespectful in form. In the English-speaking world generally, the Modernist controversy had little more than a speculative interest.

For some time past, in fact since the beginning of his Pontificate, Pius X has devoted himself to the carrying out of reforms that had been suggested for discussion at the Vatican Council, and which would have been passed had not the labours of the Council been interrupted by the Italian invasion. It was well known for some time past that the Pope had set his heart on a thorough re-organiza-

tion of the Roman Congregations, but till the publication of the Apostolic Constitution, *Sapienti Consilio*, nobody could have dreamt that the changes would have been of such a wholesale character. The United States, Ireland, Great Britain, Holland, Luxemburg, Canada, and Newfoundland, are withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Propaganda, and placed under the common law of the Church. It was felt that these countries could no longer be called missionary countries in the true sense of the word, and that the Propaganda should be relieved from the administration of such territories, in order that it might be free to concentrate its energies on the work for which it was primarily established. Henceforth, therefore, Irish affairs will no longer be transacted by the Propaganda, but will be divided amongst the new Congregations—Consistorial, Holy Office, the Congregation of the Sacraments, the Congregation of the Council, the Congregation of Religious Affairs, the Penitentiary, and for public cases the Tribunals of the Rota and Signatura. Though there were some people in Ireland who seemed to believe that all the misfortunes of this country arose from its being placed under the Propaganda, as if it were on the same level as the Christian missions in China or Japan, yet we think most men who have studied the work of the Propaganda in this country in the days of persecution will regret that the tie has been severed in a time of comparative freedom.

In Italy the Holy Father has been obliged to witness much that must have filled his heart with sorrow. Nowhere has the war against religion been carried on with greater vigour during the year that is passed than in the Kingdom of Italy, and even at the gates of the Vatican, in the city of Rome. Last year we mentioned that amongst the Italian parties a *bloc* had been formed in imitation of the French anti-religious *bloc*. During the last Municipal elections in Rome, and in the other Italian cities, these different parties sank their differences, and in many places succeeded in securing a majority. The result, as has been expected, is that a bitter war has been waged ever since against religious education in the schools. According to

the Law Casati of 1859, the Italian Communes and the Municipal Councils were obliged to provide schools, and to see that religious education was duly imparted in every such establishment. A change was introduced in 1879 by the Law Coppino. This law removed religious instruction from the list of subjects for examination, but it insisted that religious instruction should still be given wherever the majority of parents demanded it. During the reign of Signor Nasi, as Minister of Education, this clause was not abolished, but by the appointment of irreligious teachers it was, in many cases, a danger rather than a protection. At the beginning of the year 1908 religious education was given in more than three-fourths of the 8,255 school districts into which Italy was divided.

The anti-religious *bloc* now demands that religious education should be suppressed entirely. For this purpose they introduced a Bill into the Chamber of Deputies in February, requiring that only secular education should be attended to in the primary schools, and the Government, though refusing to sanction the scheme, issued a *regolamento* intended to secure the rights of the Municipal and District Councils, the teachers, and the parents. According to this decree the Municipal or District Councils are at liberty to retain or abolish religious education in the schools. If they retain it at the request of the parents, it is to be given by the teachers if they are willing to do so on the days and at the hours determined by the Provincial Council of Education; and if the teachers are unwilling to discharge this work, it may be undertaken by others with the sanction and approval of the same Council. If, on the other hand, the Municipal or District Council determine to abolish religious instruction in the schools, it may still be given to the children of the parents who demand it by a teacher or by any other person approved by the Council of Education. In this case the school buildings may be used for religious instruction during the hours fixed by the educational authorities.

It was not long till the results of this regulation were apparent. In Rome where the Municipal Council is at

present in the hands of the anti-religious party, a decree was passed abolishing religious instruction in the schools, though ninety per cent. of the parents demanded that it should still be given to their children. In Verona a similar resolution was passed though out of 6,000 heads of families, 5,940 voted for religious instruction. Such incidents as these, however deplorable in themselves, have had one good effect in rousing the supporters of religious education to organize themselves in self-defence. Protests against the action of the anti-religious Municipal bodies poured in from all sides. A great meeting of the Italian Catholic Societies was held at Genoa in March. The four principal societies, namely, the *Unione Popolare*, the *Unione Elettorale*, the *Unione Economica*, and the *Gioventù Cattolica* were well represented. The question of the schools was the principal question before the meeting, and the representatives of the different societies pledged themselves to offer a stubborn resistance against the introduction of secular education in Italy. Before separating a Confederation of the different societies was formed under the presidency of Professor Toniolo of Pisa University. It bids fair for the future of the Confederation that the old difficulties between Conservatives, Autonomists and Christian Democrats seem to have disappeared, or at least to have been forgotten in face of the pressing educational danger.

In France the declining population, the increase of lawlessness, the spread of the anti-militarist movement, the insubordination and want of control in the army and the navy, and the nervous fear of German invasion, must provide all patriotic Frenchmen with matter for serious reflection. The low birth-rate in France, especially in view of the rapidly increasing German population, is perhaps the most disquieting feature of the situation. Last year the number of deaths exceeded the number of births by 19,920. Nor, considering the Census of 1901, could such a phenomenon have been unexpected. According to the Census returns, out of 11,315,000 married couples, 1,804,720 have no children; 2,966,171 only one child; 2,661,978 two children; 1,643,425 three; 987,392 four; 566,768 five; 327,241 six;

182,298 seven; 94,768 eight; 44,728 nine; 20,639 ten; 8,305 eleven; and 3,508 twelve children. Statistics such as these speak for themselves. Owing, however, to the new law passed on the motion of the Abbé Lemire, according to which boys or girls of thirty years of age or over, may contract valid marriages even against the wishes of their parents, it is to be hoped that there may be an improvement in the number of marriages; but, on the other hand, as Leroy Beaulieu points out, if the birth-rate all round had been as high as in the old Catholic province of Finistère, the population of France would have been fifty-three millions instead of thirty-nine millions, while if it had been so low in the rest of France as in the irreligious district of Lot-et-Garonne the population would have fallen so low as thirty-one millions; and the present regime has set itself to spread the irreligion of Lot-et-Garonne over the entire kingdom. The prospect, therefore, of an increasing birth-rate is not a hopeful one.

The religious situation in France has undergone no serious change. The churches are still open, but no forms of agreement have been arrived at, while in most districts the presbyteries have been let to the clergy at a moderate rent. The two principal measures of a religious character introduced by the Government related to the devolution of the ecclesiastical property and the neutrality of the primary schools. The Courts of Law, decided as we have seen, that the money given for foundation Masses should not be appropriated by the receivers of the ecclesiastical property, but should be restored to the relatives of the donor, wherever the fulfilment of the trust was rendered impossible by the operation of the law. M. Briand tried to induce the Courts to withhold such a decision till an amending law could be passed. The judges refused to comply, and to prevent their decisions from producing any effect, M. Briand introduced a Bill allowing only direct heirs of the founder to claim such property. In all other cases it was to be spent in charity; and the law was to have a retrospective force. So unjust was such a proposal that the leading Protestants of France protested against it as a

violation of the wishes of the dead, and an infringement of the elementary principles of justice. While the Bill was before the Senate an amendment was proposed and carried, according to which the money not returned to the relatives of the founder should be handed over to the Mutual Aid Societies of the Sick and Indigent Clergy. It was proposed to found these Clerical Mutual Aid Societies, according to the Common Law of 1898, and if so established the Government was willing to surrender to them the diocesan funds provided for the relief of the sick and aged priests, together with the funds for the Foundation Masses. The Abbé Lemire interested himself in securing the establishment of such societies, but as the Government approbation was necessary, and as the Government insisted on conditions that were objectionable to the majority of the Bishops, the Pope refused to sanction their establishment, and the funds for the sick and aged priests were handed over to the Communes for charity. The Pope set aside from his own revenue a certain amount of money to be given for the celebration of the Foundation Masses, and encouraged the priests to voluntarily undertake the fulfilment of the wishes of the deceased founders.

The next measure regarded the neutrality of the public schools. The teachers in these schools were supposed to observe a neutral attitude in all religious and political questions, but in recent times, owing mainly to the bad example of the Government, the teachers in many districts have set themselves to destroy all religious and patriotic sentiments of the children entrusted to their charge. As a result, the parents in some places brought the teachers into the Common Courts, and secured a condemnation, while in other places they refused to allow the children to attend schools where the teachers or school-books were specially obnoxious. To meet these cases the Government introduced a measure providing that the teachers could not be sued for breaches of their rules in the Common Courts. If parents have any grievances against them they may have recourse to the educational authorities, and as these authorities are directly dependent upon the Government, the

parents' chances of success are exceedingly slight. Again parents who object to send their children to school on account of the conduct of the teachers or the character of the school-books used are to be severely punished.

Such proposals have called forth a storm of opposition. In many places the parents have formed a league for the protection of their children, and from motives of patriotism if not of religion, they object to their children being trained up in the tenets of the socialist schools. The individual bishops denounced the proposals in the strongest terms, and the whole body of French Bishops have issued a collective pastoral begging the parents to resist such an aggression on their parental rights. The question at issue is, as is evident, most fundamental. Has the State such an exclusive right of education, and are the wishes of the parents to be entirely neglected?

In this connexion it is pleasant to note that though the teaching Congregations of men and women have been nearly completely suppressed, an effort is now being made to re-organize the Free Catholic schools. A league of Catholic laymen has been formed for the defence of Catholic schools. During the last few months they have succeeded in re-opening 7,170 primary schools, and have secured the services of 7,500 qualified Catholic teachers. These are recruited principally from the ranks of the Congregations whose members have become secularized in order to devote themselves once more to religious education, while in addition to these, many of the teachers in the public schools have resigned their places and their pay, and thrown in their lot with their co-religionists in the free schools.

The receivers of the property of the Religious Orders are still at work, but the amount actually paid in by them to the Treasury differs very much from the value placed upon their possessions before the Associations' Act was passed. M. Waldeck Rousseau when preparing the country and the Chamber for the Associations Bill circulated a document amongst the Deputies in which it was stated that the Religious Orders held property to the value of one thousand million (milliard) francs. It was pointed out at the time that

this valuation was excessive, that it differed entirely from that of the Income Tax officials, and that it took no notice of the fact that in many cases the money required for the purchase of land and for the erection of schools had been borrowed, the land or buildings been pledged to the lender as security. The truth of the assertion has now been borne out by the verdict of the Commission established by the Senate to examine into the work of the receivers. When the Treasury has paid all the expenses, it is doubtful on which side the balance will be placed, but at the highest estimate the Treasury gain will not exceed one hundred thousand francs.

About the general progress of the Church in France, it is very difficult to arrive at any general conclusion. One could hardly expect at a time when the Church property has all been lost, and when no provision has been made to safeguard the legal and corporative rights of the Church, that serious difficulties would not arise. For example, complaints are heard from many sides that the clerical vocations are rapidly disappearing, and that consequently many dioceses are threatened with a dearth of priests. Even before the Separation there were good grounds for such fears in many parts of the country, while since the passage of that measure, the uncertain condition of the clergy tends rather to discourage clerical aspirants. From the figures laid before the Conference of the Seminary Rectors held during the year at the *Institut Catholique* in Paris, it is clear that there has been a noticeable and increasing deficit in the numbers of students in these establishments during the last couple of years; and naturally such a tendency has alarmed the minds of many of the Bishops.

On the other hand, some of the French Bishops seem to be completely satisfied with the progress of events. The address of the Bishop of Mende, a diocese of Southern France, with a population of 140,000 and a clerical staff of 400 priests, as reported in the *Tablet* (January 18) is full of encouragement:—

One of my deepest joys [he says] and of my strongest

encouragement comes to me from the union, the good spirit, and the solidarity which obtains among us. The faithful have everywhere shown themselves generous in contributing to the tax for public worship, and I shall be able to assure my priests an amount sufficient for their decent support. The vocations to the priesthood and to the religious life are again on the increase, and it would be my dearest wish to import some share of the spiritual wealth to other dioceses less fortunate. . . . A body of 1,000 catechists have voluntarily given their zealous services to some 10,000 children. . . . A revival of faith and Christian spirit begins to manifest itself to some extent everywhere. . . . No doubt the work of regeneration will be long and difficult in our poor France whose manner of looking at things has been falsified for more than a century by the principles of the Revolution, but it will be accomplished thanks to the wisdom and firmness of the directions of Pius X.

In Germany the old alliance of Conservatives, National Liberals, and Radicals still continues to support the Ministry of Von Bülow against the Centre, the Poles, and the Socialists. On both sides the grouping is peculiar, but in politics one cannot expect consistency. The opposition demands radical changes in the constitution of Prussia and of the Empire. Owing to the complicated nature of the Prussian Electoral machine, the Socialists, though polling nearly as many votes as the National Liberal Party never succeeded in returning a single member to the Prussian Landtag till the last election when they secured the election of six representatives. Hence they demand a direct and secret franchise, together with a redistribution of the constituencies on the basis of population. The Centre agrees with the Socialists regarding the direct and secret franchise. For so far their efforts in that direction have met with no encouragement from the Chancellor.

Between the Catholics and the Government there have been other serious differences during the year, and the visit of Von Bülow to Rome aroused suspicion in many minds that he was endeavouring to receive the assistance of the Vatican in arranging a settlement of the matters in dispute. According to the newspaper reports of the time the subjects which he proposed to discuss were : (1) The Alliance between

the Centre Party and the Socialists ; (2) the Polish Expropriation Bill which had been consistently opposed by the Centre ; (3) the Suppression of the Polish Language ; and, (4) the appointment of a Bishop to the vacant See of Gnesen-Posen. Needless to say these rumours were without foundation, and even though Von Bülow desired the assistance of the Vatican, Pius X is not the man who would be likely to gratify his wishes.

The Polish Expropriation Bill has certainly aroused great feeling in Poland, and was strongly resisted in both Houses by the Catholic vote. It was found by the Prussian authorities that the Societies established for the creation of German colonies in Poland, despite the assistance, financial and otherwise, afforded them by the Government, were making no progress, and that the Poles were actually securing more land from Prussian owners, than Prussians were able to buy from Poles. It is proposed by this Bill to compulsorily secure lands from Poles for the foundation of German colonies. Such a measure so opposed to all ideas of justice and of nationality, and so likely to prove a dangerous precedent in view of the Socialist demands, was naturally resisted by the Centre Party. By another law it has been enacted that only the German language may be used at all public meetings. Fortunately, however, several amendments were proposed which do something to limit the application of such a measure. According to these German is not obligatory at International Congresses and election meetings, nor is it to be insisted upon in those districts in which sixty per cent. of the population is of non-German origin till the year 1928, so that for twenty years more they may enjoy the use of their native language.

The Catholic Congress was held at Düsseldorf in August. This time again it was feared by many that the question of Modernism might have a disturbing effect on the discussions, but fortunately the reception accorded to Professor Mausbach's simple, yet masterful, exposition of the subject tended to allay all doubt about the loyalty of Catholic Germany to the decision of the Holy See. During the Congress a meeting of the educated laymen of the country was held

to make arrangements for the foundation of a 'Kultur-gesellschaft,' which might serve to urge the Catholics to greater exertions in all branches of learning, and which might in this way give a practical demonstration that Catholicity is not opposed to science or progress. By some people such a meeting was regarded with suspicion, but without sufficient grounds. A Committee was appointed to take measures in conjunction with the bishops and clergy, to arrange the rules which should govern the working of the future society.

The racial differences in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire still continue to trouble the peace of the politicians, though the absorption of the new provinces and new races seems to indicate that the Government of Francis Joseph does not consider the race problems in the same light in which it is regarded by foreign critics. Last year we pointed out how in order to put an end to the importunities of the Hungarian party the Emperor determined to introduce Universal Suffrage into Austria and Hungary. The present Cabinet in Hungary though appointed on condition that they would carry this measure were slow to take any steps in fulfilment of their promises, and when the measure was introduced it tried to prop up the Magyar supremacy by all kinds of petty restrictions. The Magyars have had the power in their own hands till now, and they have used it in such a way that they fear a coalition of the Slovaks, Croats, Roumanians, Ruthenians, Servians, and Germans, might be formed to overthrow their domination. They have spared no pains to force their language on the other races. The Slovaks, for example, though forming well over two million of the population were not allowed to use their own language in their schools, and the teachers were punished if they dared to use it. The same treatment was meted out to the Croats; and yet all the time the Magyars were carrying on a most objectionable tyranny in their own country they were protesting at Vienna against the tyranny of Austria. The tactics they employed to force concessions from Austria are now being employed by the other races against themselves, and the introduction of the Universal Suffrage is certain to create a complicated situation.

In Austria proper, since the memorable declaration of Dr. Lueger in last November against the Jewish and anti-Catholic Universities the position of the Austrian Universities has been the chief subject of discussion. The supporters of the existing system raised the cry that Rome was determined to crush academic freedom, while the opponents replied that the question regarded not academic freedom but fair play. Both sides are grimly in earnest. The incident of the dismissal of Professor Wahrmund from Innsbruck University provided a suitable opportunity for a collision. Professor Wahrmund, the Professor of Canon Law, has been suspected for years on account of his lectures and writings, but a pamphlet published by him recently on the Immaculate Conception was of such a disrespectful character, that the Nuncio at Vienna apparently invited the Government to dispense with the services of the Professor. Even the friends of Wahrmund would be free to admit that the dismissal was not unnatural in the circumstances, but they pretended to be shocked at the unwarranted interference of the Nuncio in the affairs of the University. Disturbances broke out among the students of Innsbruck, a general strike of University students was proclaimed throughout Austria, but the firm attitude of the Government soon brought the movement to an end, and Professor Wahrmund having served the purposes of the party is now relegated to the region of oblivion.

In Belgium the main subject for discussion has been the annexation of the Congo. King Leopold was not unwilling to hand over in life what in death he had intended to be the property of the kingdom of Belgium. But his terms were exorbitant, and the conditions such that the Government could not accept them. The negotiations between the King and his Ministers were so protracted that even Belgians themselves were losing patience with the delays. The annexation has, however, passed the Chamber and the Senate, and has received the royal assent. It only remains to be seen whether some of the Powers of Europe may not prevent the success of the measure by insisting on guarantees which Belgium may be unwilling to give. The constant

delays and difficulties regarding the Congo tended to injure the Government in the country, and as a result, when in last May a certain section of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate sought re-election, the Catholic majority in the Chamber of Deputies was reduced to eight. The Chamber now consists of 87 Catholics, 43 Liberals, 35 Socialists, and one follower of the Abbé Daens ; while in the Senate the Catholics are much stronger, having 65 Senators against 35 Liberals and 12 Socialists.

In Spain the most noteworthy event from an ecclesiastical point of view is the signing of a Convention between the Holy See and Spain regarding certain modifications of the Concordat of 1851, which it is hoped to introduce. A Mixed Commission, of which half the members shall be nominated by the Pope, the remainder by His Catholic Majesty, has been established under the Presidency of the Archbishop of Toledo. The work of the Commission is to draw up a new division of the dioceses and parishes in Spain, so as to provide for the suppression of one or more of the present episcopal sees. Besides, they are to examine how best the burden of the Budget of Worship may be relieved without at the same time interfering with the religious services of the Catholic Church, and in what manner the condition of the pastors of the rural parishes may best be improved. The changed conditions of the centres of population, and the improved methods of communication require some change, and the negotiations were begun before the year 1904. There are no grounds, therefore, for the rumours put in circulation during the past year that trouble was brewing between Spain and the Vatican, and that a rupture of diplomatic relations was likely to ensue.

The great Centenary Celebrations in New York and Boston were well calculated to bring before men's minds the astonishing progress of the Catholic Church in the United States during the last hundred years. In numbers, in education, in wealth and position, in the grandeur of their cathedrals, churches, educational and charitable institutions, the Catholics of America need fear no comparison with their co-religionists of any nation in the Old World. The

rapid spread of Catholicity in the States may be attributed principally to two causes, namely, immigration from the Catholic countries of Europe, and conversions from the ranks of these outside the Church. And as the great majority of the Catholic immigrants, at least between the years 1825 and 1860, went from Ireland, and as these have contributed most to build up the great American Church, it was only natural that the successor of St. Patrick and the Primate of All Ireland should have been the central figure in the Centenary celebrations. If we may judge by his public utterances in America and in Ireland Cardinal Logue was agreeably astonished at the scenes that he witnessed. Even though the enthusiasm of the Americans is slightly contagious, we may well feel consolation, at a time when affairs seem so threatening in many parts of Europe, at the expectations which the Cardinal has expressed about the future of the American Church. At the banquet in New York he is reported to have said ¹ :—

I believe that the future of the Church lies in America. Rome, of course, will continue to be the centre, for the Pope will have his See there, but the energy and the strength and the zeal will be in a large measure in this great country. We have in America the proof that the Catholic Church is the Church of all times and of all places, and that it is not a Church that can survive and increase only under a monarchical form of government. In Ireland we are at times apt to complain of our form of government, but I have never yet heard of a Catholic complaining of the government in America.

And again, at the Carnegie Hall, he said :—

I believe that when we get cold in the old countries of Europe, and some of them are very cold already, and when the faith begins to grow dim there, it will only be necessary for a number of our people to come over to America, as I have come, in order to get their spirit revived and have their faith renewed.

The speeches of Father Doyle, the Superior of the House of Missions at Washington, during his recent visit to Ireland, were couched in the same strain. He is full of hope about

¹ *Catholic World*, June.

the future of the Catholic Church in America, and especially about the success of its work among the non-Catholic population. The figures he put forward regarding the conversions in the last few years are certainly encouraging, and now that the work of these devoted bands of priests has received such generous approval from the Holy Father, as was contained in the recent letter to Cardinal Gibbons, we may look forward with still more confidence to the future. The great missionary Congress held last month in America, the first of its kind in the country, is only another evidence of the great activity of Catholicity in the States, and affords another proof that even though France were to relinquish its place in the fore-front of Catholic missionary effort there is still another nation, a young one and a strong one, beyond the Atlantic, able and willing to fill the vacant place.

In England the great battle has once more raged round the Catholic schools. Last year, on the withdrawal of the Education Bill the Liberal Government declared its determination to return to the struggle sword in hand, and then, woe to the conquered. The Minister of Education, Mr. M'Kenna, in fulfilment of this threat, introduced his famous measure—famous in the sense that it abandoned the ground of an all round national system of education, and allowed the schools that were unwilling to accept the principle of popular control without any tests for the teachers to remain outside the system. The payment allowed in such schools, 47 shillings per head, was miserably inadequate considering the present cost of maintenance, and the fact that the public schools might draw upon the rates to any extent the authorities pleased. This, too, met the fate of its predecessors, but only when the Catholic voters had given a preliminary exhibition of their strength when aroused.

Negotiations were then opened with the Archbishop of Canterbury to arrive at a settlement of the differences between the Anglicans and Nonconformists. Could the differences between these two bodies be patched up, it was thought that there would be little difficulty in dealing

with the Catholics. In the negotiations the Archbishop proved himself no match for Dr. Clifford and his friends. In fact, judging by the terms to which he assented, the ordinary man, taking no account of the difficulties of the Archbishop's position or the elasticity of his theological views, would be inclined to say bluntly that he had betrayed the Anglican schools. The present Minister of Education, Mr. Runciman, hastened to introduce a new Education Bill on the basis of the compromise. Frankly recognizing that the settlement was a Protestant settlement, which could never be acceptable to the Catholics, he provided for their conscientious scruples by allowing them to contract their schools out of the system. But the rate of payment, varying from 56 to 45 shillings per head, according to the average attendance, was again far short of the actual cost of maintenance. He admitted this grievance, but defended it on the ground that the Catholics should be obliged to pay something for the privilege of having education according to their religious principles. That is to say, that though the Catholics were obliged to contribute rates and taxes for building and equipping the schools, and paying the teachers in a system of education satisfying the religious requirements of both Anglicans and Nonconformists, and though they were obliged to build and maintain their own schools out of their own contributions, they were to be further called upon to pay for, as a privilege, what was given as right to the other religious bodies—Jews only excepted.

The Catholics naturally resented such injustice, and the Irish members presented a united opposition. But in spite of their efforts the Government scheme might have been carried had not the Anglican laymen, more loyal to the Establishment than their Primate, risen in revolt, rejected the concessions that he had made in their name, and refused to recognize any binding force in the compromise to which he had assented. In these circumstances nothing remained for the Government but to withdraw the measure, and await better days.

In Ireland the Universities Act has been the most notable

event of the year. By it, the National University of Ireland is now in law an accomplished fact. It may fall far below our just expectations—and in many respects it certainly does,—but it was the best that the Liberal Government could afford to give, and the best we were ever likely to get from any English Party, and, therefore, in the circumstances prudence demanded that we should accept. It is idle to say that we should have stood upon principle, that we should have bided our time till the Tories returned to power, that Mr. Balfour would have given us something better, and the House of Lords would have approved his concessions. We have had enough of Tory pledges and Tory betrayals; we were tired of sympathetic speeches, softened by professions of inability; we wanted deeds, not words; and to the credit of the present Chief Secretary, it should be remembered, that he is the first of his class who risked his political prospects in an honest effort at redress.

Again, it is said in some quarters, and in places where one might least expect such criticism, that we have been content to accept in 1908 what we rejected with disdain in the days of Peel and the Queen's Colleges. Granted even that all this were true, what follows? The circumstances of 1845 differ very much from the circumstances of 1908. Then secularism in education was comparatively unknown. The great Universities of Oxford and Cambridge still retained their religious character, and nobody could hold any office within their walls unless he was prepared to accept the Thirty-nine Articles. Trinity College, too, was proud of its Protestant character, and refused to allow its halls to be desecrated by the presence of any Catholic Fellow or Tutor. It was only for the Irish Catholics that 'Godless education' was proposed: and the proposal was so unheard of at the time, that Protestants were the first to rise up in arms against the measure and to put upon the system the epithet of 'Godless.' Since that time, however, the tide has turned in favour of secularism in education; religion has been gradually losing its hold on the public life of England, and with the spread of undeno-

minational views our chances of securing a satisfactory settlement were gradually disappearing. What wonder, then, in these circumstances, if we were glad to acquiesce in a measure which, though we might not approve, went a good way to satisfy our requirements.

Nor is it true to say that the measure of 1908 is no better than that which we rejected by rejecting the Queen's Colleges. In one important respect there is an essential difference between the two schemes. In the Queen's Colleges the Crown retained the right of appointing to all the Chairs ; and from our experiences of such appointments on the public boards of the country, we can imagine the fate that would have been in store for us, as Catholics and as Irishmen, had the University education of the country been placed in the hands of such officials. According to the Act of 1908 the appointments will rest with the Commission and afterwards with the Senate. These bodies are representative of Catholic Ireland ; and with such bodies in control we can look forward to the future with a confidence which we could never reasonably have felt had English officials remained at the helm.

The University is not as perfect as we could have wished. But its future lies in the hands of Irishmen. We can make it what we wish, if, instead of grumblings about the past or criticisms of the present, we set ourselves to make it a seat of learning worthy of the best traditions of Catholic Ireland.

JAMES MACCAFFREY.

SOCIALISM AND CHRISTIANITY

THE question has been much discussed as to whether a definite and specific social doctrine is to be found in the Gospel¹; whether it puts forward a distinct theory or the outlines of an economic system which would offer a solution of the problems that confront the present age.² Did our Lord come into the world as a great social reformer? Did He intend to upset and renew the social and political conditions He found in existence? Did He elaborate a scheme of life for the family, society, the state? Did He lay down in detail definite and unchangeable laws regarding justice, labour, property, riches and poverty?³ Did He aim at securing equality of possession and material comfort amongst men? With us religion is not a mere individual affair left to our private judgment and our private thoughts. It has been always conceived, preached and propagated as essentially and pre-eminently social.⁴ Does the Gospel, then, not trace the foundations of the 'City of God'? Does it convey to us no social message to serve as a lamp in the darkness that envelopes us?

Christ, our Lord, is not a reformer like those of this world. He came not only to redeem us but to teach us our true relations to the Father who is in heaven.⁵ His kingdom was not of this world. It was another kingdom He came to establish. When once that other kingdom was firmly founded in the hearts of men all other interests would be promoted.⁶ Seek this first and all the rest will be added unto you. It is not that earthly conditions were indifferent to Him: but He takes His own way of reaching

¹ *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, by C. Peabody, Professor of Christian Morals, University of Harvard, chap. i., p. 53. *Evangelium und Arbeit*, by Simon Weber. Herder, Freiburg, 1898. *Christliche Lehra vom Erdengut*, by Alfred Winterstein. Kirchheim, Mainz, 1898.

² *L'Enseignement Social de Jésus*, A. Lugan, xi.-xvi.

³ *Evangelium und Arbeit*, Simon Weber.

⁴ *Discours de Combat*, F. Brunetière, 'L'Idée de Solidarité.'

⁵ Matt. vii. 21; xii. 28.

⁶ Matt. vi. 33.

them; for His kingdom begins with the life of faith and grace; and faith and grace will work out their harmonious purpose here as well as hereafter. He does not repel or seek to repress any legitimate aspirations of those around Him; but apparently He accepted both the social and political organization of His time. His enemies wished to entrap Him into a declaration against Roman rule in Judæa when they asked Him was it lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar.¹ It was lawful within the limits of Cæsar's rights, but not beyond them. God had rights which assuredly were not subordinate to Cæsar's; and they, too, should be respected. Had Roman rule been oppressive and the Jews risen in revolt it is probable that Christ with equal indifference would have enunciated some general law applicable to all nations and all times. He saw around Him the upper classes, proud, selfish, severe; the poor, wretched and despised. Nowhere does He seek to foment disturbance, or urge the poor to rebel. He had only to put Himself at their head when more than once they wished to make Him their king²; but the rôle of the agitator or the demagogue could not be His. He did not come to bring war to society but peace; and if in any sense He brought into the world not peace but a sword, it was a sword to make war on pride and selfishness, the corruptions of the heart, and undue attachment to the things of earth.³ When Cæsar-Augustus issued his edict for the taking of the census, Joseph and Mary, leaving Nazareth, go up to Bethlehem, to obey the law; and it was there that the Saviour of the world was born, consecrating by His advent at that particular juncture an act of obedience to the orders of a pagan prince. His subsequent life confirms the lesson of His birth. Neither against Cæsar or his viceroys or governors does He utter a word of sedition. Three of His most striking miracles are performed in the interest of Centurion officers of the Roman army. The whole organization around Him consisting of civil servants, fiscal officials, magistrates,

¹ Matt. xxii. 17.

² John vi. 15; Matt. xxi. 9; Mark xi. 10.

³ Matt. x. 34.

officers, soldiers, landowners and labourers, masters and servants, not only escapes comment or condemnation, but is the basis of the parables of the lost sheep, the unjust steward, the prodigal son, the labourers in the vineyard, the nuptial feast, and many others, which would appear to recognize it as part of a just and legitimate order of things. But whilst Jesus did not touch there and then the existing organization, He was sowing in the hearts of men a seed which He knew would grow to mighty proportions, imparting a doctrine which would leaven the mass of mankind and effect a transformation of that society, gradual and slow it might be, but how great the history of Christianity can tell. 'Dives' He condemns, not because he was rich, but because he allowed Lazarus to die of hunger at his door.¹ And if He says² that 'it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God' He immediately adds, 'The things that are impossible with men are possible with God.'

He showed, on the other hand, His predilection for the poor by becoming one of themselves, and living in their midst. He was the 'Son of the Carpenter,'³ the 'worker in wood,' and although His mother had in her veins the royal blood of David, she, too, was lowly and humble. His best graces and gifts were for the poor. His Apostles belonged almost exclusively to the labouring and humble classes. On all His journeys it is the poor who follow and surround Him. It was to evangelize the poor His Father sent Him, *evangelizare pauperibus misit me*.⁴ He consoles the widows, cures the lame, the deaf, the dumb and the blind, feeds the hungry, comforts the distressed. He who offers a glass of water to one of His followers shall not lose his reward.⁵ He is the only begotten Son of the Eternal Father, the great elder brother of all men; and when they appear before Him to be judged their best title to His favour and clemency will be that when He was thirsty they gave

¹ Luke vi. 19, 31.

² Luke xviii. 25.

³ Mark vi. ; Matt. xiii. 55. ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ τέκτονος.

⁴ Luke iv. 18.

⁵ Matt. x. 42 ; Mark ix. 41.

Him to drink ; when He was hungry they fed Him ; when He was naked they clothed Him ; when He was in prison they came to Him ; when He was a stranger they gave Him shelter ; for as often as they did any of these things to one of His poor they did it to Him.¹ When he wishes to fill his house at the banquet-feast it is not the rich he seeks (for they shall want a recompense) but the poor and the feeble, the blind and the lame. These the ideal rich man not only invites but orders his steward to compel to come.² It must never be forgotten that the Redeemer Himself was a labourer, and the foster-son of a labourer, a member of the proletariat, an artisan, a maker of chairs and tables, and of the wooden parts of agricultural implements. If there were not another word in the Gospel about labour that would suffice. Christ ennobled it, sanctified and set it free. So great an example can be followed by any man. If God³ made man condescended to work and undergo fatigue who can complain ?

On the other hand 'wo to you rich [*vae vobis divitibus*] for you have your consolation.'⁴ Your only standing in the kingdom of Christ is as the friends and benefactors of the poor. If you wish to escape the malediction you must hasten to their assistance. His kingdom is chiefly theirs, and you are admitted only on strict conditions. He who is great amongst them must be their servant. He who is humble shall be exalted. He who is merciful shall receive mercy.

Meanwhile our Father [His and ours] Who is in heaven, makes His sun to rise over the good and the bad, the rich and the poor, His rain to fall on the just and the unjust, giving us thereby a lesson in forbearance that none should forget. From the Mountain Jesus proclaims to us that we cannot serve two masters, that if riches or material welfare are to engage all our energies we cannot at the same time pursue the kingdom of heaven. We cannot serve God and

¹ Matt. xxv. 35.

² Luke xiv. 21.

³ 'Jesus fatigatus dat nobis exemplum sustinendi laborem. Si igitur gravat labor consideremus Christum laborantem.' St. Bonaventure, Collat. xiv. See also *Evangelium und Arbeit*, by Simon Weber, pp. 21-36.

⁴ Luke vi. 24.

Mammon. Nor should this be a cause of anxiety or distress :—

Therefore, I say to you, be not solicitous for your life, what you shall eat, nor for your body what you shall put on. Is not the life more than the meat, and the body more than the raiment ?

Behold the birds of the air, for they neither sow, nor do they reap, nor gather into barns ; and your Heavenly Father feedeth them. Are not you of much more value than they ?¹

Be not solicitous, therefore, saying, what shall we eat ; or what shall we drink, or wherewith shall we be clothed ?

For after all these things do the heathens seek. For your Father knoweth that you have need of all these things.

Seek ye therefore first the kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you.²

What is the good of a man struggling for the shadow when the substance which remains for ever is sacrificed ?

Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God.

Blessed are ye that hunger now, for ye shall be filled.³

In all this our Lord implies that the state of poverty, far from being an obstacle to the pursuit of the heavenly kingdom is rather favourable to it than otherwise. But He does not recommend poverty as such nor place any obstacle to the legitimate pursuit of wealth. It is poverty of spirit and detachment from the things of earth that He recommends as essential. Provided you seek first the kingdom of God and observe the law of justice and charity, you can accept, with a grateful spirit, all that is added unto you. If, however, you wish to be perfect, to do more than is absolutely needful for salvation through zeal for others, to become more and more like the Divine Model, then sell your goods to feed the poor, take up your Cross and follow the Master through the road of trials and hardships⁴ and abasement. Few, indeed, are called to this state of perfect charity ; the great mass even of the followers of Christ are at liberty to pursue their earthly avocations and lawful employment, provided they do not seek to serve

¹ Matt. vi. 25, 26.

² Matt. vi. 31, 33.

³ Luke vi. 20, 21.

⁴ Matt. xv. 19, 24.

God and Mammon and put the kingdom of this world before the kingdom of heaven.

Nobody need seek in these words an approval of that sort of fatalism which would paralyse the social activities and energies of the followers of Christ. Our Lord Himself would be the first to repudiate any such interpretation of His words. With what scorn it would be rejected by St. Paul who so vehemently urged even the poor to work, 'so that you want nothing of any man's,' and gave them the example 'in labour and in toil night and day, lest we should be chargeable to any of you, not as if we had not power, but that we might give ourselves a pattern to you to imitate.' Nor could there be any greater mistake than to think that because the 'kingdom of God is not of this world' it is a sign of perfection in men in general to be indifferent to all that relates to this life on earth. This life is a preparation for the next. The next will depend on it. And this life is concerned with rulers and subjects, families and citizens, magistrates, soldiers, merchants, manufacturers, employers and labourers, marrying and giving in marriage, buying and selling. There is no form of atheism more pernicious, more injurious to God and more fatal to man than that which seeks to erect a barrier between christian life, christian teaching, and all these things. As if religion were a mere private affair, having no bearing on actual life; or a thing of outward show and lip service, like that of the Pharisees.

No doubt it is through the individual conscience these things are to be reached, and that is why the individual conscience has first to be enlightened and purified.

In every man, no matter how poor, how despised, how disfigured by labour, by disease, by the blows of fortune or the stains of vice, there is concealed some place or other a distinct and more or less resplendent image of the Creator. That is what gives him his dignity. That is what distinguishes him from the nether animals. That is what makes his person worthy of respect. That is what entitles it to be protected, to be honoured, to be revered. God has enhanced the honour by putting it in the free power of

man himself to improve the image. That is why our Lord is apparently indifferent to outward things. It is this image He wishes to perfect. It is the inner man He wishes to gain, the heart He wants to conquer. Once that is done in the family, the municipality, the state, the rest will follow. An act of philanthropy, however good in itself, is worthless to its author if the motive is selfish or impure. 'Blessed are the pure of heart for they shall see God.' He who is moved by the mere appetite for glory or praise has not a pure heart.¹ The heart of its own accord is inclined to evil. It is from it that proceed 'murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false testimonies, blasphemies,'² the things that defile a man. It is the homage of the heart that Jesus wants, not of the hands or the lips. The eye is the lamp of the heart; if the eye is pure the body will be pure. No calculations can deceive Him 'who sees in secret' whether the heart is fixed on the immortal reward or the perishable hope. Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth when thou givest alms, and thy Father who seeth in secret will repay thee. And when you pray do not as the hypocrites who love to stand in the synagogues and at the corners of the streets that they may be seen by men. They seek admiration and they get it. It is their only reward. The merit of the deed in the sight of God is not measured by its greatness, but by the intention. The poor widow who gives all that she has, ὅλον τὸν βίον αὐτης, what she needs even for her support, for the worship of God, and puts it almost stealthily in the box, is more meritorious than those who give a much greater sum from their abundance and make it jingle on the plate.

Those for whom He has no mercy are the Pharisees who honour God with their lips whilst their hearts are far away,³ who boast of their liberality and make a blowing-horn of

¹ As the crystal is purest and most resplendent when it reflects the rays of the sun, so the human heart is purest when it reflects the rays of divine love.

² Matt. xv. 1, 20.

³ Matt. xvi. 8.

their alms and their piety—whited sepulchres, all respectability outside but within creeping corruption.

Wo to you that are rich, for you have your consolation.

Wo to you that are filled, for you shall hunger. Wo to you that now laugh, for you shall mourn and weep.

Wo to you when men shall bless you ; for according to these things did their fathers to the false prophets.

But I say to you that hear : Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you.

Bless them that curse you, and pray for them that calumniate you.

And as you would that men should do to you do you also to them in like manner.¹

Here we find enunciated that beautiful law of Christian charity which transcends and surpasses the most generous instincts of human nature. *There* is the sublime link of brotherhood amongst men which recognizes no distinction of class or creed, of race or nationality, but includes within its fraternal grasp those who hate us and persecute and calumniate us. What comparison can be made between this sublime bond and the 'fraternity' of revolutionaries, full of hatred and tyranny, or the 'fraternity' of socialism with its cynical indifference to the sufferings of those whom it persecutes and oppresses, its blasphemous jibes, its vulgar atheism, its advance guard of anarchists and murderers ?

And just as our Lord does not consider poverty a thing to be recommended on its own account, neither does He condemn wealth as a thing bad in itself. The condition of the wealthy, when the heart is not renewed, is less favourable to the pursuit of heaven than that of poverty, for the rich are nearly always immersed in worldly thoughts, in material pursuits, in frivolous pleasures, in fashions and vanities that wither and pass away. But all the rich are not so, and Christ did not make outcasts of people simply because they were rich. On the contrary, there were several rich people amongst His friends. Lazarus, whom He raised

¹ Luke vi. 24-31.

from the dead, was a rich man, and probably a financier. This did not prevent Jesus from loving him and his family. How well that love was returned was shown when He was afterwards entertained at the house of Simon, the friend, and possibly the relative, of Lazarus :—

Mary took a pound of ointment of right spikenard, *of great price*, and anointed the feet of Jesus and wiped His feet with her hair ; and the house was filled with the odour of the ointment.

Then one of His disciples, Judas Iscariot, he who was about to betray Him, said :

Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence and given to the poor ?

Now he said this, not because he cared for the poor ; but because he was a thief, and having the purse, carried the things that were put therein.

Jesus therefore said : Let her alone, that she may keep it against the day of My burial.

For the poor you have always with you ; but Me you have not always.¹

Simon the Pharisee and Simon of Bethany, if they were not one and the same person, were men of means and substance, both friends and hosts of Jesus. Zachaeus of Jericho² was also ‘a rich man and chief of the publicans,’ which did not prevent Jesus from staying at his house and bringing salvation to him and his family.³ Joanna, the wife of Chusa,⁴ Herod’s steward, and Susanna, were also rich people who gave Him of their substance. The Centurion of Capharnaum,⁵ whose servant He healed, ‘was dear to Him,’ and was a wealthy man ; for the Jews bore testimony that ‘he loveth our nation and hath built us a synagogue.’ Zebedee, the father of the beloved disciple, St. John, had ‘hired servants,’ a ship on the lake of Galilee, and a boat for Jesus when He wanted one.⁶ There was a certain Pharisee named Nicodemus,⁷ a ruler of the Jews, a man of position and wealth, who ‘came to Jesus by night’ to inquire about the kingdom of heaven. To him

¹ John xii. 3-8 ; Matt. xxvi. 7-13.
xix. 5.

⁴ Luke viii. 2, 3.

⁷ John iii. 1, 21 ; vii. 50 ; xix. 39.

² Luke xix. 1, 10.
⁵ Matt. viii. 5, 13.

³ Luke
⁶ Mark i. 20.

Jesus vouchsafed not only instruction but friendship and faith: and when He was crucified and taken down from the Cross Nicodemus came bringing a precious 'mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pounds weight,' and with these spices the body of the Redeemer was embalmed before it was 'bound in the linen cloths,' and laid in the grave. Nor were these the only rich people who loved our Lord and were loved by Him in return. On the same occasion of the burial it was Joseph, the 'rich man of Arimathea,' as he is called by St. Matthew,¹ 'a noble counsellor,' according to St. Mark,² 'who was himself looking for the kingdom of God, came and went in boldly to Pilate and begged the body of Jesus,' and having obtained that priceless treasure, 'he wrapped it up in a clean linen cloth and laid it in his own new monument which he had hewed out in a rock. And he rolled a great stone to the door of the monument and went his way.'³ And as it was with Jesus so was it likewise with His Apostles and early disciples. St. Luke was a medical practitioner and a man of education and culture. Paul and Barnabas themselves belonged to the professional and ruling classes. St. Peter raises from the dead Dorcas of Joppa,⁴ a rich and charitable lady, who made clothes and distributed them to the poor. When he was driven out by the Jews of Rome from the Ghetto where he first sojourned he was taken in by the wealthy family of Aquila and Prisca on the Aventine Hill.⁵

Amongst the neophytes, friends, and powerful supporters of St. Paul at Corinth were Crispus, who had been chief of the synagogue there; Caius, who was his host on the occasion of his second visit; Stephanas and his family, towards whom he recommended the deference due to their rank; Erastus, the treasurer of the city; Tertius, Chloe, and Phoebe, all of whom rendered him and the early Church the most signal

¹ xxvii. 57. ² xv. 43. ³ Matt. xxvii. 57-59. ⁴ Acts ix. 36, 39.

⁵ 'Ces deux fidèles, habitant sur l'Aventin, se trouvaient hors des régions peuplées d'Israélites: leur demeure était hospitalière, leur cœur généreux, jusqu'à exposer leurs biens et leur vie pour ceux qu'ils aimaient. Ils étaient dignes d'offrir asile à Pierre quand il quitta ses compatriotes pour évangéliser la Rome païenne.'—Abbé Fouard, *St. Pierre et les Premières Années du Christianisme*, 463.

services. It was the same at Philippi, where Lydia protected him; at Antioch, where Manaben, foster-brother of Herod the Tetrarch, worked with him; at Athens, where he converted Dionysius the Areopagite; in Cyprus, where he converted Sergius Paulus, the Pro-consul; and at Malta where he was sheltered by Publius. All these illustrious personages, whose names will live for ever in the love and gratitude of the Christian Church, were rich or at least independent; yet neither Christ nor His Apostles required of them that they should part with all their goods, too thankful only for the zeal and generosity which they displayed as the willing servants of God and of the poor, the benefactors of the Church and its messengers.¹

But if our Lord recognizes social inequalities there is no doubt that His teaching makes for substantial equality in the body social as in the body politic. We are all children of the same Father. We are all guaranteed our daily bread. When we are commanded to ask for it the answer cannot be doubtful. One day when Jesus and His disciples were passing by a cornfield some of those who were hungry began to shell the ears of the corn in order to get some food. The Pharisees were shocked, and asked was it lawful to do this on the Sabbath day. Our Lord turned to them and said:—

Have you not read what David did when he was hungry, and they that were with him? How he entered into the house of God and did eat the loaves of proposition which it was not lawful for him to eat, nor for those who were with him, but for the priests only . . . If you knew what this meaneth, *I will have mercy rather than sacrifice*; you would not have condemned the innocent.² The Sabbath was made for man not man for the Sabbath.³

The most sacred laws must therefore give way before the primordial right of man to exist. And when he does exist his value is not measured by his rank or possessions or power, but by his readiness to do the will of the Father.

¹ See the two Epistles to the Corinthians and Acts of the Apostles, *passim*.

² Matt. xii. 1, 8.

³ Luke ii. 24, 27.

This is the standard by which Jesus appraises all men. It is a new standard, startling and epoch-making, and the same for all. There could be no greater equalizer. Whoever does the will of God is His brother, and His sister, and His mother.¹ They are nearest and dearest to Him. He reverses the prevailing notions about all sorts and conditions of people. In His kingdom the first will be last and the last first. If anyone is to be higher than the others, or to rule over others, it must be as their servants :—

You know that the princes of the Gentiles lord it over them ; and they that are greater, exercise power upon them.

It shall not be so among you : but whosoever will be the greater among you, let him be your minister :

And he that will be the first among you shall be your servant.

Even as the Son of Man is not come to be ministered unto, but to minister.²

The labourer is worthy of his hire and those who rule must see that he gets it.

He pays no heed to the prejudices and dislikes of society or to the practices through which these prejudices were expressed. Many who were then outcasts have the kingdom of heaven opened to them. When Jesus tells those who accused the woman taken in adultery that he amongst them who was without sin might cast the first stone at her, they felt conscience accusing them, and began to sneak away in shame under the scrutinizing glance of Him who saw into their hearts. And when she was left alone with Him—

Relicti sunt duo, misera et misericordia—

He asked her was there no one left to condemn her. And she answered, 'No man, Lord.' And He said, 'Neither will I condemn thee. Go, now, and sin no more.'³ The Samaritans were excluded from intercourse with the Jews ; yet our Lord asks a Samaritan woman to give Him to drink, and revealed Himself to her, and in spite of her crimes overwhelms her with His grace.⁴ The good Samaritan is

¹ Mark iv. 35.

² Matt. xx. 25-28.

³ John viii. 4-11.

⁴ John iv. 7-20.

praised ; because he applied to the wounds of his fellow-man the healing balsam that he carried whilst the priest and the levite, who looked only to the ritual and the letter of the law, went their way unheeding. Zachaeus, the publican, is boycotted by the Jews ; and yet Jesus invites Himself to his table and heeds not the protests of the cliques and coteries who said that He was keeping company with one who was banned.¹ A Canaanite woman approaches Him on the confines of Phœnicia and adores Him. Her daughter was tormented by the demon, and she wanted Him to cure her. She pursued Him with such importunities that even His disciples wished Him to gratify her in order to get rid of her. The Canaanites were idolators and the Master says that it is not fit that the bread of children should be cast to the dogs. But the faith of the woman was unbounded. Nothing could overcome it. ‘Yea, Lord,’ she said, ‘even the whelps also eat of the crumbs that fall from the master’s table.’² Such faith could not be resisted. The barriers of race and nationality fall before it. She is sent her way rejoicing. The time has come, as He observed at the Samaritan well, when all those who worship in spirit and in truth shall be recognized as the real adorers.

As the family is the first social unit Jesus devotes particular attention to it. He strengthens the marriage bond and restores it to its primitive stringency. He lays stress on the duties of husband and wife, of parents and children, of brothers and sisters ; and not satisfied with precept He gave to the world an example in the Holy Family of Nazareth of a perfect household, a perfect father, a still more perfect mother, and an all-perfect Son. Of the little children He takes particular care. Woe to him who scandalizes one of these little ones. It were better for him that a millstone were hung round his neck and he were cast into the sea : for they bear the image of the Eternal Father in its crystal purity impressed upon their souls.

As for the State, He simply gives us the example of obedience and respect for law as long as it moves within

¹ Luke xix. 5.

² Matt. xv. 27.

its own orbit, and does not invade the sanctuary of conscience. 'Thou shouldst not have any power against Me unless it were given thee from above'¹ He said to one of His judges. From above all power comes in the State as in the Church, and a strict account will be required of the manner in which it is exercised. In the spiritual order He recognizes no authority in the civil power. When He was informed that Herod meant to kill Him He told those who brought Him the news to go and tell the old fox that it was not fit that a prophet should perish elsewhere than in Jerusalem.²

For the whole social and political body, as well as for the individuals that compose it, the commandments of Moses are renewed. 'Thou shalt not steal.' 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods, nor his house, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is his.'³ For all, too, the Sermon on the Mountain traces the outlines of the conduct required by the new dispensation. But over and above all the rest there is the new commandment of universal and all-pervading force: 'A new commandment I give unto you that you love one another, that as I have loved you, so also you love one another.'⁴

If you observe all these regulations you belong to the kingdom of God and you will have done your duty to the kingdom of heaven; for the rest you can strive for your own on the kingdom of earth and have all that it is right and just you should have. But if your main pursuit in life is honour, glory, gold, power, there is a short cut to them all. Prostrate yourself before the Spirit of Evil, and they are promised to you by him. Adopt the ways of fraud, deceit, dishonesty, flattery, godless materialism and scoffing unbelief, and he will help you to get on. Have no scruple about ways and means, and you have the key to the world. If you prefer dignity, honour, conscience, you will have your reverses, your trials, your hours of depression and hardship; but you will also have your consolations: for angels

¹ John xix. 10-12. ² Luke xiii., 31. ³ Exod. xx. 17. ⁴ John xiii. 34.

will minister to you as they did to Him who is for you 'the way, the truth, and the life.'

There is one other feature of the social action of Jesus that requires to be mentioned. He raised up woman to a position and dignity which she had never reached since the fall of Eve, and can never reach under any other rule or dispensation whatsoever. One spotless woman¹ he associated directly with Himself in the work of redemption. The halo of her glory is reflected on her sex, and has done more to ennoble and elevate it than all the laws that have ever been written.

Deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles.

'He hath put down the mighty from their seat and hath exalted the humble. He hath filled the hungry with good things and the rich He hath sent empty away.'² Well may she foretell that henceforth all generations will call her blessed. No mortal tongue can tell what a beneficent social influence the thought of that humble virgin has exercised throughout the ages. After the name of the Saviour of the world there is no name associated with humanity greater than that of Mary. No other name has won the same devotion, the same love. She was honoured in the catacombs where her effigy is found alongside that of her Divine Son. The great bishops of the early ages could find no language capable of extolling her virtues. When the Empress Helena visited Bethlehem, Nazareth, and the Holy Places, she built sanctuaries in honour of the 'Son of God' and of the Virgin Mary. The name of the daughter of David has been glorified in immortal works of human genius, in oratory, in poetry, in sculpture, in painting. Her altars are to be found in great cities, on the tops of the highest mountains and in the depths of the most lonely valleys from one end of the universe to the other. The Emperors of the East placed her image on their banners. Councils invoked her aid and light. The temple which pagan Rome had dedicated to

¹ See *Les Femmes de la Bible*, by Mgr. Darboy. 'La Sainte Vierge.'

² Luke i. 52, 53.

'all the Gods' was dedicated anew to her amidst the applause of the world. The Middle Ages called her 'our Lady' and mingling piety and chivalry together recognized her as the ideal of womanly grace, beauty, and virtue. In elevating to such dignity the humble Virgin of Nazareth the Almighty has elevated womankind to a position it had never attained before and has never since attained outside of Christendom. In raising Mary He has also lifted up the class to which she belonged, the proletariat of Israel and the proletariat of the world.

Another woman, not spotless but named Mary also, was rescued from worldly occupations and sensual pleasures by the Divine Master and attached to His service by such bonds that she had the strength and privilege of following Him on the way of the Cross, and was the first to see Him after His resurrection. Her name, too, has been carried, as He foretold it would, to the ends of the earth on the wings of the Gospel; and has been a mighty influence of restraint and repentance ever since.

Such are the principal lessons on social life that we derive from the Gospel. They are laid down on broad lines which it will be the duty of the Church, its moralists and legislators to fill in and interpret. This is but the ferment which is to leaven the mass. It is the essence of Christianity as applied to the social world. If we find in it no specific rules as to the degree or kind of equality that should exist in given circumstances, as to a living wage, as to right to suffrage, as to the proportion in which the superabundance should be shared, it supplies us with general principles with which it is easy to know whether existing conditions are in harmony or not. Our Lord did not condemn slavery in so many words, and St. Paul exhorts the slaves of his day to obey their masters as they would Christ Himself. Yet the spirit of the Gospel is opposed to slavery, even at its best, as unworthy of the dignity of man and the brotherhood of Christ. Slavery has gone down before that spirit which slowly but surely undermined and overturned it. The days are passed when crowds of human beings could be 'butchered to make a Roman holiday,' or when, as

Plautus puts it, 'the hide of the dead ox was used to ex-coriate the hide of the living man.'¹ Those who wish to know what was the condition of labour and the fraternity of men when Christ appeared, have only to read Plautus who spoke from experience, or Apuleius,² or Polybius.³ There they will see man at the grindstone, a few shameful rags half-covering his nakedness, his skin livid and mottled with the stripes of the whip, the mark of slavery burned into his brow, his head shaved, his feet shackled, his eyes bleared with smoke and cinders. Outside the factory they are chained, muzzled, driven like beasts of burden by a handful of insolent rich people. You see them pass in crowds in the cortège of the proud women who display their extravagant luxury in the Via Romana. You see them give themselves up to the most shameful and degrad-ing practices to amuse their masters and their masters' mistresses. You see Pollio throw them into the pond to fatten the fish that his appetite fancied. You see Cleo-patra try upon them the effects of mortal poisons. You see monsters in the shape of Roman emperors, thirst-ing for blood and excitement, force them to butcher one another in the great amphitheatre. When we remember that millions of men were thus treated by their fellow-men our indignation and horror are great. But who was it that changed all that? Who was it that leavened mankind with the spirit which was not to rest satisfied until it had rooted out from the nations which it had won the last vestige of slavery? The doom of the degrading system was sealed on the day when Christ proclaimed the brother-hood of men and issued the new commandment of universal love, which was afterwards well and duly sealed with the blood of Calvary.

But if slavery in the technical sense is gone, there is no doubt that there are remnants of it still disguised, and sometimes scarcely disguised, remaining. The spirit of the Gospel is just as much opposed to anything there is of harshness, of injustice, of oppression in the conditions of

¹ *Asinaria*, i., 1, 20-23.

² *Metam.*, ix.

³ *Historiae*, xxii., 11.

modern life as it was to the existence of slavery. If capitalism tends to crush and degrade the human person, in so far as it does so it is no more of a dogma and deserves just as little consideration as slavery. The leaven of the Gospel will ferment against it also and drive it out as it drove the thong and the shackles.

The earth and all that it produces has been given to man for his nourishment and subsistence. God is the supreme Lord and Master of all things ; but He has granted the possession and use of the earth and the fruits of the earth to men. It is not His will, however, as Leo XIII points out,¹ that they should be enjoyed in promiscuous confusion. It is in the interests of all that the earth should be divided and left to the industrious cultivation of a certain number. It is in this way the best results are drawn from it. The equality of men in the providential order is the equality of origin, equality of destiny, equality of redemption in the blood of Jesus Christ, not the equality of possession of material things. The possession of material things is left to the natural laws of human industry and social necessities. And there is nothing social order requires so much as respect for private property, whether movable or immovable. Peace, order, prosperity would be impossible without it. It is the natural desire of man to possess, and it is in the interests of society that he should possess according to his industry and his talents. It is a necessity of his position as the head of a family to provide for his children. It is in the nature of things that community of possession leads either to negligent cultivation or to interminable disputes. Where have we ever seen things owned in common outside of communities bound by vows, that friction and contention were not the order of the day ? Even two brothers can seldom work a farm in peace. Idleness or neglect on one side, recrimination on the other, lawsuits, wrangling, confusion. If, then, the members of the same family will not agree how can a vast community be expected either to agree or to develop in common the ground on which they

¹ *Rerum Novarum.*

live. Nature, therefore, wisely allows, and authorizes if it does not command, the division and distribution of the earth's surface ; and the possession which nature authorizes the law of the Gospel sanctions. This possession is subject to the supreme dominion of the Creator, who, in a general way, gave the earth and its fruits to the human race for its nourishment and support : but apart from that right which must of course have human interpreters it is intangible and indefeasible. There is nothing either in the Old or the New Testament to question it, or set it aside. Every word that bears on it serves, on the contrary, to confirm and strengthen it. The earth and its fruits are meant for the sustenance of the human race. They belong to all men in the abstract, and *in potentia*. All men are entitled to their sustenance from the eternal bounty. But the best means of securing this is not that all things should be owned in common, as the socialists demand. There are some more capable than others of making them productive and useful, and to these the use of them is given in the concrete and *in actu*. It is the interests of all that they should hold them with a strict right of possession as long as they carry out the intention of the supreme Lord and Master of all that exists or can exist.

But what is this wonderful argument in favour of communism or socialism (for there is very little difference between the two) drawn from the teaching or the practice of the early Christians ? It has, in the first place, to be borne in mind that the practice of community of goods was confined to the Church of Jerusalem. It is not found elsewhere. Neither at Ephesus, nor at Antioch, nor at Corinth, nor at Rome, is there any trace of it. And at Jerusalem it was perfectly voluntary. There was nothing whatever to oblige anyone to divest himself of his worldly goods in order to be baptized and be a member of the Christian community there. There is, as far as I know, nothing whatever to prevent socialists at the present day from putting their goods in common in a similar manner, provided they do not seek to compel others to follow their example. The compulsion of others, however,

seems a much more characteristic feature of their programme than any self-denying ordinance of their own.

But at all events, what are their arguments?

I. Soon after Jesus ascended into heaven the Holy Ghost was sent upon His Apostles, who went about speaking to all the strangers and foreigners in tongues they had never learned. The people were stricken with astonishment at the prodigy, as well they might. In one day three thousand souls were added to the little band of Christians. St. Peter, their leader and chief, addressed them in eloquent words in which he recalled the prophecies of Joel and of David, and reproached them with having crucified their Lord and Christ. He called upon them to do penance and exhorted them to separate themselves from a perverse generation. Under the spell of the eloquence of St. Peter, as well as of the miraculous event they had just witnessed, the neophytes were baptized. I must let the sacred writer describe what followed ¹ :—

And they were persevering in the doctrine of the Apostles, and in the communication of the breaking of bread and in prayers.

And fear came upon every soul : many wonders also and signs were done by the Apostles in Jerusalem, and there was great fear in all.

And all they that believed were together, and had all things common.

Their possessions and goods they sold, and divided them to all, according as everyone had need.

And continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, they took their meat with gladness and simplicity of heart ;

Praising God and having favour with all the people. And the Lord increased daily together such as should be saved.

Further on we read ² :—

And the multitude of believers had but one heart and one soul : neither did anyone say that aught of the things he possessed was his own, but all things were common unto them.

And with great power did the Apostles give testimony of the

¹ Acts ii. 42-47.

² Acts, iv. 32-35.

resurrection of Jesus Christ our Lord ; and great grace was in them all.

For neither was there anyone needy among them : for as many as were owners of lands or houses sold them, and brought the price of the things they sold.

And laid it down before the feet of the Apostles. And distribution was made to everyone, according as he had need.

And Joseph, who by the Apostles was surnamed Barnabas (which is by interpretation, the son of consolation), a Levite, a Cyprian born,

Having land, sold it, and brought the price, and laid it at the feet of the Apostles.

St. James in his Epistle, addressed in all probability to the same people of Jerusalem amongst whom the Christian had all things in common, said ¹ :—

Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl in your miseries which shall come upon you.

Your riches are corrupted and your garments are moth eaten.

Your gold and silver is cankered ; and the rust of them shall be for a testimony against you, and shall eat your flesh like fire. . .

Behold the hire of the labourers, who have reaped down your fields, which by fraud has been kept back by you, crieth : and the cry of them hath entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.

You have feasted upon earth, and in riotousness you have nourished your hearts in the day of slaughter.

You have condemned and put to death the just one, and he resisted you not.

Be patient, therefore, brethren, until the coming of the Lord. Behold, the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, patiently bearing till he receive the early and the later rain.

Be you therefore also patient, and strengthen your hearts ; for the coming of the Lord is at hand.

II. St. Paul, in his second Epistle to the Thessalonians,² says :—

And we charge you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you withdraw yourselves from every brother walking disorderly and not according to the tradition which they have received of us.

For yourselves know how you ought to imitate us : for we were not disorderly among you ;

¹ James v. 1-8.

² 2 Thess. iii. 6-15.

Neither did we eat any man's bread for nothing, but in labour and in toil we worked night and day, lest we should be chargeable to any of you.

Not as if we had not power, but that we might give ourselves a pattern unto you to imitate us.

For also when we were with you this we declared to you ; that, if any man will not work neither let him eat.

For we have heard there are some among you who walk disorderly, working not at all, but curiously meddling.

Now we charge them that are such, and beseech them by the Lord Jesus Christ, that, working with silence, they would eat their own bread.

But you, brethren, be not weary in well-doing, and if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man and do not keep company with him, that he may be ashamed :

Yet do not esteem him as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother.

In his first Epistle to the same people he had said ¹ :—

But we entreat you, brethren, that you abound more :

And that you endeavour to be quiet, and that you do your own business, and work with your own hands, as we commanded you : and that you walk honestly towards them that are without ; and that you want nothing of any man's.

III. Finally, St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians,² says :—

For you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that being rich He became poor, for your sakes ; that through His poverty you might be rich.

For I mean not that others should be eased and you burdened, but by an equality.

In this present time let your abundance supply their want, and their abundance also may supply your want, that there may be an equality.

I. Now it is quite clear even from the passages quoted that there was not the slightest compulsion put upon the Christians of Jerusalem to part with their goods. They did it of their own free will. They first sold their lands or

¹ 1 Thess. iv. 10, 11.

² 2 Cor. viii. 9, 13, 14.

houses or personal possessions thereby establishing their right to them, and then of their own free will put the price of them in the common stock. Many of them, at all events, did this; but there may have been and must have been exceptions. It was not obligatory. That their contribution was a free gift is clear also from the story of Ananias and Saphira. This pair were hankering after the Christian life. They had seen the wonderful things done and were afraid like the rest. They admired the devotion of the Christians to one another, and wished to have a share in their happiness. They knew that those who contributed all they possessed were maintained at the expense of the body. So they sold what they had, concealed part of the price, and brought the remainder to the feet of the Apostles, pretending that they were bringing the whole. They wished to have a foot in both kingdoms, to serve God and Mammon. They made a profession of perfection whilst they still clung to the world. St. Peter saw through their device, and made an example of them before the assembled brethren. It was the fraud he punished, the lie to the Holy Ghost. For he says to Ananias:—

*Whilst it remained did it not remain to thee? And after it was sold was it not still in thy power?*¹

In other words, there was nothing to compel him to sell his property at all, and when he did sell it there was nothing to compel him to part with the price of it. But when he came pretending that he was giving the whole price whilst in reality he had a good share of it in his pocket he was lying to the Holy Ghost. For this he paid a penalty which was intended as a lesson for all future time, although as one of the Fathers puts it he only in all probability forfeited the life of the body, not the life of the soul.

Neither in any of the texts quoted nor anywhere else in Scripture is there anything to suggest that the offering to the common chest was not purely voluntary. There is, on the contrary, everything to suggest that its merit came from its spon-

¹ Acts v. 4.

taneity and from the desire under the immediate influence of the Holy Ghost to conform to the highest counsels of the Master. Even in the terrible text of St. James against the rich it is the fraud by which wealth is so often acquired that calls for his severest denunciations. The fraud of the usurer, the fraud of the heartless employer, the sweating task-master, the dishonest merchant, the corrupt official. With these he associates the riotous liver, the *bon viveur*, the whole tribe of dudes and swells, of dissolute and worthless dawdlers, of sensual and corrupt and material men and women, who have unbridled passions and money to gratify them. At what period of her history did not the Church of Christ and her ministers repeat against such as these the denunciations of St. James?

II. The words of St. Paul in the passage that I have quoted above on which the socialists chiefly base their arguments are, 'If any man will not work neither let him eat.' There is, of course, a sense in which that saying is of universal application, and includes the rich as well as the poor: but I have quoted a considerable part of the context in order that the reader might see what St. Paul had here directly in his mind. There was a young Church growing up in Macedonia under the fostering care of Luke, of Timothy, of Silas and of Paul himself. Thessalonica, one of its principal towns, was famous for its maritime traffic and for its manufactures. Woollen, carpets, and all sorts of cloths and stuffs were made here on a large scale. It was a hive of industry. St. Paul and his companions made a rich harvest in the ranks of the proletariat of the place. Amongst some of these there was a tendency to idleness and a disposition to sponge on the charitable generosity of the community. In order to give them an example St. Paul himself worked night and day at the trade of a weaver at the house of Jason, with whom he lodged. He would not be chargeable to anyone, though entitled to his support, to show them that manliness and independence, 'wanting nothing of any man's,' were marks of the faith. This was effective whilst St. Paul was there: but when he was driven out by the intrigues and plots of the Jews, they relapsed to their

original tendency. Many of them were by nature loafers and idlers who went about disturbing the peace of the community, carrying stories, exciting jealousy and envy, and 'working not at all.' They were also disorderly fellows whose lives were not edifying. They made a pretext for their idleness of what they understood or misunderstood as the teaching of St. Paul about the end of the world. They were probably socialists in their way, and thought the rich were not doing enough and should be compelled to share.

This is the fraternity which St. Paul asks his brethren to shun. It is of these he says, 'If a man will not work neither let him eat.' He tells the faithful to give them nothing, but let them earn their bread like honest men. They should avoid them in order to make them ashamed of themselves. Yet they should not treat them as enemies but admonish them as brothers. I do not quite see what consolation there is in all that for the socialist unless he is willing to come to be admonished. Not that all socialists are poor by any means. There are many rich men amongst them who subsidize newspapers and associations, and encourage strikes and social turmoil, so as to depreciate stocks and shares on which they have a covetous eye. When these go down they buy, and when the storm passes and the shares go up they sell. They raise and calm the storm as they please, and find socialist principles most lucrative. The artisans and labourers who are their tools do not see what is going on behind the scenes. They are the dupes of sharpers who are a much greater nuisance than the loafers of Salonika, worse even than Ananias and Saphira; for whilst they make a pretence of wishing to bring all property and capital into a common or collective store, their real object is to augment their own.¹

¹ 'Quand la baisse est au *maximum* les financiers qui sont derrière toutes les agitations socialistes achètent à vil prix; puis ils font reutrer les meneurs en leur payant le salaire du crime. Le travail reprend: les actions remontent; les spéculateurs revendent à la hausse ce qu'ils ont acheté pour rien: le tour est joué. Les ouvriers plus meurtris, plus courbés, plus affamés, reprennent le licou dans les usines à demi ruinées: le socialiste ajoute un domestique à son personnel et quelques titres de rente à sa réserve.'—Pierre Bietry in *Le Socialisme des Jaunes*, p. 17.

III. The socialists will fare no better in their argument from St. Paul about equality *ut fiat aequalitas*. Nothing could well be farther from St. Paul's mind than the sort of equality they claim. What were the circumstances in which he used the expression? The Christians of Jerusalem were very poor and in great distress. The experiment of community of goods does not seem to have been a great success with them. Whether it was that *quae communiter posseduntur communiter dissipantur*, or that the great majority of the collective body had very little indeed to bring into the common store the fact was that they were almost starving. St. Paul makes an urgent appeal on their behalf to the charity of the Corinthians. He had already made a similar and most successful appeal for them to the Macedonians and Achaean. He takes good care to tell them that it is to their *charity* he is appealing. From the very start he says, 'I speak not as commanding.'¹ But as they became rich in grace through the poverty of Christ, so they might become rich through the prayers and merits of His poor. 'He who soweth in blessings shall reap blessings.'² 'And he that ministereth seed to the sower will both give you bread to eat and will multiply your seed, and increase the growth of the fruits of your justice.' In other words, in return for their charity they will receive both temporal and spiritual blessings. And thus there will be an equality between them and the poor.

Let your abundance supply their want, that their abundance may also supply your want, that there may be an equality.

What was the abundance of the Corinthians? Wealth, comfort, worldly possessions, at least more than they needed. What was the abundance of the poor of Jerusalem? Poverty, resignation, grace, prayer, faith, charity, merit. It is between these the exchange is to be made. *Ut fiat aequalitas*. The socialists are welcome at any time to that equality; but let them not look for any other in the words of St. Paul; and let them not quote St. Paul as 'com-

¹ 2 Cor. viii. 8.

² Ibid. ix. 6.

manding' or requiring even that much, but as appealing for it in charity.

The equality that Christ established is the equality of title to a share in the sacrifice of Calvary on the conditions He laid down, the equality of children of the same family, some getting more and some less according to their talents, their merits, and their aptitudes, according to the father's will and judgment of what is best for all. None are left to perish. Even the lepers and plague-stricken must not be abandoned. Even the idlers and the spendthrifts and the wayward are to be treated with gentleness and humanity. I doubt if they would fare as well in the socialist state. It is not long since I read in a speech of Mr. Grayson that if men would not work he would send them to the lethal chamber as readily as a useless horse. I should not be surprised if, when Christianity and Christian ideas are rooted out, as we are assured they must be, in certain States, we shall not hear much more of the lethal chamber. It will be once again the liberty, equality, and fraternity of the guillotine or the knife. Evolution, we are told, is making in that direction. Nietzsche, who has come into vogue so much in recent times with hypocrites who call themselves Christians, carries the evolution principles to their full conclusion in his social philosophy:—

The religion of pity [he says] has the immense inconvenience of prolonging a vast number of useless existences, of lives condemned by the law of selection. It preserves and multiplies misery in the world. It is a standing menace to the moral health of the finest types of humanity. The sight of misery, of suffering, of deformity, of ugliness, is the worst danger in the path of progress to the higher type. Christianity and the religion of pity have contributed most efficaciously to the degradation of the European race, and have retarded the production of superior types, the evolution of humanity towards the superman.¹

It is in the same sense that Mr. Bernard Shaw, another superman and socialist to boot, tells us that, 'Those who

¹ *La Philosophie de Nietzsche*, by Henri Lichtenberger, iv. 41.

minister to poverty and disease are accomplices in the two worst of all the crimes.'¹

Herbert Spencer also observes ² that the maintenance of the sick in hospitals, and of tramps and vagrants in asylums, of all those who consume without producing, diminishes the quantity of things suitable for distribution in proportion to the number of the useless. The poverty of the incapable, the penury of the idle, the trampling of the weak by the strong, are, he thinks, in reality decrees of an immense benevolence and foresight. I know that in the socialist utopia men like Bellamy would regard the sick as the invalid brothers and sisters of the strong, and treat them accordingly ; but both the civilized world and the sick have, with good reason, more confidence in the religion of compassion and mercy, in the charity of Christianity, than they are ever likely to have in the professions of pagan philosophy whether old or new.

I must reserve what I have to say about the Fathers of the Church for another paper.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

¹ *Man and Superman*. The Revolutionist's Handbook, p. 240.

² *Evolution and Morality*, xii., 179 ; also, *The Man versus the State*, iii.

THE REGENERATION OF LOST PARTS IN ANIMALS AND THE THEORY OF MATTER AND FORM

UNTIL about twenty years ago, it was generally admitted, almost as a Biological dogma, that many vital processes could now be explained and would eventually all be explained by the same laws of physics and chemistry which govern inanimate matter. Various causes had no doubt contributed to bring about the almost uncontested supremacy of the Mechanical theory of life. The exaggerated Vitalist theories of the school of Montpellier, which had been so much in favour till the middle of the nineteenth century, may have been one of the chief causes of the general reaction towards a Mechanical System. This exaggerated Vitalism supposed that life is the result of a kind of dual principle. There are in the body certain factors, called vital forces or properties, which are in continual opposition to the physico-chemical laws. The latter are engaged in a never-ending struggle to destroy the living substance. Life is simply the victory of the vital properties.

Conceptions such as these could no longer meet with favour, in the presence of an immense accumulation of new facts achieved for science at the middle of the last century. Physiology, and the chemistry of living substance, had made gigantic progress; consequently a reaction in the opposite direction soon manifested itself. It came to be accepted that life is but the result of chemical and physical action. There was no need, therefore, of bringing in any explanation of a mystical nature, for such the vital forces of Montpellier were thought to be. No other kind of Vitalism was even considered as a possible theory. Men of science either knew nothing of, or else had no true notion of the Vitalism of Aristotle and the

Scholastics, which alone can give us a satisfactory theory of the vital principle, and explain all the phenomena of life.

In presence of such facts, it is certainly very remarkable that at the present day we should again find a reaction on the part of some biologists of great distinction against the mechanical theory, which seemed to be established on so firm a basis for so many years. They realize its insufficiency to account for life ; it has been weighed in the balance of careful experiment, and has been found wanting.

This movement, which has been in progress during the last twenty years, is generally known as Neo-Vitalism. This group of Vitalists have asked themselves, whether there is in living organisms any fundamental active principle which essentially distinguishes them from non-living matter, or matter that is dead ; or are living things in no way different in their activities from those of the inorganic world ?

The activities of living substance manifest themselves in various ways, but the essential character of the living substance is its instability. Changes are continually taking place within it, which, taken together, go under the name of metabolic processes. These are found in all living protoplasm, from the lowest unicellular organisms which inhabit the stagnant pools by the road-side, to the highest organism, the body of man himself. Everywhere we find the continuous breaking-up of the living substance, and a reparation of the waste by the continuous assimilation of non-living matter which the cell, as long as it is alive, is able to build up into its own living substance. Nothing like this is found in non-living matter. But there is another class of vital phenomena of a very striking character of which no explanation can be given by any mechanical theory, viz., the development of organisms and the regeneration of lost parts. It is of organic regeneration in animals that we are going to treat in this paper.

Since the days when the Abbé Trembley made his famous experiments, a considerable amount of investigation on the subject of organic regeneration has been carried out

in various parts of the world. Trembley began his work in 1740, and the interesting results of his observations at once attracted the attention of naturalists. The question of regeneration has now passed far beyond the limits ever contemplated by Trembley and his immediate successors. They were satisfied with cutting off pieces of such forms as the Polyps and Earthworms, and recording the amount of the regeneration. At the present day, however, the extent of the investigation and the methods of research are such that they could never have conceived.

When it was found that every organism is built up of cells, and that all organisms arise originally from a single germ cell or egg, scientists began to carry their investigations on regeneration to the germ cell itself, and the very beginnings of the organism. Needless to say, the methods of operation on a subject such as this are extremely delicate, especially when it is a case of cutting minute larval forms, and separating the first cells resulting from the division of the original egg. All honour, therefore, is due to those patient workers who have won such magnificent results for science. But it is to be regretted that the explanations of the phenomena observed are far from satisfactory.

Already there is a vast amount of literature dealing with this interesting subject, much of it, however, bearing on forms of life that are familiar only to specialists. Yet, examples of regeneration taking place in well known species, are by no means few. It is, for instance, popularly known that in the common Earthworm if cut into several pieces, each piece has the power of producing a new worm, provided that the pieces are not too small. It is recorded that when a new head had been regenerated on a mutilated worm and this was again cut off, another head took its place, and the process could be continued several times. It is ascertained also that if only a portion of the head part is removed, just that portion is restored. Regeneration in the Earthworm only takes place when the pieces have been cut across the length of the worm. If a worm is divided along its length, no regeneration takes place.

Another animal that is found in many ponds, has been

shown to possess the regenerative faculty to a wonderful degree ; in fact it derives its name, Hydra, from this faculty. It is of small size, not more than a quarter of an inch in length. The body of the animal is tubular in shape, closed at the base and its other extremity is opened to form a mouth surrounded by a ring of tentacles usually about six or eight in number. The closed end is generally attached to a water plant or a piece of wood. All its parts have the power of contraction, so that it is able to execute local movement, and can close up when necessary to protect itself from enemies. It was upon the Hydra that Trembley first began his experiments. He did not know whether these strange beings were plants or animals, and following the mistaken belief of the time that pieces of plants were alone capable of producing new plants, whilst those of animals perished, he cut off pieces from the Hydra and found that each piece developed into a new Hydra. From further observations he learned that it is carnivorous, and has the power of local movement, and hence arrived at the important conclusion that the Hydra is an animal and that the power of regeneration does not belong exclusively to the plant world. A specimen may be cut crosswise into three or four pieces, and not only will each part survive, but in a very short time will develop into a new Hydra, complete in all its details. The same experiment may be repeated on the new specimens. What is still more remarkable is that the same result is obtained if the animal is cut lengthways into two or more pieces. If, however, only the head part with the mouth be divided lengthways leaving the rest of the body intact, a Hydra is developed with a double head. There are, however, certain limitations to the power of regeneration ; if the cut pieces are below a certain limit of length, no regeneration takes place. It appears also, that a separated tentacle alone is unable to reproduce a new individual, although it may be kept alive for a longer time than is usually required for a piece to regenerate into a new Hydra.

There is also a remarkable power of reproducing lost parts in certain animals belonging to the next higher order,

the well-known Star-fish. If one of the arms is cut off or lost by the animal in the sea, as sometimes happens owing to the attacks of enemies, another arm or portion of an arm is regenerated from the wound.

In the Decapod Crustacea, a much higher group than those above mentioned, which possess jointed limbs, and to which belong the Shrimps, Lobsters, Crayfish, Crabs, etc., it is well known that if a limb is lost or severed from the body another will grow in the same place. If only a portion of a limb be lost just that part will regenerate, and this is the case not only from a joint, where the fracture will generally occur in a state of nature, but also of a fracture that has been made in the region between the joints.

The Insects seem to have the power to a far less degree, although a renewal of lost parts is observed in certain species.

As we ascend to the higher forms of animal life in which the organism is much more complex, instances of regeneration become fewer and fewer. Not much is known about the Fishes, but in all probability regeneration is limited to the reproduction of lost parts of fins.

In the tail-bearing Amphibia, to which class our Newts belong, a severed leg is replaced by a new one, provided that no more than the leg is removed, and the same is true of the Tadpole, but the Frog is unable to regenerate a limb or a part of a limb. Some interesting facts have been observed by various authors regarding the regenerative power of the Tadpole. It is known to every schoolboy the Tadpole is the larval form of our ordinary Frog. It is a free swimming animal with a small head and a very long tail, the greater part of the tail being a flattened expansion of skin through the centre of which runs a notochord or primary backbone. The tail, too, is provided with a complicated series of muscles. It has been found that if the tail of a Tadpole be cut straight across, the missing portion is regenerated within a very short time ; the time depending of course on the amount of tail that has been removed. The part that has been cut off, although it is unable to produce a new Tadpole, may be kept alive for several hours.

If, however, the cut has been made in an oblique direction, the regeneration of new tissue, to complete the missing part, takes place in a very remarkable manner. The new part, made up of the various tissues, at first begins to grow almost at right angles to the oblique section, by reason of the new cells being formed in equal amount all along the cut surface. The result is that at first the central notochord and muscles are not in the same straight line as the old part. Very soon, however, an unequal growth of cells takes place, and the new tail once more comes into the same straight line.

From many observations in the different species, it seems to be established that the lower the animal form and consequently the more simple its organization, the more extensive is its faculty of replacing lost parts. Again, comparing the adult form with the developing organism, it is found that the younger the embryo the greater power has it of replacing lost parts.

The higher we ascend in the scale of animal life the more limited is the regenerative faculty, so that in the Birds and Mammals there is no restoration of lost parts of limbs, but we see the same power at work in the healing of wounds, which is really a regeneration of lost tissue, and in the joining together of broken bones.

Instances of regeneration in certain internal organs are known in Mammals, so that in certain genera the kidney can replace a lost part, and even in Man the lens of the eye, after being extracted, has been known to grow again. But in the higher animals, when an internal organ has been removed, the rule is that another organ undergoes an increase in growth, in consequence of the extra amount of work devolving upon it from the loss of the other.

An example of the second law stated above is shown by a recent experiment by Dr. Bell on the Frog's embryo. He took out exactly one lateral half of the anterior part of the brain with that part known as the optic vesicle, which in the normal state would have produced the eye. In a short time the brain was found to have regenerated and an eye was afterwards developed, although the adult

Frog is unable either to replace a lost part of its brain or regenerate another eye after removal.

It is in the first stages of the development of the organism that the most remarkable cases of regeneration are found. Every animal at the beginning of its existence consists of a single cell, the fertilized egg cell. This cell begins to divide first into two, then into four cells, these go on dividing into eight, sixteen, thirty-two cells, etc., which remain attached to one another. In certain animals, which are especially suitable for the operation because these first cells, or blastomeres as they are called, are sufficiently large, some very delicate and interesting experiments have been performed in recent years. It has been known for some time that if the first two cells which result from the division of the egg of the salamander are separated from one another, each will develop into a perfect embryo of half the normal size. In 1892 Hans Dreisch, the distinguished Professor of Embryology at Heidelberg, after repeated experiments on the eggs of the Sea-urchin came to the conclusion that in this animal the first dividing cells are equipotential, that is that even when the egg has divided into as many as sixteen cells, each cell has the power of producing an entire embryo complete in all its parts but of smaller size than the ordinary embryo; and, moreover, that any of the cells, if the ordinary conditions of development are altered, has the power of producing any part of the embryo.

To confine our attention solely to the few examples of the regeneration of lost parts that we have described in the preceding pages, it will be clearly seen that such restoration of lost parts is a phenomenon that has been accomplished for the good of the whole animal. The renewal of a lost limb in an Amphibian, or the building up of a Tadpole's tail, no matter in what manner it has been cut, by an unequal growth of new cells along the cut surface, is sufficient to convince the impartial observer that there is a factor at work which regulates in a precise manner the proportionate amount of new tissue that must be formed, all along the oblique cut edge, that there may eventually

be produced that precise form of tail that we find in the normal animal. It is the specific form of the missing part in the tail which determines the growth of the new material. No mechanical principle of life could bring about such a result.

Professor Morgan¹ who has done much valuable work on the subject of organic regeneration confesses that, 'in regard to the internal factors that influence the growth and regeneration of new parts, we are almost completely in the dark.' Again, speaking of the unequal rate of growth in the development of the typical form of Fishes' tails, he says that the 'results demonstrate some sort of a formative influence in the new part. . . . We find here one of the fundamental phenomena behind which we cannot hope to go at present.' Admissions such as these are very significant on the part of one who is not a Vitalist. In his concluding chapter, after stating that he cannot accept Dreisch's views of Vitalism, he says: 'For my own part, I see no grounds for accepting a vitalistic principle that is not a physico-causal one, but perhaps a different one from any known at present to the physicist or chemist.'²

Now, when an animal restores a part that it has lost, there is one fact which stands out clear and undisputed, and it is this: some internal principle is at work which acts as though it were an intelligent agent, and knew the means to the end to be attained, viz., how to mould the new material by the mutual reaction of the different kinds of tissue, working in perfect harmony, so as to reconstruct the typical part that required to be regenerated. Nägeli brings out this idea very clearly when he says that the various tissues act as though each part knew what the other parts are doing.

It is precisely for this reason, however, that some biologists refuse to admit the hypothesis of a vital principle: the existence of such a principle which would seem to direct the physico-chemical processes in the living organism towards a definite end, in other words, a final principle of

¹ *Regeneration*, 1901, p. 131, and 133.

² *I oc. cit.*

activity, necessarily supposes that the organism is a conscious one, possessed of both intelligence and will. This is not the case, and all who are acquainted with Scholastic Philosophy will see at once where the confusion lies.

The undetermined principle, or *materia prima*, and the determining principle, or *forma substantialis*, are each in complete in the order of substance. Neither can exist apart. We make exception, of course, for the human soul, but every corporeal being whether living or non-living is formed of the two together. Now, in the case of plants and animals the active principle of life is nothing less than this same *forma substantialis*. It is this which constitutes the indispensable unity of the whole organism, and is at the same time the cause of all the vital phenomena. So it is one and the same fundamental principle of activity which makes them be both material substances as well as living organisms. What acts is, therefore, the whole organism resulting from the union of the primary matter and substantial form. From this short explanation of the theory of Aristotle and the Scholastics, it will be clear that to speak of the vital force as acting apart or as presiding over the physico-chemical processes is quite incorrect and misleading.

The truly wonderful re-construction of a piece of Hydra, or the building up of a lost limb, or part of a limb in a Crustacean or Amphibian, or to take a more striking example, the development of the fertilized egg cell, where we see the gradual multiplication of the cells which are sifted out as it were during the embryonic stages into various tissues, until the complete adult form is reached, is certainly a *processus ad finem*—the working out of a pre-conceived plan in the most literal sense of the word. This plan, as well as the various operations by which the plan is carried into effect in perfect harmony and order, certainly require an intelligent architect, who is no other than the Creator, who has put into all things that live the natural tendencies to carry out the plan that He has conceived, each according to his own kind, and by its own

inherent power, although they are not cognizant of the end to be attained. This, then, is the essential difference between the Vitalist and Mechanical theories of life: in the latter there are only efficient causes and no final causes.

It is evident, therefore, that the fundamental principle of activity in animals and plants, such as we claim the vital principle to be, does not require that the individual possessing this principle should itself have any intelligence or will. We must not, however, confuse the *causa finalis* with the vital principle. They are not the same thing. We may show that there is a preconceived plan in the development and regeneration of organisms, and in their tending towards a specific end, but this does not of itself prove that they possess a fundamental principle of activity essentially different in its nature from the activities of inorganic matter, for the wonderful movements of the planets and their mathematical precision show just as clearly as the vital phenomena that they are directed by a pre-ordaining Intelligence.

It would be impossible in a paper such as this to give anything like a complete account of the explanations brought forward by various authors to account for organic regeneration. Many of them are not explanations at all, but simply a restatement of the facts observed, in technical language. Bonnet and later Weismann have tried to account for regeneration on the old theory of Preformation; it is supposed that the cells of the adult organism contain latent germs which are capable of being brought into activity, and thus reproduce parts that are lost. Others maintain that the body contains specific substances which have an action on the growth of certain parts. We know nothing whatever concerning these substances, yet even supposing that certain physico-chemical factors play a very important part in the vital phenomena such as osmotic pressure, superficial tension, adhesive and cohesive forces, and the soluble ferments or enzymes, it is absolutely impossible to account for a single vital process by the sole action of these same factors, taken either singly or in combination. There

is always something over and above which must be taken into account.

It is true that of late years the enzymes have come to be recognized as agents of the highest importance in the physiological work of the body. But it is absurd to maintain that life is simply the result of their action. The origin of the ferments themselves must be accounted for, and they are distinctly of an organic nature, being built up only by living protoplasm.

It is a favourite argument of the Mechanist school, to compare the regeneration of lost parts in animals with a curious phenomenon that takes place in crystals. If a crystal which has had a small piece broken off be placed in a saturated solution of the same substance, the injury is repaired and a normal crystal is once more formed. At first sight, therefore, it would seem that there is taking place in the crystal the processes of nutrition, growth, and regeneration, and this phenomenon seems identical with what takes place when an animal regenerates a lost part. If, however, we examine closely into the facts, there is but a seeming analogy, and what takes place in the crystal is entirely different to organic regeneration. Professor Morgan has pointed out that the new material is always added at the surface of the crystal, and that there is no central force regulating the deposition of new material. The comparison, says Morgan, is merely a superficial one. In the animal, the building up again of a lost part is brought about by a more rapid growth of cells only at the surface of the cut, but there is no such thing as more rapid growth at the broken surface of a crystal, the new molecules being deposited over all its surfaces.

The Mechanical theory of life cannot explain the regeneration of lost parts in animals ; the only satisfactory explanation is a Vitalist one. The greatest champion of Vitalism is undoubtedly Hans Dreisch. He was at first a believer in the Mechanical theory of life, but was brought to realize its insufficiency after long and patient work on experimental Embryology. He has made a most careful analysis of certain vital phenomena in connexion with the develop-

ment and regeneration of organisms, in order to satisfy himself as to whether there is any factor in them which is essentially beyond any physico-chemical interpretation. The results of his experiments are extremely interesting, for they have convinced him of the autonomy of certain vital phenomena. In other words, there is something in living organisms which no Mechanical theory can hope to explain. He brings forward a striking example to illustrate this fact which, however, we can only describe very briefly. The experiment was made with the embryo of a Star-fish. It is a very simple organism in its early stages, consisting of no more than a double layer of cells. The outer layer is very like a hollow ellipse, and this contains the inner layer in the form of a small hollow cylinder. The inner cylinder will eventually develop into the alimentary canal, but at one period of its existence it is nipped off into three well defined regions. Dreisch's experiment consisted in dividing this larval form in different parts, and he found that no matter at what level it was cut into two parts provided that each fragment contained a little of the internal cylinder, each divided portion would regenerate a complete larval form of the Star-fish, the only difference being their smaller size. Now the important point in the experiment is the fact that the three constrictions in the primitive alimentary canal are formed in the regenerated fragment, and in the same relative proportions to each other as they are found in the embryo that develops normally. Dreisch's argument is as follows: it is impossible to account for the proportionate regeneration of the parts of the internal cylinder by any chemical or physical laws, for each part of the cylinder is capable of producing any other part of the alimentary canal, in other words, all the parts have the same potentia and the whole embryo constitutes, as Dreisch says, 'an equipotential system.'

According to the Mechanical theory of life, organic development is explained by a complicated system of machinery, so in the embryo of the Star-fish, which develops naturally, each of the three regions formed by the constriction of the primitive alimentary canal would be dis-

tinct parts of the machine, and are what philosophers call extended. Each has a definite function to perform in the future development of the organism, and yet we find that a fragment of this cylinder has the power to reproduce the other parts that are missing. The hypothesis of a part being able to produce a whole machine is manifestly contrary to the very idea of a machine.

With Dreisch are many other biologists who admit the autonomy of the vital phenomena, although it must be confessed that in some cases their ideas of the active vital principle are very obscure. It is, however, sufficient for our purpose if they admit the essential impossibility of any mechanical interpretation of life. Dreisch admits a principle of activity, but he does not consider the *forma* to be a determining substantial principle, so he does not hold the complete theory of Aristotle. Reinke considers the vital principle to be a 'general dominant' which seems to be quite distinct from the organism. Others imagine the existence in the cell of very complex bodies called 'biomolecules' in a state of irritability owing to a special kind of psychic energy in the molecules themselves. These 'biomolecules' are supposed to have some kind of rudimentary consciousness and will power. According to this theory there is not one vital principle in living organisms, but many. Its author, Schneider refused to admit the unity of the vital principle supposing that such a principle would be present just in those parts where it was required for any particular purpose. He sees clearly that the vital activity must be present in each part of the organism. Both he and Reinke imagine that the vital principle is something that is added to the body, presiding over its actions. Unless we admit and thoroughly grasp the true Aristotelian theory we shall be involved in obscurities of every kind, and shall never be able to give a satisfactory answer to the questions: Where is the seat of the vital principle, and where do new vital principles come from?

Before the animal was divided, the one vital principle was limited by the matter of the original animal: 'una anima in actu et unum esse sed multiplex in potentia

accidentali.¹ When division has taken place into two or more fragments, the original form has been multiplied by the division of the living matter that it before actualised. The same is to be said of the cases where isolated blastomeres are able to produce complete embryos. The collection of cells called a blastula is actualised by a vital principle which whilst being actually one, is potentially many, in the sense that when the blastomeres are separated from one another, each of them will possess a form specifically identical with the form of the original blastula. Thus, as long as the different cells form part of the blastula, they have a potentiality for becoming distinct individuals, actualised by a vital form of the same species as that of the blastula itself. Separation is all that is needed to reduce this potentiality to act.

The higher animals are distinguished from the lower by what is called a differentiation of parts, in other words, there is a great division of physiological work. Special organs are set apart for special duties, but they are mutually dependent on one another to a more or less degree. If the work of any important organ be interfered with, the rest will suffer and the whole organism will be upset. A separated organ may live for some time after removal, as happens when the heart is cut from the Frog. This is again explained by some authors as a simple division of the original form, but the heart will never regenerate a new Frog. Possibly such parts in the higher animals are unable to regenerate because they cannot sustain themselves until regeneration has taken place. Even in the lower animals fragments die sometimes, because the cut surface is so extensive that it cannot heal sufficiently fast. The Earthworm if cut lengthwise cannot regenerate its parts, and this is probably the reason why a very small piece of a worm dies when the cut is comparatively large in proportion to the size of the fragment. Others, however, explain the movements of the Frog's heart when separated from the body as brought

¹ St. Thomas, *De natura materiae*.

about by a lower *forma* specifically different from the vital principle of the Frog.

From a philosophical point of view, as well as from the scientific, it will be interesting, therefore, to follow the Neo-Vitalist movement in Biology. But only a careful study of the system of the old Greek philosopher will be able to give us a true conception of the vital principle in living organisms. After all, the theory of Aristotle is the simplest and is at the same time the only one which can explain satisfactorily all the phenomena of life.

CHARLES GELDERD, D.SC.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN FRANCE

THE year 1879, which witnessed the restriction of the rights of Catholic universities in France, may be said to have also marked the inauguration of a period of acute hostility to Catholic education on the part of the French Government. The war on religious education still continues; and separation between Church and State, which in France has proved to be as great a misnomer as the word 'liberty,' has but accentuated the animosity of the enemies of Christianity. Hence, it is no matter for surprise to find the Bishops of France continuing their protests against the wanton interference of the Government with the religious education of French children. On August 20, 1908, in all the churches of France was read a pastoral letter from the Hierarchy of France calling on parents and guardians of children to take action against the latest proposals of the Government in reference to the school question; reminding parents of their inalienable right to watch over and safeguard the religion of their children, which an infidel and irresponsible Government wishes to root out of the hearts of the rising generation; declaring that the rights of parents in regard to the education of their children are from God, and that interference therewith is an outrage on the child and the parent, and a disgrace to a State that boasts of its liberty.

A very brief review of recent French history will make the attitude assumed by the Bishops in their latest pastoral abundantly clear, and will show that their note of alarm about the future of religion and even the temporal welfare of France is well founded.

The legislation which in recent times most directly affected the primary schools of France, that is, schools which would bear general comparison with the National schools of Ireland, dates from 1882. By the law of March 28, 1882, compulsory education of children was insisted on ;

moreover, by the terms of the law, the school of the Commune lost its denominational character, and was to be strictly non-religious in its teaching. By this latter enactment it was not meant that the school teachers were to be militantly anti-religious; they were simply to avoid the subject of religion as one outside their special sphere. The father of the family might elect one of three ways of having his child educated: he might have him taught at home, or in a private school, or in the school of the Commune to which he belonged. Only in the event of his not adopting either of the former methods, was he obliged to send his child to the Government school.

The Government intended by this law to introduce compulsory education. Their scheme, however, proved an utter failure. Despite the law, the will of the people prevailed, and in those places where at certain times labour is in great demand, even such labour as children may be engaged in, the people simply brought away their children to the fields and vineyards, and apparently cared very little whether they grew up illiterate or equipped with such education as the State afforded. People nowadays speak much of the blind obedience of French people to the law, and it is often said that this characteristic of the French accounts for the progress of anti-clericalism and infidelity. Yet here is a scheme that the will of the people rendered in many places absolutely nugatory. On January 24, 1907, M. Briand, Minister of Education, informed the Chamber of Deputies that the law of 1882 had been, on the whole, a failure; that the School Commissions appointed to inquire into school attendance and punish neglect thereof, either did not really come into existence—14,000 were actually appointed, whereas 36,000 were required—or did not properly discharge their duties. And school banks, which were to assist parents and children of the poor, were found to have been unworkable from want of State-aid. Hence, badly as the *Congréganistes* were supposed to have managed their schools, it had to be admitted, even by M. Briand, that the State schools left much to be desired in regard to their general working and efficiency. In 1904,

Inspector-General Cazes could assert from carefully gathered statistics that of all the children subject to compulsory school attendance, from five to ten per cent. never entered any kind of school; five per cent. were regular scholars, and the remainder could at best be classed as intermittent scholars. Two revisions made in 1902 showed that in some departments the children not receiving any education amounted to forty-five per cent.; this was made in the summer season; during the winter, which is the time school is most frequented in France, the same departments showed a failure in school attendance amounting to sixteen per cent. As school attendance ceases to be compulsory at ten and a-half or eleven years of age, it can easily be imagined what result was to be expected from such a short and interrupted period of education. M. Briand candidly admitted that from twenty-five to thirty per cent. of French people must be relegated to the class of the illiterate. Apparently things have not been improving in recent years, for the absence of elementary education in candidates for the army and minor Governmental posts has been found so great that the present Minister of Education, M. Doumergue, has ordered a special inquiry into the extent and causes of illiteracy in France.

The law of 1882 had allowed the erection of 'free schools'; that is schools such as those conducted by many religious communities, which were absolutely without any State-aid and were supported by the funds of the community, and often maintained by the munificence of some wealthy person in the neighbourhood who was a benefactor to the community. Large numbers of these schools existed through France; in the year 1887, five years from the passing of the law, 1,123,613 children were attending such 'free schools' as these, taught by the Christian Brothers, and various religious sisterhoods; in 1905 the number of children in such schools reached 1,600,000, or about fifty-four per cent. of the school children of France. There is question here only of the children of the poorer classes, for whom any form of education besides that given in a free school, or a Government school, would be impossible. The

education given in such free schools included a solid religious training, and such schools were well known to have influenced elections, as those educated in them had religion and common sense enough to make a stand against the violent measures of the socialists. Alongside the free school, however, was the Government school, the godless character of which sent forth a generation far more extensive in numbers and absolutely without conscientious scruple, the very material which an extreme socialist might expect to work upon, for the development of his plans. The avowedly neutral school of 1882 gradually ceased to be neutral, and became every year more and more hostile to religion, and so more under the sway of advancing socialism. A generation of teachers, both male and female, arose, who were openly recognized as inimical to Christianity, and indeed to any definite form of religious belief. The increased anti-clerical tendency of the Government gave courage to this generation of trainers of youth; and moreover these latter were quick to perceive that their hopes of preferment were proportioned to the virulence of their anti-clerical bias.

Soon the school teachers' journals began to manifest sentiments that left no doubt as to their determined effort to eradicate from the minds of the children submitted to their care all belief in God. The days of neutrality are past, and now, and for some years past, the actual attitude of the school is one of open hostility to all forms of belief, and implies the absolute rejection of any reference to the supernatural. The campaign against religion is more active in the country parts than in large towns or cities. For in the cities the teachers are generally *hommes arrivés*, that is, men who have got to the top rung of the ladder of promotion, and who in consequence have no longer anything to gain by attacking religion. In the village, where the school teacher is in league with that little village tyrant, the French mayor, or some paid agent where a mayor does not exist, the school is a nursery of anti-clericalism. It is the teacher's interest to think with the mayor, and that of the mayor to obey blindly the prefect, and that of all of

them to be virulent anti-clericals if they wish to get on. Hence the State has a very active and willing agent in the teacher for its irreligious propaganda. 'There is not a village, not even a hamlet, in which the school teacher does not teach the child at least by his silence, that religion is an idle thing, when he does not go further and insinuate in presence of his pupils that religion is an unreasonable thing and positively hurtful, and that therefore its representatives merit neither respect nor confidence.'¹ The results of this teaching are evident in the enormous increase of criminals, amongst the youth especially. The statistics of youthful criminals in 1882 reached a maximum of 16,000 per year; in the year 1892 the maximum was 41,000; since that time things have not improved. In fact it may be said that the amazing figures given year by year of youthful criminality in France has become almost a tiresome jeremiad of the papers, which everyone passes by as not worth reading. Nor is it the conservative journals such as the *Temps*, the *Gaulois*, and the *Figaro* that exclaim against the growing decadence of all law and order amongst the youth of the country; even the anti-clerical papers such as the *Radical* are emphatic on the point. If the *Temps* speaks of 'criminality increasing in terrifying proportions,' the *Radical* points to the insubordination of children in the family of the poor as well as the rich; of the family being absolutely at the command of the child; of the child's will becoming atrophied because it is so little opposed, and of all these symptoms as most ominous and dangerous to the very existence of a well-ordered society. But where are we to seek for the source of this growing evil? Is it not in the infidel school?

The State is already reaping the fruit of anti-clericalism, and yet persecution continues, and the people are still apathetic. But in other ways, too, is the country reaping a baneful harvest.

The intellect of France is drifting more and more towards professionalism, and in great measure towards the

¹ Lesêtre, *La Paroisse*. Paris: Lecoffre, 1907.

teaching profession. The army which was once the pride of France is becoming every day more and more a subject of loathing to the average Frenchman. One of the largest tableaux in a recent Paris *Salon* was an elaborate idealization of the anti-militarist spirit now so common in the country. One of the questions put to all conscripts entering the arm is the following : ‘ “ Do you know what happened in 1870, and 1871 ? ” Only three or four per cent. are able to answer ! Such ignorance is intended and it is systematic. . . . To-day the French State teacher endeavours to quench in the hearts of children entrusted to him all military all warlike sentiments, outside which the patriotic sentiment is but an empty word.’¹

These tendencies, which avowedly make for decay of national spirit, synchronize with the spread of socialist ideals amongst the teachers. The school teachers of France are no mere theorists. Not only have they formed clubs and teachers’ unions in different departments, but they have centralized their schemes by the formation of a general teachers’ organization, and this they have lately united with the great socialist organization, the *Confédération générale du Travail*. It is well known that this latter has endorsed very publicly some really dangerous strikes. The teachers declare that their object is associating themselves with this great organization is simply to be able to carry out a strike among members of their own profession when such is required. The Minister’s prohibition as to their union with the *Confédération du Travail* has been treated with more or less scorn by the teachers, as they feel themselves too numerous and too strong to fear any Governmental regulation. What is to be thought of, or expected from teachers of youth, men and women, who have the sacred office entrusted to them of bringing up the youth of a country, and in large measure of making or marring the destinies of France, who express themselves thus : ‘ Yesterday we had God for our master, to-day we have the State ; two personalities different indeed, but yet

¹ So M. de Lamarzelle, Senator for Morbihan, in *Gaulois*, August, 1908.

alike in this, that they wish to mould the human intelligence in the same manner, and to imprint upon it the infamous stamp of self-annihilation, self-abnegation, and slavery.' So says the *Voix des Primaires*, one of the most widely circulated of teachers' journals in France. The State, these teachers declare, is incapable of treating with them on educational matters; the State gives the opinion in vogue for the moment with the ruling classes; while the real instructor in the school is 'Truth'; truth, be it remembered, as it exists in the heads and on the lips of teachers such as advocate violent views like those given above.

Now, at the present moment it may be said that the youth of France is committed definitely and hopelessly to such infidel training as the Government school offers. The dissolution of unauthorized Congregations in 1901, and the prohibiting in 1904 of such Congregations as were authorized to exist in France to do any work in the way of teaching or maintaining free schools, set aside a whole army of Catholic teachers, and closed an immense number of schools, with the result that about a million or more of the children of the poor were driven to the Government school as their sole means of education. No doubt many from the ranks of the religious brotherhoods and sisterhoods remained in France, and assuming secular dress strove to carry on the work of teaching. Here and there, too, excellent men and women are to be found amongst the lay teachers of the Government schools. The picture is not wholly dark, but certainly the shadows are very heavy and largely prevail.

In order to make some stand against the corruption of the school, and to stem somewhat the torrent of infidelity for which the teachers in great measure, and the school-books in no small degree, are accountable, a society of *pères de famille* was started last year in Paris, mainly at the suggestion and by the warm support of the eloquent deputy and *littérateur*, Maurice Barrés. M. de Lamarzelle, Senator for Morbihan, writing in the *Gaulois*, explains clearly that the league of parents is for no purposes of political party action, but to defend the country against

vicious teachers. He then gives a description of the *mauvais instituteurs* :—

Whenever a teacher permits himself to tear up the Catechism, runs down the priest, or openly mocks at religious belief, uses filthy language, attacks the army, or ridicules the idea of the fatherland, such a one is an evil teacher against whom every father of a family has not only the right but is bound to protest and take action.

And that there are such teachers in the State schools, and that their number is legion, the Government has shown by undertaking to legislate in their interests alone :—

It is for such as these that the Government has tabled a Bill which removes them from the jurisdiction of the law courts by prohibiting any citizen henceforth to prosecute them. These are the teachers who are to be protected. Sufficient demonstration of this is afforded by what has happened in connexion with Morizot, who was condemned by the court of Dijon. This notorious teacher was, it is true, dismissed from his post ; but this was merely an external satisfaction given to public opinion. This *Hervéist* was subsequently reinstated ; he was transferred from the third to the second class, and his salary raised from 1,725 to 1,950 francs.

A number of dioceses have followed the example of the capital, and formed similar societies for the safe-guarding of the children.

The Government was quick in the field with a new measure more stringent and drastic than any preceding one. The new law was proposed to the Chamber of Deputies on June 25 and 30, 1908. First, penalties are enacted against parents or guardians, or any responsible person, who wholly or partially prevents a child from frequenting the school of the Commune to which the child belongs, or from using the books prescribed by the authorities of such a school. The second clause takes away the right of parents or guardians to complain of the action of school teachers, and the right of parents to seek redress of grievances, in regard to their children, from the Prefect of the Department. The Minister, in introducing this measure, declares that the motives for it are to be found in the conduct of

both parents and priests with regard to the education of children. Against '*these two enemies of the child*' the Government takes both teachers and school-books under its special protection. The books in use are to be such only as inculcate the 'broadest liberalism and tolerance founded on reason and free research.' A fine sounding formula surely, but which in its working means active warfare on Christianity. So strict are the Government inspectors in regard to the books that the smallest words even that would suggest a religious idea, or remind the child of God, or of another world, are carefully replaced by others less suggestive. Thus, in a small book still retained for its literary excellence, the word 'church' is replaced by 'museum' or 'hall,' the word 'crucifix' by 'emblem,' etc.

The measures taken by the clergy and parents to withstand this wholesale destruction of religion are not exactly what we should call ideal ; they are naturally subject to the imperfections of the difficult times through which France is passing. But still they remind parents of their duty, and lay bare the pit-falls so speciously prepared by the socialists. The greatest difficulty about such regulation and plans of a Catholic association in modern France is that of making its programme known and felt by the people who want it most. In some provinces there are immense areas where it may be said religious indifference reigns ; the people never go to church ; they never read a decent newspaper ; if they read a paper at all the socialists are sure to have them supplied with an anti-clerical journal ; they send their children to the church to be baptized, and later on to prepare for and receive their first Holy Communion ; then, as a rule, religion is finished. They may go to the church for the celebration of a marriage, or the funeral of a friend, but they are not so careful about these latter functions. The children act as the parents, and remain far from any contact with religion or its representatives.

Hence a bishop's pastoral means practically nothing to such people. The French *curés* who know something of the provinces are clear on this point, and look forward to whole tracts of the country becoming actually as pagan as

they were in the time of St. Martin,¹ or rather more so, for to the vices of paganism those of civilization shall have been added. Side by side with this indifference must be noticed the enormous influence for evil of what is called in France the *fonctionnaire*, the Government servant. France is the land of officialdom. Nearly a million, actually over 900,000, *fonctionnaire*, are to-day in the Government service ; now all these, as well as their connexions, *must* support the Government school. France presents a network of sycophants who are working on the human respect of the people, spreading terror or exciting hopes, as they expatiate on the penalties threatened by the law or the prospect of a Government job, and so the extensive machine is worked and the behests of the Government carried out. Hence the saying that 'God made the country and man made the town' is almost reversed in modern France ; for while there is good hope of religious progress in the city, the country parts, mainly owing to influences mentioned above, are rapidly returning to paganism. It is an awful lesson that France is giving the world, that, namely, of socialism working out its most destructive principles. The child is claimed by the State as its possession, fashioned according to a socialist ideal, robbed of all sense of religious or moral responsibility, and then sent adrift to take its just revenge on those to whom it owes its training, by the warm advocacy of anarchy. The home, the first and greatest of all educators, is despised ; and for it is substituted the school of the Commune, wherein the 'social virtues,' 'the religion of duty,' 'the principles of free thought,' form the groundwork of infidelity and immorality. If other countries are to learn anything from this sad picture, it is surely this, that the safeguarding of the Christian home and the Christian school is the most imperative duty of the hour.

J. E. N.

¹ See Lesêtre, *La Paroisse*, p. 253.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

ACTING AS MINISTER AND SPONSOR IN THE SAME BAPTISM. MASS 'PRO POPULO' ON RETRENCHED HOLIDAYS. HEARING OF TWO OR MORE MASSES AT THE SAME TIME. CASE OF RESERVATION.

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly give a reply to the following questions in the I. E. RECORD ?

1. A priest wishes to baptize a child and also to act as the child's sponsor. Can he do so ?

2. According to the Maynooth Statutes, page 103, n. 284, a parish priest is bound to celebrate Mass *pro populo* on retrenched Holidays unless he obtains a dispensation from his bishop. Is there any obligation to celebrate this Mass in the parochial church ?

3. Can a person hear two or more Masses at the same time, and gain benefit from each Mass ? Can he thereby fulfil several obligations of hearing separate and distinct Masses ?

4. Can a bishop validly reserve to himself cases of his subjects who are completely ignorant of the episcopal reservation ? Considering that there is a controversy as to whether ignorance excuses from episcopal reservation and seeing also that bishops have no power to settle questions controverted amongst theologians, does it not follow that a bishop cannot validly reserve such cases to himself ?

INQUIRER.

1. There is nothing to prevent a priest from being at the same time the minister of baptism and a sponsor of the baptized child, but he must act as sponsor by means of a procurator whom he duly appoints to take his place. This view was held by the Sacred Congregation of Rites in regard to Confirmation in reply to the following question :
'Utrum in administratione Sacramenti Confirmationis episcopus possit ministri et patrini partes uno eodemque

tempore sustinere?' R. 'Episcopus confirmans in casu officium patrini gerat per procuratorem.'¹

2. There seems to be no obligation to celebrate the Mass *pro populo* in the parochial church on retrenched Holidays. On Sundays and Holidays an obligation of celebrating the Mass *pro populo* in the parochial church is imposed on the parish priest in order that the people might have an opportunity of fulfilling their obligation of hearing Mass, and also in order that they might receive instruction in the word of God. Hence it is that if a parish priest be legitimately absent from his parish on a Sunday or Holiday he can lawfully celebrate the Mass *pro populo* where he happens to be, if another priest celebrates Mass in the parochial church and instructs the people. Thus the Sacred Congregation of the Council, December 14, 1872, declared: 'Parochum die festo a sua paroecia legitime absentem satisfacere suae obligationi missam applicando pro populo suo in loco ubi degit, dummodo ad necessariam populi commoditatem alius sacerdos in ecclesia parochiali celebret et verbum Dei explicet.'

Now, on retrenched Holidays the people are in no way bound to hear Mass, and the parish priest is not bound to preach the word of God; it follows that on these days he is not bound to celebrate the Mass *pro populo* in the parochial church.

This conclusion is confirmed by the Maynooth Statutes²: 'Parochus Missam in ecclesia parochiali, vel alia ecclesia paroeciae suae, nisi legitime impeditus sit, diebus Dominicis et festivis de praecepto, celebrare tenetur; aliter muneri suo non satisfacit.' By mentioning only Sundays and Holidays of obligation in this context, the Synodal Fathers seem to have intimated their belief that in this country there is no obligation of any kind on parish priests to celebrate Mass in the parochial church on retrenched Holidays. This belief of the Synodal Fathers is strengthened by the practice of parish priests in Ireland who do not, as far as I am aware, consider themselves bound to celebrate the Mass *pro populo* in the parochial church except on Sundays and Holidays of obligation.

¹ June 16, 1873.

² p. 102, n. 282.

3. So long as a person can attend to what is going on at the different altars at which Masses are celebrated, he can assist with spiritual benefit at the different Masses, so that there is nothing to prevent people from acting in the way suggested in the first part of the question.

The second part of the question is more difficult. If the superior, imposing an obligation of hearing two or more Masses, signified his intention that these Masses should be heard at different times, or, again, if he declared that the different Masses could be heard at the same time, the difficulty would cease at once. But it usually happens that no such indication of the mind of the legislator is given, and we are consequently able to come to any decision only by an examination into circumstances which would give some clue to the intention of the law-maker. Seeing that the circumstance of time is, as a rule, only accidental to the obligation imposed by the law, the conclusion seems reasonable that by assisting at the same time at different Masses a person can fulfil obligations of hearing different Masses except in an individual case there be some peculiar circumstance which would manifest the contrary intention of the legislator. This opinion is held by Sanchez and Ledesma. While not denying safe probability to this view, Cardinal Gennari¹ considers the opinion more probable, which maintains that obligations of hearing different Masses cannot be fulfilled by assisting at two or more Masses at the same time, since separate obligations require separate acts to be performed on different occasions. This reason, however, seems to be a *petitio principii*, because the question under discussion really is whether different obligations do require different acts to be performed at different times.

4. I cannot agree with the conclusion drawn by my correspondent, because there is question here of jurisdiction which comes from the Bishop and which he can withdraw validly when he pleases. In confirmation of this it will be sufficient, perhaps, to quote Bucceroni²: 'Et certe

¹ *Quistioni Teologico-Morali*, p. 615.
Moralis, ii., n. 796.

² *Institutiones Theologiae*

nulla admittenda excusatio, si expliciter legislator declaret, velle se in reservatione comprehendere, et pueros, et metu patientes, et *ignorantes*.'

J. M. HARTY.

CANON LAW

WHEN TESTIMONIAL LETTERS AVAILABLE FOR ORDINATION ARE REQUIRED

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have seen conflicting statements as to some canonical points regarding the concession of testimonial letters in connexion with the conferring of Orders. Will you be kind enough to let me know your views about them, and the true or more reliable opinion to be followed in practice? The questions are the following:—

1. How long must a person remain outside his own diocese in order to require testimonial letters from Ordinaries of the places where he has temporarily stayed?

2. What is the age after which a person, who leaves his native place, requires testimonial letters from the Bishop of origin?

3. Can Vicars-General grant testimonial letters to those who are going to be raised to Holy Orders?

RECTOR.

1. As to the first question, the Bull *Apostolicæ Sedis*, referring to the time that a person must spend in a strange diocese in order to require testimonial letters before ordination, merely states, '*Qui alibi tanto tempore moratus sit*,' etc., but it does not specify that length of time in particular. Canonists, however, agree in the first place, to the doctrine that such a time must be notable, and sufficiently long to contain the possibility that during that period some canonical impediment might be contracted; taking the term 'possibility' in the juridical, rather than in its strict philosophical sense, and according to what usually happens in the matter of contracting impediments in a new place. In the second place, they have also specified that period of time in particular. Of course all, without any exception, because it has already

been decided,¹ state that in the case of those who have been engaged in military service testimonial letters are required from the Ordinary of the place where during service they resided at least for three months ; but in other and ordinary cases nearly all, both theological and canonical authorities maintain that six months must be fixed as the time after which a person who has lived outside his own diocese requires testimonial letters before ordination, applying to this matter the rule already in use for marriage where a document testifying to the free state of the parties is necessary only in the case when they have lived for that length of time outside their own territory.² This is also the practice all the world over, and even of the Roman Curia. Moreover, the fact that at the present time, all Ordinaries insist on requiring new testimonial letters if a candidate for orders, being outside his diocese, failed to be ordained within six months, tends to show that such a period of time is, according to the common opinion, the notable time in which impediments may be contracted, and after which testimonial letters for ordination are required.

A few years ago, however, this common opinion received an authoritative, though somewhat indirect confirmation from the Congregation of the Council in a decree in which it was decided that, according to different cases, the three or six months after which testimonial letters are required must be morally continuous. This decree enacts :—

Ordinarium non teneri sub poena suspensionis ad testimoniales acquirendas nisi agatur de *trimestri vel semestri* moraliter continuis ; salvo iure Episcopi inquirendi super idoneitate promovendi et testimoniales exigendi pro minori vel discontinua commoratione, aut exigendi iuramentum suppletorium si in Domino necessarium censuerit.³

¹ S.C.C., 27 Nov., 1892; 9 Sept., 1893.

² Scavini, *Thael. Mor.*, Univ. iii., tract i., disp. i, c. 3, not. 3, says : "Tempus autem commorationis in aliena dioecesi ut necessariae sint testimoniales illius Episcopi solet determinari ad sex menses ut in matrimoniis pro statu libero." Also Santi-Leitner i., tit. xi., app. n. 5 ; D'Annibale in *Const. Apost. Sedis*, n. 147 ; Gasparri, *De S. Ordin.* ii., 730 ; Pennacchi in *Const. Apost. Sedis* ii., p. 381 ; Lucidi i., p. 164 ; Many, *De S. Ordin.*, n. 122, etc.

³ S.C.C. 25 Jun., 1904.

Three or six months are called morally continuous if they are spent in the same place with the interruption of a few days or even a week. In practical cases, however, the decision as to the continuity of that time is left, as a rule, to the bishop, who may, if he wishes, ask those letters even for a shorter period of time, and for a discontinuous habitation.¹

2. But what is exactly the age in which a person, who remains for six months outside his own diocese or leaves the place of origin, requires testimonials before ordination? In the Bull *Speculatores*, it is only stated that such an age is that in which a person might contract an impediment: 'Si quis tamen e propriae originis loco in ea aetate discesserit qua potuerit alicui canonico impedimento obnoxius effici.'

In explaining the Bull, Canonists are unanimous in holding that testimonial letters are not wanted by those who left their native place before reaching the canonical age of discretion, as children before reaching the use of reason cannot contract irregularities or other impediments. Nor need they, at that age, obtain any testimony for their life and morals; while that for their birth and age may be afforded by the certificate of Baptism; especially if it is to be authenticated by the diocesan superior. Whether the same doctrine can be applied to the case of those who relinquished their birth-place after reaching the use of reason but before the age of puberty is as yet a disputed question. A few Canonists hold the negative opinion on the ground that boys before the age of puberty cannot incur censures and contract irregularities *ex delicto*; while the majority of both old and recent authorities on Canon Law maintain that testimonial letters are of necessity for the ordination of those who left their native place or remained outside their own diocese for six months after the age of discretion, and before that of puberty, unless a custom to the contrary

¹ *Monit. Eccl.*, vol. xvi., p. 248, states: 'Moralmente continui vuol dire che i chierici devono almeno per un trimestre o per un semestre continuamente dimorare in qualche luogo determinato, salvo se la interruzione sia di pochi giorni o di qualche settimana.'

prevails in some places, as it, in fact, exists in Paris and some other dioceses. The reason is that, first of all, the practice of asking for testimonial letters after the age of discretion is more common and safer in practice. Moreover, the opinion that boys before puberty are liable to contract impediments is more probable than the opposite one. In fact, interpreters of the Decretals tell us that, according to the doctrine laid down in the title *De Judiciis puerorum* of the fifth book, boys of that age may be punished if committing a crime, hence they are capable of incurring penalties and censures. And we know for certain that at least some censures may be incurred by those who are under the age of puberty.¹ Finally, because not only for the detecting of impediments testimonial letters are necessary at that age, but also in order to bear witness to the birth, age, life and morals of the candidate for orders, according to the explicit prescription of the Bull *Speculatores*.

3. With regard to the question whether the power of granting testimonial letters available for the conferring of orders can be also attributed to Vicars-General we hold the opinion of those Canonists who answer in the affirmative; unless the powers of Vicars-General in that respect have been, in some places, restricted either by usage or episcopal reservation. Testimonial letters, in fact, can be validly conceded by Vicars-General in many other matters and cases not in connexion with the conferring of orders, and as to the latter case the Bulls *Apostolicæ Sedis* and *Speculatores* when dealing with the competent superiors for the concession of testimonials for ordination, invariably speak of Ordinaries; and it is well known that Vicars-General come under that appellation. We are aware, of course, that the opposite opinion is advocated by some Canonists in recent canonical works, but their view seems devoid of solid foundation. For proof they all rely on a decision

¹ Bull *Apost. Sedis*, n. ii., vi. The reason for that doctrine is assigned by Honorante. He writes: 'Quia pueri completa infantia sunt doli capaces ac omnes et singulas censuras tam a iure quam ab homine incurrere possunt, ut est Canonistarum communis mens et theologorum cum Suario. . . . Immo Navarrus addit quod irregularitas incurritur a pueris ante septennium si in ipsis malitia supplet ætatem,' c. i. not. 10.

of the Congregation of the Council, quoted by Gallemart,¹ and, perhaps, by Monacelli before him, and now adopted and followed by Canonists such as Gasparri, Lucidi, etc. But, first of all, that decree is not known to the majority of writers on canonical matters; and, in the second place, its authenticity is not warranted by the date of issue and the mention of the place for which it was enacted.

And if the circumstances and reasons for its enactment were stated, remarks Santi Leitner,² we might have known perhaps, that in such a particular case Vicars-General were forbidden to issue testimonial letters on account of the dimissorial letters which they were connected with. So that, concludes Many,³ 'Nullo modo certum est haec verba quae obiter profert Gallemart referre decisionem S. Congregationis potius quam opinionem ipsius Gallemart.'

CASE OF APPORTIONMENT OF REVENUES BETWEEN A NEW CURATE OF A PARISH AND HIS PREDECESSOR

REV. DEAR SIR,—I should feel deeply grateful to you for a solution of the following case:—

In a certain diocese mid-summer collections are held at different times in different parishes. In one of the parishes of that diocese mid-summer collection was made, as usual, and divided between the parish priest and the curates.

Now it happened that about a month before the collection was made in that parish one of the curates was transferred to another parish where this collection was already made and divided; and in his place there is sent another curate who has already received his share of the collection from the parish in which he was recently stationed.

I am anxious to know if this latter curate, under these circumstances, can receive and keep his share of the collection made after short time of his arrival in the new parish.

A PRIEST.

Seeing that the money collected in a parish or received by the clergy of a parish for their maintenance must be divided only between them, although according to the synodal disposition of each diocese, we are of opinion that

¹ In Conc. Trid., c. 8., sess. xx., *De Ref.*, p. 244.

² l.c. p. 157.

³ l.c. p. 320.

a curate who is removed to a new parish is entitled to his full share of the offerings which have been received from the moment of his arrival in this latter parish. The Maynooth Synod Statutes, under n. 339, decreed as follows :—

Iubemus ut Parochus et Vicarii librum communem bene compactum et apud Parochum retinendum habeant, in quo singuli accurate inscribant pecunias a se perceptas . . . utque singulis mensibus tempore fixo et ab Episcopo in scriptis constituto, partitione facta, iuxta Statuta Dioecesana, rationes in memorato libro accuratissime componant, easque sua quisque subscriptione muniat.

If any other individual would have any right to a portion of the revenues of a newly appointed curate of a parish, he would be only his predecessor who, as unfortunately has happened in our case, has relinquished that parish before the making of the usual collection, and who was removed to his present parish where the collection has been already made, and divided in the usual way. But it is well known that a curate who has been removed to another parish of the diocese here in Ireland has no claim to any portion of the *oblata* which have been received in his former parish from the moment of his departure ; consequently the other general rule remains that money collected or received by and for the priests of a parish must be divided between the parish priest and his curates. In fact the Maynooth Synod decrees, n. 340, enact thus : ‘ Quandocunque sacerdos ex una in alteram paroeciam fuerit translatus aut quomodo libet amotus, *nullum ius* habebit percipiendi stipendii a populo post suum discessum soluti, nisi aequum aliter Ordinario visum fuerit.’

However, as the strict application of these Statutes in some cases, such as those in which collections are held at different times in the parishes of the same diocese, may result in several inconveniences and produce effects not well in keeping with fairness and equity ; Ordinaries may give a dispensation from these laws and decide in particular cases, if a priest who has been removed to another parish is entitled to any portion of the money collected in his

former parish after his departure; and may bind, at the same time, his successor to give him that portion of offerings which seems fair under the circumstances to apportion to him. All this is clearly pointed out by the last words of the above quoted decree.

However, as these laws were made with the object of preventing possible abuses, they must be conscientiously observed in their fullness and strictness until a relaxation is made by competent authority. And as it is the Ordinary who has the exclusive right of dispensing from these laws and of settling particular cases according to the dictates of justice and equity, by a decision which would practically amount to a dispensation from the law; it seems to follow that, until such a dispensation or a decision to the contrary is made by the diocesan superior, a curate may *tuta conscientia* receive and keep his full share of the money collected from the moment of his arrival in a new parish, independently of the fact whether he has received or not his full portion of offerings in the parish from which he was removed.

We remark, in fine, that this case shows the necessity of holding the usual collections, at the same time in the parishes of the same diocese. This rule would eliminate almost all inconveniences which may arise and have arisen from the opposite method which is still adopted in some dioceses.

CHURCHES BELONGING TO REGULARS AND MIDNIGHT MASS AT CHRISTMAS

REV. DEAR SIR,—The Holy Father Pius X, by a Decree of the Holy Office dated August 1, 1907, was pleased to concede to all religious houses, seminaries, and similar pious institutions, where there is either a public or private oratory, and where the Blessed Sacrament is habitually preserved, that Midnight Mass or Masses may be celebrated there at Christmas and Holy Communion distributed to those present at Mass who want to partake of the Sacrament of the Altar.

Now I want to ask you two questions:—

1. What is meant by public oratory in opposition to a private one under the circumstances? Does it mean a church

officiated by religious bodies, which serves not only for the use of the members of the religious community, but also and principally for the use of the public ?

2. Regulars who enjoy the privilege of having in their public churches Midnight Mass at Christmas can, in virtue of the above mentioned decree, distribute there Holy Communion ?

As this month is drawing to its end I am afraid it is too late to have your reply published in the number of the I. E. RECORD for December. If that be the case, you will greatly oblige by letting me know, briefly and privately, your views about these questions before Christmas. Afterwards you will publish them if you think they will interest others. My name is not for publication.

M. M.

It may seem rather strange to answer a query about Midnight Mass at Christmas after this festival is, for this year, well nigh over. However, what our correspondent was afraid of happened. His letter reached us too late to have a reply to his questions inserted in the December number of the I. E. RECORD ; on the other hand, we thought it well to publish it even after Christmas as it may prove of some use in future and of interest to all concerned ; especially as there is a decree of the Holy Office just published which throws light on the point raised by our correspondent. This decree, which was issued on November 26, 1908, is of the following tenor :—

1. An indultum¹ importet facultatem tres missas, vel unam tantum pro rerum opportunitate celebrandi *etiam apertis oratoriorum ianuis* ?

2. An indultum *Oratoriis* concessum extendi possit ad *Ecclesias Religiosorum*, quae publico fidelis populi usui inserviunt ?

Ad 1^{um}. Negative.

Ad 2^{um}. Negative, salvo tamen religiosorum privilegio in media nocte missam celebrandi.

It seems clear from this response of the Holy Office that in the Indult of Pius X about Midnight Mass at Christmas the expression *public oratory* is used to indicate

¹ This is the Indult of August 1, 1907, quoted by our correspondent at the beginning of his query.

those Oratories belonging to religious institutions, which in the present discipline of the Church are, as a rule, called semi-public. These are the chapels which are provided principally for the use of the inmates of those religious houses, and in which strangers may fulfil the obligation of hearing Mass on Sundays and Holidays, if they are admitted into them by either explicit or implicit permission of the local authorities; as distinct from strictly private oratories in which only those who have obtained the indult may say or hear Mass, and fulfil the precept of the Church on days of obligation. Hence, in virtue of the Indult quoted above, Midnight Mass at Christmas cannot be celebrated in churches which belong or are attached to religious houses and pious institutions, and which were principally built and ordinarily serve for public use, save if Regulars or other religious bodies enjoy that privilege independently of the Indult conceded by Pius X.¹

As to the other question whether, in virtue of the decree of the Holy Office of 1907, the Blessed Sacrament can be distributed to those who want to go to Holy Communion at Christmas Midnight Mass in public churches where, by special permission or privilege the Holy Sacrifice can be celebrated at that time, we answer in the negative, save if these churches we are dealing with have obtained license for having both Midnight Mass and distribution of Holy Communion.

In the first place, the mere permission of celebrating Mass during the night at Christmas does not include the other of giving Holy Communion on that occasion; and the Holy See grants special permission for that purpose in addition to that required for the celebration of the Midnight Mass; a permission which is not so freely granted as that of the Mass, especially to some countries where people have the custom of taking a rather abundant repast on Christmas Eve late in the evening; there being thus a danger of

¹ In some parts of Italy regulars have turned public churches attached to their houses into semi-public oratories for the midnight functions at Christmas by admitting into them only persons furnished with personal tickets and by holding the ceremonies *clausis ianuis*.

exposing the Blessed Sacrament to acts of irreverence and profanation. On the other hand, in the Indult of Pius X the faculty of distributing Holy Communion was accorded only to those oratories to which, in that decree, the privilege was granted of the Midnight Mass at Christmas, as clearly appears from the context and plain wording of that document. Now, according to the last decision of the Holy Office which is quoted above and which interprets the Indult of 1907, the privilege of the Midnight Mass at Christmas was confined to semi-public oratories of religious institutions with the exclusion of their public churches; hence, in virtue of the Indult of 1907, only in the former and not in the latter churches, without special permission, Holy Communion can be distributed to the faithful who assist at the Midnight Mass at Christmas.

WHEN PROFESSION OF FAITH IS TO BE MADE BY CURATES

REV. DEAR SIR,—In reference to your reply in the May number of the I. E. RECORD, p. 526, as to the profession of faith to be made by curates in this country, I beg to ask you when, or in what occasion, that profession is to be made? Would it be lawful for curates to make it *immediately* after their appointment, and before beginning to exercise the functions of the sacred ministry in the place or parish assigned to them by the diocesan superior?

C. C.

This question, we believe, was suggested to our correspondent by the law of the Council of Trent,¹ which enacts that those who have been appointed to benefices, especially with care of souls, are bound to make profession of faith in a well-determined period of time, namely, within two calendar months from the date of instalment into their benefices. However, this prescription of the Council of Trent as regards the time of making profession of faith, cannot be applied to curates or other classes of persons who are not included in the disposition of the Tridentine law, and who are bound to make

¹ Conc. Trid. sess. xxiv., c. 12, *De Ref.*

profession of faith in virtue of local and particular statutes which do not fix any special time for the making of that profession. The reason is that the law of the Council of Trent already mentioned is penal in character, and of strict interpretation, and it would be against the rules of interpretation to extend it to persons and cases not expressly mentioned in the law.

On the other hand, the Statute of the Maynooth Synod, which lays down that rule for curates, while ordering them to make profession of faith after their first appointment, does not specify any time for the fulfilment of that obligation; hence it may be made any time which is deemed convenient after the appointment. As a rule, those who are not bound by any law to make profession of faith within a fixed time, are accustomed to make it either in the diocesan synod or on any other occasion which lends itself to that purpose; for instance, during episcopal visitation, in the diocesan conference, or, sometimes, at the beginning of the annual retreat.

At any rate, there is no doubt that profession of faith can be made by curates in this country even before beginning to exercise the functions of their ministry. All that the Maynooth Synod requires is that such a profession be made by curates after the first appointment to their missions: '*Cum primum nominantur ab Episcopo.*'¹ For the rest, the Congregation of the Council has recently declared that even those who are obliged by the Council of Trent to make profession of faith after taking possession of their benefices, may fulfil their obligation, and will not be bound to make it anew if they make it in the act of appointment and before being installed in their benefices, especially in places where a custom of that sort is already in existence. The decree is of the following tenor:—

Utrum Canonici et Parochi qui professionem fidei emisierunt in actu collationis, iterum illam emittere debeant infra duos menses a die adeptae possessionis, quando actus collationis et possessionis non sunt simultanei.

¹ Cf. *May. Syn. Decr.*, p. 49.

S.C.C. die 10 Nov., 1906, resp : Canonici et parochi qui fidei professionem emiserunt in actu collationis beneficii, non teneri aliam emittere infra duos menses a die adeptae possessionis.

The reason is, that the Council of Trent by laying down the rule that profession of faith is to be made within two months from the date of instalment into a benefice wanted only to fix the time beyond which the making of profession of faith would be unlawful. This, however, does not exclude the case of such a profession being made before the possession of a benefice and immediately after the appointment to it ; seeing especially that the obligation of making profession of faith is contracted by the incumbent of a benefice, not at the time he takes possession of it, but at the time of his appointment, when by canonical institution he acquires the title of his ecclesiastical office.

S. LUZIO.

LITURGY

FORM FOR COMMUNICATING THE SICK

IN the last issue of the I. E. RECORD¹ it was stated, in reply to a query about the proper form to be used when giving Communion to the sick not *per modum Viatici* but *ex devotione*, that the plural form should be employed. This opinion, which has hitherto been supported by the authority of most Liturgists, is no longer tenable, since a Decree has been recently issued by the Sacred Congregation of Rites declaring that 'Sacerdos infirmis Communionem distribuens semper dicere debet *Miscreatur tui*,' etc. ; 'sive infirmus accipiat Viaticum, sive communicet ex devotione aut ad implendum praeceptum Pascale.' Another portion of the same Decree adds : 'Infra Missam vero, si sacerdos in altari proximo penes infirmum celebret dicendum est *Miscreatur vestri*,' etc. This decision will be regarded as consonant with the fitness of things. For when Communion is given to the sick, of whatever condition they may happen to be, the prevailing assumption is that there is only

¹ Dec., 1908, p. 652.

an isolated case, and therefore the Ritual prescribes the singular form—a frequent exception might be where the Blessed Sacrament is administered in an institution or hospital. On the other hand, when Communion is given *infra Missam* it is supposed that there is a great crowd of recipients, and since the Liturgical Law has to consider general contingencies it wisely orders the use of the plural form in these cases, even though *per accidens* there might happen to be on an occasion only a single individual.

At all events, this decision has now made quite clear a matter in regard to which a good deal of doubt formerly existed.

RECITATION OF THE 'ANGELUS'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you approve of the practice of saying the *Angelus* only as far as the Verse, when it is said at the sound of the bell, as that is all that is necessary for gaining the Indulgence, or would you recommend the faithful to add the verse and prayer at all times?

When the *Angelus* is said publicly in the church after High Mass on Sundays, *at the sound of the bell*, would it be preferable to omit the verse and prayer, lest the faithful might think they were necessary for gaining the Indulgence?

By a Brief entitled *Injunctae nobis* and issued by Benedict XIII, in September, 1724, two indulgences were granted to this Devotion viz.: a plenary indulgence, to be gained once a month on the usual conditions, by those who were in the habit of reciting each day either in the morning, at noon, or evening, the *Angelus*, etc., and the three *Hail Marys*, and a *partial* indulgence to be gained on each occasion the above prayers were said. For these indulgences the verse and *oratio* were not necessary, but the prescribed prayers should be said at the sound of the *Angelus* bell and on bended knees. Further, it was understood that the *Regina* might be substituted for the *Angelus* during Pascal time. A few years later the same Pontiff introduced a modification by which persons leading a Community life could, if engaged at some exercise or duty when the *Angelus* bell sounded, gain the indulgences by saying the

prayers as soon as they were free to do so. Benedict XIV confirmed the indulgences enacting at the same time that the *Angelus* was to be recited standing from the first to the second Vespers of Sundays. In 1781 Pius VI extended these same indulgences to those places in which the *Angelus* bells were not rung, provided that the faithful said the usual prayers at the customary times. Finally, the late Sovereign Pontiff, by a Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, dated April 3, 1884, granted the same privileges to all those who are prevented by a legitimate impediment from saying the prayers either on their knees or at the sound of the bell, if only they recite in the morning, at noon, or in the evening, the *Angelus*, etc., and the three *Aves*, together with the verse *Ora pro nobis*, etc., and the *Oratio*, *Gratiam tuam*, etc., the *Regina* being said during Pascal Time. It was decided also by a Decree of the Congregation of Indulgences (May 20, 1896), that the *Angelus* should be said *standing* at mid-day on the Saturdays of Lent, and that at mid-day on the Saturday before Trinity Sunday it was the *Regina* that should be said. From these authentic declarations it will be seen that those who say the *Angelus* at the sound of the bell and on bended knees need not add the verse *Ora pro nobis*, nor the *Oratio*. At the same time it seems to be the general custom to add these when the *Angelus* is recited publicly, and no misconception can arise from following this practice if a word of explanation be made in season pointing out what exactly is sufficient for purposes of the indulgences.¹

FUNERAL SERVICE ON THE MORE SOLEMN FEASTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—In your valuable review of June, 1907, you answered very satisfactorily, a question which I submitted regarding Exequial Masses. You called attention to the fact that the word *exsequiae* is used to cover several distinct functions, and that some of these may be performed without the others

Allow me to call your attention to the following Decrees of

¹ Beringer, *Les Indulgences*, i., p. 253.

the S. Congregation of Rites, in regard to Absolutions at funerals :—

‘Decreto S. R. Congr., n. 3570, Corduben. datum die 27 Januarii 1883 ad I. statutum est :

‘Exsequias pro defuncto, cum effertur corpus, non posse expleri in Ecclesia diebus solemnioribus primae classis, et hujusmodi funera transferenda usque ad sequentem diem, aut saltem ad horas post meridianas post diei festi Vesperas et sacris functionibus non impeditas, abstinenio tamen ab emortuali aeris campani sonitu.

‘Et subsequenti Decreto pariter S. R. Congr. n. 3946 in una Illerden. datum die 15 Januarii 1897 declaratum est non posse tolerari consuetudinum vigentem pulsandi campanas pro funeribus defunctorum, quando locum habent in festis solemnioribus, et servanda Decreta, praesertim illud in una Corduben. diei 27 Januarii 1883.

‘Ad I. hinc quaeritur I. Quae dies nominatim per annum. incipiendo a primis Vesperis festi, et usque ad totum insequentem diem, in supradicto Decreto Corduben. comprehendi censeantur, II. Utrum aliqua exceptio, pro rerum adjunctis, ab hac regula dari possit, iis praesertim in casibus, ubi necessitas moralis funere ecclesiastica cum aliqua solemnitate peragendi se proderet, et ad quae ista exceptio semet extendat.

‘Et S. R. Congr. rescribendum censuit : Ad I. Omnia festa, quae juxta § 1. Catalogi Festorum a S. R. C. die 22 Augusti 1893 cum Decreto Generali n. 3810 publicati, ubi festa primaria sunt qua sub ritu duplici primae classis et quidem de praecepto celebranda ; et si non sint de praecepto, illae Dominicae ad quas praefatorum festorum solemnita transfertur.

‘Ad II. Negative, et Revmus. Episcopus pro sua prudentia provideat, ut praescripta Ritualis Romaniet Decreta S. R. Congr. observentur. Die 8 Januarii 1904.’

In view of the above decisions do you think funeral services might be allowed at any time after noon on solemn festivals, provided there are no afternoon services in the church, the Vespers taking place in the evening ?

Would you kindly also make some observations on this very practical matter, and give some recommendations that would be useful for pastors in large parishes, where it is often difficult to postpone funerals.

SACERDOS.

The Decrees quoted emphasize the following points :
(a) That no Funeral or Exequial office of any kind can be

held—at all events before Second Vespers—in churches on those days that are expressly mentioned; (b) that the tolling of the funeral bell is not allowed during any part of these days; (c) that, after the Vespers of the Feast, some sort of an Exequial service is permitted when the interment cannot be postponed till the following day. Now, it is asked what kind of rite may be employed when, on a Solemn Festival or on a Sunday to which the solemnity is transferred, it is necessary to carry out an interment? This question was put to the Congregation of Rites in June, 1899, in these words: ‘Quando in aliquo ex Festis Solemnioribus, . . . alicujus obitus occurrit, servari ne potest consuetudo, ubi viget, deferrendi cadaver ad Ecclesiam post expletas Vesperes, illudque aspergendi dicendique preces in Rituali Romano praescriptas?’ The answer was ‘Affirmative.’

It is, therefore, lawful, wherever the custom exists, to bring the remains to the church after Vespers on one of these solemn Festivals, to sprinkle the coffin with Holy Water, and to read the prayers prescribed in the Ritual for the occasion. Should there be no vespers or any other service in the afternoon the same ceremony may be carried out, provided only there is custom to this effect for the Decree clearly requires such. This seems to be the limit of what is allowed by the Liturgy in these circumstances, and is the only course that can be recommended in due conformity with the spirit of the Decrees which have been under examination.

P. MORRISROE.

DOCUMENTS

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS PIUS X TO CARDINAL VINCENT
VANNUTELLI

VENERABILI FRATRI NOSTRO
VINCENTIO S. R. E. CARD. VANNUTELLI
EPISCOPO PRAEESTINO

PIUS PP. X.

Venerabilis Frater Noster, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem,

E solemnibus catholicorum conventibus, qui quotannis in honorem Sanctissimae Eucharistiae haberi solent, insignis admodum is fore videtur, quem nosti indictum esse Londinium in Septembrem proximum; idque tum frequentia et dignitate coeuntium, tum caeremoniarum splendore ac celebritate. Nam, curantibus praesertim Venerabilibus Fratribus, Francisco Archiepiscopo Westmonasteriensi, qui rei apparandae summa cum diligentia praeest, ac Thoma, Episcopo Namurcensi, praefecto generalis Consilii coetibus Eucharisticis agendis, audimus in eum conventum mirifice commota esse studia piorum; conventuros undique lectissimos cuiusvis ordinis viros; in ipsa autem luce amplissimae florentissimaeque urbis magnas factum iri significationes pietatis publicae. Quam iucunda Nobis haec accidant, facile existimabit, quisquis permagni referre intelligit; ut vigeat in populo christiano quotidieque crescat amor, cultus atque usus divinae Eucharistiae. Hic adeo fons est, unde per totum Ecclesiae corpus supernaturalis vitae spiritus diffunditur; hoc vinculum, quo eiusdem membra corporis arctissime coalescunt. Etenim, quum in augusto Sacramento, licet mystice latens, vere tamen praesens et vivus adsit inter nos usque in finem saeculorum dulcis Redemptor noster, inde potissimum divinae caritatis flammam concipimus; in ipso spes omnes nituntur nostrae; ipsum nobis omnibus unum idemque est quasi centrum Fidei; quemadmodum ratio huius Sacramenti conficiendi, quae sacerdotibus omnibus catholicis in magna rituum varietate communis est, regiminis disciplinaeque nostrae aperte indicat unitatem. Porro Eucharistiam veneramus non solum ut Sacramentorum maximum sed etiam ut quod religioni necessario inhaeret, atque adeo divini cultus caput est, ut sacrificium scilicet. Est enim ipsa sacri-

ficium Novi Testamenti, Ecclesiaeque Christi proprium variis iam antiquorum patrum hostiis, praecipue sacerdotis Melchisedech, adumbratum, oraculo autem Malachiae non dubie promissum. Quo quidem Sacrificium, quod semel in ara Crucis oblatum est, illud ipsum incruente sine ulla intermissione in stauratur per omnem orbem terrarum, ubicumque ad altare congregantur oves Christi, ut, quod maiores et in veteri Lege et in nova perpetuo consueverunt, rite omnipotenti Deo debitam gratiam laudemque persolvant, eumque placatum sibi reddant et propitium. Non igitur inveniri potest res ulla dignior, quae animos hominum religiosorum studio inflammet, ut apud christianos magis ac magis in honore sit.

Recte autem placuit, ut conventus iste in urbe principe celebretur eius Imperii, cuius non ultima laus est aequam omnibus civibus ministrare libertatem, et cuius auctoritati ac legibus tam multa catholicorum centena millia fideliter ex officii conscientia parent. Iam vero Nos, quod alias in simili causa fecimus, non modo id consilii vehementer probamus, verum etiam in partem rei perlibenter venimus: quare, ut personam Nostram in conventu Eucharistico Westmonasteriensi ipse geras, Legatum Nostrum his te litteris renunciamus. Aderit ubertate gratiae suae consiliantibus divinus Ecclesiae Auctor, cuius unice agitur gloria; interim Nos auspicem Eius munerum, eandemque benevolentiae Nostrae peculiaris testem, tibi, Venerabilis Frater Noster, universisque et singulis, qui conventuri sunt, Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XXVIII Augusti, in festo Sancti Augustini, Ecclesiae Doctoris, anno MCMVIII, Pontificatus Nostri sexto.

POPE PIUS X CONGRATULATES THE CANADIANS

EPISTOLA

QUA SUMMUS PONTIFEX DE TER SAECULARIBUS SOLLEMNIIS A
CANADENSI NATIONE CELEBRANDIS GRATULATUR
VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS LUDOVICO NAZARIO ARCHIEPISCOPO
QUEBECENSI CETERISQUE ARCHIEPISCOPIS ET EPISCOPIS
FOEDERATARUM CIVITATUM CANADENSIVM

PIUS PP. X

Venerabiles Fratres, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem,

Immortalia promerita aut praeclare facta maiorum certis destinatisque Intervallis celebrari publice, aequum est valde atque opportunum; suadet id enim pietas quaedam et officium grati

memorisque animi ; et praeterea magnarum recordatio virtutum non parum habet admonitionis et hortamenti ad communem salutem. Id ipsum apud vos factum iri intelligimus in proximum mensem Iunium, exeunte saeculo simul tertio post urbem Quebecum conditam, et altero postquam Franciscus de Montmorency Laval excessit e vivis.

Profecto si magnitudo viri spectetur, si urbis auctoritas, apparet satis esse causae, cur nobilis Canadensium natio duplicis rei memoriam singularibus solemnibus honestare velit : quin imo non es mirum, etiam ultra vestros fines tantam commotam esse conspirationem animorum ad haec apparenda solemnia, ut iam nunc liceat prospicere celeberrima ea fore ac splendidissima. Iamvero in isto quasi concentu gratulantium filiorum, vocem desiderari Nostram non patitur peculiaris illa caritas et necessitudo, qua vobiscum coniuncti sumus. Is enim rerum vestrarum est cursus ut, quum in omni genere civilis cultus cum politissima quaque gente contenditis, tum, quod ad custodiam avitae religionis attinet, nulli concedere videamini. Nempe florere istic ac vigere scimus divino munere christiana instituta ; neque solum in moribus privatorum spirare professionem catholici nominis, sed etiam in actione communis vitae, uti par est, atque in ipsa disciplina ac temperatione civitatis.

Accedit, quod Ecclesiam istic tanta frui liberatis copia cernimus, quanta fortasse nusquam alibi : in quo praeter virtutem et constantiam catholicorum civium, aequitatem etiam regiminis Britannici libenter agnoscimus. Praecipuum autem quemdam gaudii fructum capimus ex pietate erga Nos vestra. Nam si exploratissimam vos habetis Romani Pontificis in vos benevolentiam, non minus compertum Nobis est plenum amoris et obsequii studium, quo Vicarium Iesu Christi vos colitis : quod quidem luculenter apparuit recenti memoria, quum, tentato perduellium armis principatu civili, frequens ante alios Pontifici Canadensis pubes adfuit, parata certaue pro iuribus Apostolicae Sedis vitam profundere.

At enim, quum Canadensem populum ita laudamus ob merita, hae laudes magnam partem ad vos, Venerabiles Fratres, clerumque vestrum pertinent, atque etiam ad eos omnes de numero laicorum, qui vobis in religiosa tuenda promovendaue re operam navant : vestra quippe potissimum vigilantia et cura, horum autem sedulitate industriaque fit, ut ista Ecclesia et parte retineat decora et in meliora nitatur. Quare intelligitis, quam libenti Nos animo in partem veniamus communis lactitiae vestrae : quod praeterea multo libentius facimus ob eam causam, quia ex occasione horum solemnium proclive erit recordari, quantum gens Canadensis a suis primordiis ad hodiernum diem catholicae

religioni Ecclesiaeque debeat. Iam in ultima originum vestrarum memoria eminet atque extat Samuel de Champlain, natione Gallus, vir ingenio generosaque virtute egregius, maxime autem studio christianae sapientiae : qui a Rege Galliarum istuc deducendae coloniae causa missus, nihil antiquius habuit, quam ut catholicum nomen per istas regiones propagaret ; recte enim cersuit non se suo regi servire melius posse, quam si Iesu Christi gloriae serviret. Itaque primum omnium, fundato dedicatoque templo, initia consecrat Quebecensis urbis, quae centrum quoddam futura esset, unde in immensas septentrionalis Americae plagas beneficia christianae humanitatis influerent. Mox uberissime spe segetis proposita, suffragante nimirum Apostolica Sede alias ex aliis elicit ex Gallia virorum apostolicorum manus ; quae nimium quantum elaborarunt, ut multitudinem indigenam ex gresti immanique vita erudierent ad Evangelium et mitigarent. Cognitum ex eo numero sodales e Societate Iesu praecipue nobilitatos esse, quorum complures acerbissimam in sancto furgendo munere mortem obierunt. Ille autem, quum ita incolarum saluti consulit, tum prudentissime curat, ne quid succrescentibus bene rebus licentia noceat advenarum. Ergo non omnibus promiscue permissum transmigrare in Americam, sed iis tantum, quos constiterit congruenter christiano nomini vivere ; si qui male morati in coloniam irrepserint, cautum ut deprehensi, sine cunctatione domum remittantur. Optimum sane institutum ; quod quum etiam qui eum consequuti sunt Gallici administratores coloniae, tenuerint, multum valuisse arbitramur ad hanc conservandam in Canadensibus christianae et professionis et vitae integritatem. Coeptis tam felicibus mirifice perficiendis amplificandis ille divinitus datus est primus Quebecensium Episcopus : qui diuturnum pontificatus sui spatium tot tantisque benefactis illustravit, ut quibus laudibus Canadensis vel Ecclesia vel civitas hodieque ornatur, earum, fere omnium procreator et quasi parens ipse exstiterit. Is igitur mandatam sibi a Romano Pontifice provinciam magno animo aggressus, quaecumque in commune bonum feliciter instituta reperit, provehere in maius ; quidquid autem novi opportunum fore videt, studiosissime effectum dare ista sacris expeditionibus multo auctis, per omnem superiorem Americam usque ad Mexicanum sinum quantum scilicet patebat *Nova Gallia*, praecones Evangelii dimittit ; his, adiutrices optimas ad omne officium munusque christianae caritatis, addit sanctimoniales feminas ; prohibet diligenter a colonis corruptelarum illecebras, diligentius etiam pericula fidei ; et quo tempore nimis multi Gallicanis erroribus capti ab obsequio Sedis Apostolicae deficiebant, ipse ad Romanos ritus perfunctionem sacrorum exigit, clerum maxime suo Romina

Pontificatus amore observantiaque imbuunt, omni denique solertia fovet et in perpetuum firmat eam Canadensium intimam cum Romano Pontifice coniunctionem qua Nos tantopere delectari diximus. Magna sunt haec in rem vestram communem merita illud arbitramur esse maximum quod ipse Seminarium Quebecense condidit sapientissime constituit. Coepit enim inde Canadensis ecclesia sacerdotibus affluere, qui, virtute doctrinaque probe instructi, deditissimi Romano Pontifici et suo quisque Antistiti, colligati inter se caritate fraterna, divinum munus sanctissime administrarent. Ex eadem disciplina nullo non tempore exstiteret optimi et civilium rerum peritissimi viri; quorum opere, adnitentibus Episcopis, ea est Canadensi nationi iurium et libertatum quaesita possessio, quam hodie obtinet. Manet autem nobile illud pastoralis providentiae monumentum, integramque conservat impressam ab auctore suo formam nativosque spiritus: caput idem ex exemplar omnium fere, quae istic sunt Instituta sacrae praesertim excolendae iuventuti. Nec vero debet hoc praetermitti, quod imo est in praecipua commendatione ponendum Seminarium Quebecense, ex ipso magnum Lycaum Lavallianum, domicilium doctrinarum et propugnaculum catholicae veritatis insigne, auspice Apostolica Sede et Episcoporum Canadensium ordine, effloruisse.

Postremo ad istam conciliandam concordiam, quae potestati ecclesiasticae cum politica auspiciato intercedit, Franciscum de Laval exstitisse principem, nullus ignorat: quod quidem etiam causae est, cur in habendis eidem honoribus mirifice qui praesunt civitati vobiscum consentiant. Tantarum commemoratione rerum, quam proximarum feriarum celebritas afferet, sane quotquot istic sunt christifideles, omnes excitari decet ad agendas primum Deo publice gratias, cuius beneficio res est Canadensis in hanc amplitudinem provecta, tum ad colendam maiori pietatis affectu Ecclesiam, quae per filios clarissimos divinae eis benignitatis se ministram praebeuit. Communibus hisce studiis vestra praebeat auctoritas, Venerabiles Fratres: quos quidem consentaneum est, quum dignitatis et gloriae haereditatem ceperitis a sanctissimo Episcopo, vel acrius quotidie in exempla eius intueri. Nos, ut saecularia solemnia universae nationi vestrae per quam salutaria eveniant, iam nunc caelestium munerum vobis ubertatem precamur: quorum pignus, itemque testimonium paternae benevolentiae Nostrae, Apostolica sit benedictio, quam vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, et clero populoque vestro peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die XXXI Martii MCMVIII, Pontificatus Nostri anno quinto.

PIUS PP. X.

POPE PIUS X CONGRATULATES THE ARCHBISHOP OF
PHILADELPHIA

EPISTOLA

QUA PIUS X ARCHIEPISCOPO PHILADELPHIENSIVM GRATULATUR,
FAUSTITATE ADVENIENTE CENTENARIA AB ERECTIONE
DIOECESIS

VENERABILI FRATRI PATRICIO IOANNI
ARCHIEPISCOPO PHILADELPHIENSIVM—PHILADELPHIAM

PIUS PP. X.

Venerabilis Frater, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem,

Iucunda valde memoratu sunt Nobis quum omnium dioecesium, tum maxime istarum exordia.

De his namque id sponte recordationi subit quam multas quam brevique progressiones effecerint. Idcirco faustitate adveniente sollemni, qua conditam ante annos centum Philadelphiensium dioecesim recolitis, gratum est in laetitiae partem venire: quod quidem dum facimus, auctoribus primum pro vectae in melius Ecclesiae, tibiue diligenti Antistiti gratulamur; omnia deinde progredientium utilitatum offerimus; tum Deum enixe adprecamur ut praemia velit, pacem praesertim prosperitatemque, iis largiri singulis, qui de incrementis Archidioecesis quoque modo probe sint meriti. Auspicem divinatorum munerum Nostraeque dilectionis testem Apostolicam Benedictionem tibi et fidelibus tuis peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 3 Aprilis 1908, Pontificatus Nostri anno quinto.

PIUS PP. X.

THE DOOR OF THE TABERNAACLE

SS. RITUUM CONGREGATIO

SUPERIOREN

DE FORMA OSTII IN TABERNACULO SS. SACRAMENTI

Quum a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione expostularetur, an sit commendandum tabernaculum ad Sanctissimum Eucharistiae Sacramentum asservandum, ab artificibus *The Ramwald Ecclesiastical Art Mfg. Co.* ita confectum ut idem tabernaculum quidem sit fixum, ostium vero semicirculare globulis impositum sine cardinibus aperiendo et claudendo volvatur; Sacra Rituum Con-

gregatio, die 1 Aprilis nuper elapsi, respondit negotium spectare ad ipsos locorum Ordinarios.

Quo vero securius procedat in approbando eiusmodi tabernaculum Rmus. Dnus. Augustinus Schinner, Episcopus Superior-ensis, ab eadem Sacra Rituum Congregatione reverenter expe-
tivit, an satisfaciat regulis liturgicis descripta forma ostii semi-
circularis, quod globulis impositum sine cardinibus volvitur, ita
ut ex hac parte nihil obstet quominus ab Episcopo sacerdotibus
commendetur, vel debeat tabernaculum instrui ostio vel ianuis,
quae cardinibus adhaereant, atque ita volvantur. Et Sacra
Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, ex-
quisito Commissionis Liturgicae suffragio, propositae quaestioni
ita respondere censuit: *In casu per se nihil ob stare, de cetero ad
Rmum. Episcopum.*

Atque ita rescripsit, die 8 Maii 1908.

L. ✠ S.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praefectus.*

✠ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secretarius.*

POPE PIUS X CONGRATULATES THE ARCHBISHOP OF NEW YORK

EPISTOLA

SS. D. N. OCCASIONE SAECULARIUM SOLLEMNITATUM ARCHI-
DIOECESEOS NEO-EBORACENSIS

VENERABILI FRATRI IOANNI M. FARLEY

ARCHIEPISCOPO NEO-EBORACENSII.—NEO-EBORACUM

PIUS PP. X

Venerabilis Frater, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem,

Si vota semper, faustiore quavis ecclesiarum redeunte
memoria, placet concipere, multo ea libentius pro fecundiore
Neo-Eboracensis archidioecesis bono adhibemus, quae illud con-
stanti progressionem fructuum comprobavit, oblata pro eius in-
crementis omnia abunde compleri. Esse ideo perspicimus quare
per occasionem solemniis saecularium eiusdem ecclesiae, nova
ex animo omnia nuncupemus ut maiora Deus munera uberior-
emque ad illustriora assequenda commoda opem velit illi largiri.
At etiam, honoris nomine, gratulationes iucundum est addere,
quum tibi tum gregi. Multa namque patrastis in Ecclesiae civilis-
que humanitatis emolumentum, Nobisque est spes stimulos vobis
verba haec Nostra iniectura ut quam antea probastis alacritatem,
in posterum etiam adhibeatis, laudem Americae exemplumque

orbi praebituri. Auspicem gratiae caelestis, Nostraeque voluntatis testem Apostolicam benedictionem tibi ac fidelibus tuis peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die IX Aprilis MCMVIII, Pontificatus Nostri anno quinto.

PIUS PP. X.

ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, PATRON OF SACRED ORATORS

URBIS ET ORBIS

SANCTUS IOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS DECLARATUR ET CONSTITUITUR
PATRONUS SACRORUM ORATORUM

Quo congruus accedat cumulus solemnibus sacrisque pompis nuper expletis in honorem celeberrimi totius Ecclesiae Doctoris, Ioannis ob aureum eloquentiae flumen cognomento Chrysostomi, mox elapso saeculo decimoquinto, ex quo sanctus ipse Antistes exilio maletatus iniuste, ac mala multa perpressus, supremum diem obivit; Rmus. P. Hugo Athanasius Gaisser, ex Ordine Sancti Benedicti, Pontificii Graecorum Collegii moderator, vota depromens peculiaris Coetus eiusmodi honoribus Chrysostomo tribuendis in Urbe constituti, ac munere suo feliciter perfuncti, Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum Pium Papam Decimum supplex rogavit, ut eundem Sanctum Doctorem christianae eloquentiae et coelestem sacrorum concionatorum Patronum suprema auctoritate Sua declarare ac statuere dignaretur. Id siquidem fe. re. Leo Decimus tertius die quarta Iunii anno millesimo octingentesimo octogesimo quarto indubie praenunciaverat, sacros videlicet oratores in fidem ac tutelam collocando S. Ioannis Chrysostomi, Ecclesiae Doctoris, quem omnibus ad imitandum proponebat exemplar, utpote qui christianorum oratorum facile princeps, ob aureum eloquentiae flumen, invictum dicendi robur, vitaeque sanctitudinem summis laudibus ubique celebretur. Sanctitas porro Sua has preces ab infrascripto Cardinali Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi Praefecto relatas peramenter excipiens, praeclarum Ecclesiae universae Doctorem decusque Sanctum Episcopum Ioannem Chrysostomum, oratorum sacrorum coelestem Patronum Apostolica auctoritate Sua declaravit et constituit; eumque quemadmodum cunctis fidelibus omniagenae virtutis, ita christianae eloquentiae ad imitandum exemplar sacris concionatoribus libentissime proposuit. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Die 8 Iulii 1908.

L. ✠ S.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praefectus*.

✠ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secretarius*.

THE CANON THEOLOGIAN

VICEN.—PRAEBENDAE THEOLOGALIS

Episcopus Vicensis exponit, quod cum actualis canonicus theologus Cathedralis Ecclesiae praevio concursu, theologalem praebendam obtinuerit, in edicto convocationis ab Episcopo de Capituli consensu ipsi praebendae adnexum fuit onus legendi sacram theologiam vel exegesim biblicam in Seminario, loco 40 conciones infra annum habendi de S. Scriptura in Ecclesia Cathedrali uti in statutis Capitularibus an. 1878 erat depositum. Hoc ex eo inductum est, quod, licet penultimus canonicus theologus antecessor, esset vir ingenio et sanctitate conspicuus, tamen paucissimi ad eius conciones audiendas in Ecclesia Cathedrali accedebant. Quapropter Episcopus existimans utilius fore tum Ecclesiae Dei, tum institutioni ecclesiasticae, consentiente Capitulo, decrevit ut in posterum in provisione praebendae canonico theologo imponeretur onus docendi potius in seminario S. Theologiam.

Revera actualis canonicus theologus, iuxta edictum convocationis concursus singulis hebdomadae diebus lectionem theologiae dogmaticae habet in Seminario, uno excepto die, quo debet tradere lectionem exegeos biblicae. Ratus autem praesentiam choralem computari debere pro diebus integris, non tantum pro horis quibus docet, cum mane tantum lectionem habeat, petit a proprio Capitulo ut tamquam praesens haberetur pro integris diebus, quibus legit in Seminario.

Rem ex officio examinavit canonicus doctoralis, qui eius fuit sententiae, ut canonicus theologus uti praesens haberetur tantum pro horis quibus docet, non pro diebus integris: cui sententiae omnes canonici, uno tantum excepto adhaeserunt.

De hoc canonicus theologus conquestus est apud Episcopum, qui proinde H. S. C. duo sequentia postulata pro solutione proposuit: 1°. An facta commutatio in canonico theologo oneris habendi infra annum 40 lectiones scripturales in onus docendi theologiam dogmaticam in seminario singulis diebus uno die excepto in quo ibidem S. Scripturae exegesim tradere debet, sustineatur in casu. 2°. An uti choro praesens idem canonicus haberi debeat pro horis tantum quibus in Seminario docet vel potius pro integra die in casu.

Concilium Tridentinum sess. V, c. 1, de *Reform.* inhaerendo constitutionibus veterum conciliorum et signanter Lateran. III et IV statuit, ut in qualibet ecclesia cathedrali vel collegiata existenti in aliquo loco insigni etsi nullius dioecesis Sacrae Scripturae lectio non deesset. Et iussit ut in quolibet capitulo uni ex

praebendis canonicalibus onus legendi Sacram Scripturam imponeretur, ac, ubi nulla praebenda ad hunc finem deputata reperitur, designetur 'praebenda quomodocumque, praeterquam ex causa resignationis, primo vacatura.' Et demum addit quod 'ubi nulla, vel non sufficiens praebenda foret, metropolitanus vel episcopus ipse per assignationem fructuum alicuius simplicis beneficii . . . vel per contributionem beneficiatorum suae civitatis et dioecesis, vel alias, prout commodius fieri poterit de capituli consilio ita provideat, ut ipsa Sacrae Scripturae lectio habeatur.' Ex his ergo patet quatenus fuerit mens Concilii Tridentini.

Sequitur ergo officium canonici theologi aliud non esse quam legere Sacram Scripturam ut clerus et populus in divinis eloquiis publice instruat; etenim ille coelestis thesaurus hominibus omnibus non tantum clericis datus est a Spiritu Sancto. Unde canonicus theologus suo muneri non videtur satisfacere per lectiones, quae privatim traduntur Seminarii alumni. Quia imo idem Concilium Tridentinum non solum respexit ad cleri et populi instructionem, sed etiam locum pro S. Scripturae lectione designavit ecclesiam nempe ubi canonicus theologus beneficium obtinet. Quod ab H. S. C. etiam fuit firmatum in resolutione data die 15 Martii 1710, in *America*, in qua ad tertium dubium '*An lectio Sacrae Scripturae sit facienda publice in ecclesia an vero in sacristia*' responsum est: '*Affirmative quoad primam, negative quoad secundam partem.*'

Unde ex his omnibus sane concludendum videtur theologum Cathedralis Vicen. minime suo muneri satisfacere legendo in Seminario sive Theologiam dogmaticam, sive ipsam exegesis biblicam et consequenter factam commutationem non sustineri.

Verum ex altera parte non desunt argumenta, quae contrarium suadent et ex quibus facta commutatio sustineri possit.

Re quidem vera in mox adducto *cap. 1, sess. 5* Concilii Tridentini postquam sermo habitus fuit de constituendo canonico theologo cum onere explanandi Sacram Scripturam, haec leguntur: 'Ecclesiae vero, quarum annui proventus tenues fuerint, et ubi tam exigua est populi multitudo ut theologiae lectio in eis commode haberi non possit, saltem magistrum habeant, ab Episcopo cum consilio Capituli eligendum, qui clericos scholares pauperes grammaticam gratis doceat, ut deinceps ad ipsa Sacrae Scripturae studia, annuente Deo, transire possint.'—Ex quo factum est ut saepe canonico theologo committeretur munus docendi theologiam scholasticam vel moralem in Seminario, loco legendi in cathedrali Sacram Scripturam, reputantibus Episcopis hoc magis prodesse, quia facilius reperitur qui doceat populum, quam si clericos instruat in sacris disciplinis.

Benedictus XIV in suo opere '*Synodo Dioecesana*' lib. xiii, cap. 9, n. 17, referens quemdam sermonem, quem dum H. S. C. secretarii munere fungeretur, habuit pro causa quadam discussa 5 Iunii a. 1723, ita scribit : ' In eo (discursu) probavimus, decretum illud Tridentini Concilii (sess. V, c. 1 de ref.) sive eius verba considerentur, sive ratio habeatur praxis et consuetudinis sequentium temporum, aequè comprehendere Scripturarum Sacrarum expositionem, ac Theologiae scholasticae disciplinam, et a canonico theologo non magis suo muneri satisfieri, si Sacrae Scripturae libros explicet et declaret, quam si in Theologia scholastica clerum erudiat : dummodo haec talis sit . . . quae circa quaestiones gravis momenti et utilitatis versetur, easque pertractet, allatis divinae Scripturae testimoniis, Conciliorum decretis et Patrum auctoritate.' Eamdem doctrinam tenet Fagnanus cum aliis.

Neque desunt pariter hac de re plures responsiones H. S. C. Ita profecto decisum fuit in *Maceraten.* d. 23 Nov. 2. 1850 ; in *Hispalen.* die 5 Apr. a. 1576 e in *Fulginaten.* d. 3 Iul. a. 1784, ubi ad dubium : '*An canonicus theologus loco explicationis Sacrae Scripturae possit explicare catechesim et docere lectiones theologiae moralis*'—responsum fuit : '*Canonicum theologum suas lectiones peragere debere iuxta tradita a Benedicto XIV "De Synodo Dioecesano" l. xiii, c. 9, n. 17.*' Ergo concludere licet, quod canonicus theologus implet munus suum sive legendo Sacram Scripturam in sua ecclesia, sive docendo in Seminario sacram theologiam.

Deveniendi nunc ad secundam propositam quaestionem, videretur posse asseri Capituli oppositionem esse rationabilem, nempe quod canonicus theologus haberi debeat praesens in choro tantum horis quibus in Seminario docet. Nam primo hoc privilegium praesentiae pro tota die iuxta supra citata statuta conceditur canonico theologo taxative pro 40 lectionibus scripturalibus habendis publice in ecclesia Cathedrali. Hinc non videretur illud esse extendendum ad casum quo ipse s. theologiam ex facta commutatione in Seminario docet. Ita hanc factam commutationem interpretatus est ultimus canonicus theologus antecessor qui mane s. theologiam tradebat in Seminario et vespere choro inserviebat.

Secundo : in Hispania canonicis *de gratia* assignata est annua pensio libel. 3000, dum pro canonicis *de officio* inter quos est lectoralis seu canonicus theologus, retributio est in libellis 3500. Et haec discrepantia ex eo derivat, quod post regium decretum an. 1852 ab Hispanico gubernio editum et a Nuntio Apostolico approbatum facta est Episcopis facultas imponendi canonica-

tibus *de officio* onus huiusmodi docendi in Seminario. Si itaque est pinguior assignatio pro canonico theologo ob praedictum onus, non videtur in reliquis horis diei quibus non docet admit-tenda eius ficta praesentia in choro ad lucrandas distributiones. Secusidem privilegium invocari etiam posset pro aliis canonicis *de officio* onere gravatis docendi in Seminario. Hinc est quod H. S. C. in una *Pampilonen.* diei 11 Dec. 1882 proposita per *Summaria Precum*, ad similem quaestionem respondit: '*In casu de quo agitur canonicum theologum a choro abesse ac distributiones lucrari posse tantum pro iis tantum diei horis, quibus docet in Seminario onerata conscientia.*'

At ex adverso si statuta capitularia Vicensis ecclesiae concedunt canonico theologo praesentiam moralem pro viginti quatuor horis diebus, quiquis in ecclesia legit Sacram Scripturam a fortiori talis praesentia concedenda esse videtur singulis hebdomadae diebus, quibus docet in Seminario. Labor enim, quem in hoc fert magisterio est valde gravior, illo exantlandoin habendis intra annum quadraginta S. Scripturae conciones. Nam quotidie debet sese parare ad lectionem utiliter discipulis habendam. Aequitas itaque naturalis exigit ut ipse pro tota die qua legit, a choro sit exemptus. Quare de Herdt in opere *Praxis Capit. cap. ix, § 1*, haec habet: 'Theologus semper dispensatus est servitio chori, non tantum tempore lectionis, sed ea etiam die, qua lectionem habet: et lucratur integras distributiones quotidianas omnium horarum, licet iisdem non interfuerint: etsi mane tantum vel vespere legat iisdem equidem gaudet pro integra die qua lectionem habet.'

Demum advertendum est quod canonicus theologus Cathed. eccl. Vicensis nihil extraordinarii emolumenti pro scholasticis lectionibus tradendis percipit seu nullam a Seminario assignatam mercedem habet. Aequum proinde est ut ipse in reliquis diei horis quibus non docet, choro consideretur praesens ad effectum quotidianas distributiones lucrandi.

Hisce in utramque partem mature perpensis, propositis quaestionibus responderunt Emi Patres.

'Praecia sanatione quoad commutationem operis, detur responsum uti in Pampilonen., 12 Decembris 1882.'

INDULGENCE FOR THE 'REQUIEM AETERNAM'

INDULGENTIA TRECENTUM DIERUM ADNECTITUR VERSICULIS

'REQUIEM AETERNAM,' ETC.

Beatissime Pater,

Paulus Buguet, Protonotarius Apostolicus ad instar, director generalis pii operis expiatorii D. N. *de Mentlizen* ad pedes S. V.

provolutus, humiliter petit, ut quaedam de Ecclesiae thesauro indulgentia tribuatur quibuslibet christifidelibus, quoties in defunctorum suffragium sequentes versiculos recitaverint :

V. Requiem aeternam dona eis Domine.

R. Et lux perpetua luceat eis.

V. Requiescant in pace.

R. Amen.

Et Deus, etc.

SSmus. Dnus. Noster Pius PP. X, in audientia habita die 13 Februarii 1908 ab infrascripto Card. Praefecto S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, benigne concessit ut christifideles quoties corde saltem contriti ac devote praefatos versiculos recitaverint, trecentorum dierum indulgentiam, defunctis tantummodo applicabilem, lucrari valeant. Praesenti in perpetuum valituro. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae e Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 13 Februarii 1908.

L. ✠ S.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praefectus.*

✠ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secretarius.*

INVALID RECEPTIONS IN THE CONFRATERNITY OF OUR LADY OF MOUNT CARMEL

SANANTUR INVALIDAE RECEPTIONES IN CONFRATERNITATEM

B.M.V. DE MONTE CARMELO

Beatissime Pater,

P. Praepositus generalis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum, ad ss. pedum osculum provolutus, S. V. humiliter exorat, ut receptiones ad Confraternitatem B.M.V. de Monte Carmelo, quaecumque ex causa usque ad hanc diem invalide peractas, benigne sanare digneur.

Et Deus etc.

S. Congregatio Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita, utendo facultatibus a SS. D. N. Pio PP. X sibi tributis, petitam sanationem benigne concessit. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, e secretaria eiusdem S. C., die 4 Februarii 1908.

L. ✠ S.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praefectus.*

✠ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secretarius.*

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND CATHOLICS

President Roosevelt made public, on November 8, this letter sent to J. C. Martin, of Dayton, Ohio, under date of November 6:—

MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter, running in part as follows: 'While it is claimed almost universally that religion should not enter into politics, yet there is no denying that it does, and the mass of the voters that are not Catholics will not support a man for any office, especially for President of the United States, who is a Roman Catholic. Since Taft has been nominated for President by the Republican party it is being circulated and is constantly urged as a reason for not voting for Taft that he is an infidel (Unitarian) and wife and brother Roman Catholics. . . . If his feelings are in sympathy with the Roman Catholic Church on account of his wife and brother being Catholics that would be objectionable to a sufficient number of voters to defeat him. On the other hand, if he is an infidel, that would be sure to mean defeat. . . . I am writing this letter for the sole purpose of giving Mr. Taft an opportunity to let the world know what his religious belief is.'

I received many such letters as yours during the campaign, expressing dissatisfaction with Mr. Taft on religious grounds; some of them on the ground that he was a Unitarian, and others on the ground that he was suspected to be in sympathy with Catholics. I did not answer any of these letters during the campaign, because I regarded it as an outrage even to agitate such a question as a man's religious convictions, with the purpose of influencing a political election. But now that the campaign is over, when there is opportunity for men calmly to consider whither such propositions as those you make in your letter would lead, I wish to invite them to consider them, and I have selected your letter to answer because you advance both the objections commonly urged against Mr. Taft, namely, that he is a Unitarian, and also that he is suspected of sympathy with the Catholics.

You ask that 'Mr. Taft should let the world know what his religious belief is.' This is purely his own private concern; and it is a matter between him and his Maker, a matter for his own conscience; and to require it to be made public under penalty of political discrimination is to negative the first principles of our Government, which guarantee complete religious liberty and the right to each man to act in religious affairs as his own conscience dictates.

Mr. Taft never asked my advice in the matter, but if he had

asked it I should have emphatically advised him against thus stating publicly his religious belief. The demand for a statement of a candidate's religious belief can have no meaning except that there may be discrimination for or against him because of that belief. Discrimination against the holder of one faith means retaliatory discrimination against men of other faiths. The inevitable result of entering upon such a practice would be an abandonment of our real freedom of conscience and a reversion to the dreadful conditions of religious dissension which in so many lands have proved fatal to true liberty, to true religion, and to all advance in civilization.

To discriminate against a thoroughly upright citizen because he belongs to some particular Church, or because, like Abraham Lincoln, he has not avowed his allegiance to any Church, is an outrage against that liberty of conscience which is one of the foundations of American life. You are entitled to know whether a man seeking suffrage is a man of clean and upright life, honourable in all his dealings with his fellows, and fit by qualification and purpose to do well in the great office for which he is a candidate ; but are not entitled to know matters which lie purely between himself and his Maker.

If it is proper or legitimate to oppose a man for being a Unitarian as was John Quincy Adams, for instance ; as is the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, at the present moment Chaplain of the Senate, and an American of whose life all good Americans are proud, then it would be equally proper to support or oppose a man because of his views on justification by faith, or the method of administering the sacrament, or the gospel of salvation by works. If you once enter on such a career there is absolutely no limit at which you can legitimately stop. So much for your objections to Mr. Taft because he is a Unitarian. Now for your objections to him because you think his wife and brother to be Roman Catholics. As it happened, they are not ; but if they were, or if he were a Roman Catholic himself, it ought not to affect in the slightest degree any man's supporting him for the position of President.

You say that ' the mass of the voters that are not Catholics will not support a man for any office, especially for President of the United States, who is a Roman Catholic.' I believe that when you say this you foully slander your fellow-countrymen. I do not for one moment believe that the mass of our fellow-citizens, or that any considerable number of our fellow-citizens, can be influenced by such narrow bigotry as to refuse to vote for any thoroughly upright and fit man because he happens to have a particular religious creed.

Such a consideration should never be treated as a reason for either supporting or opposing a candidate for a political office. Are you aware that there are several States in this Union where the majority of the people are now Catholics? I should reprobate in the severest terms the Catholics who, in those States (or in any other States), refused to vote for the most fit man because he happened to be a Protestant, and my condemnation would be exactly as severe for Protestants who, under reversed circumstances, refused to vote for a Catholic.

In public life, I am happy to say, that I have known many men who were elected and constantly re-elected to office in districts where the great majority of their constituents were of a different religious belief. I know Catholics who have for many years represented constituencies mainly Protestant, and Protestants who have for many years represented constituencies mainly Catholic; and among the Congressmen whom I know particularly well was one man of Jewish faith, who represented a district in which there were hardly any Jews at all. All of these men, by their very existence in political life, refute the slander you have uttered against your fellow-Americans.

I believe that this Republic will endure for many centuries. If so, there will doubtless be among its Presidents Protestants and Catholics, and very probably at some time, Jews. I have consistently tried while President to act in relation to my fellow-Americans of Catholic faith as I hope that any future President who happens to be a Catholic will act towards his fellow-Americans of Protestant faith. Had I followed any other course I should have felt that I was unfit to represent the American people.

In my Cabinet at the present moment there sit side by side Catholic and Protestant. Christian and Jew, each man chosen because in my belief he is peculiarly fit to exercise on behalf of all our people the duties of the office to which I have appointed him. In no case does the man's religious belief in any way influence his discharge of his duties, save as it makes him more eager to act justly and uprightly in his relations to all men.

The same principles that have obtained in appointing the members of my Cabinet, the highest officials under me, the officials to whom is entrusted the work of carrying out all the important policies of my administration, are the principles upon which all good Americans should act in choosing, whether by election or appointment, the men to fill any office, from the highest to the lowest in the land.

Yours truly,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE BELL FOUNDRY. By Otto Von Schaching. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros. 1907. Price 1s. 6d.

THE above is a very pretty story, healthy and Catholic in its tone. It tells of a famous bell-founder named Gatterer who, though prosperous in his business and blessed with a loving, pious wife, and a happy home, is leading in secret a life of crime. Finally, after escaping for eighteen years, he is found to be guilty of the murder of an Italian Marquis, who was travelling through the forest with his wife and daughter. The curious train of circumstances which led up to his detection form the plot of the book. Gerald Roemer, the hero, is a good ordinary character. Gatterer, however, is the most remarkable personage of all. He is a striking contrast to Gerald. The interest is fairly well sustained throughout, the grief of Camilla at the death of her parents and of the poor wife when she discovers her husband's guilt being very pathetically described. The cold stern realism of the story, scarcely relieved by the religious feeling which pervades it, might repel the imaginative reader; but in our opinion it suits perfectly the background and the character of the people who are described in it.

J. O'C.

FRENCH EGGS IN AN ENGLISH BASKET. Translated from the French of Emile Souvestre, by Emily Bowles; also THE ISLE OF THE DEAD, by the same Author. London: Burns and Oates, 28, Orchard Street. W. 1907.

THIS translation reproduces very well the spirit of the original—a quiet, calm philosophy, full of moderation and peace. There is no passion, no mystery, nothing to grip one's interest. Every page points a moral by giving you a page from simple, natural experience. The story of the monk who listened for 1000 years to heavenly music, and then returned to his monastery, thinking that he had been out only for a few hours, and that of the Pied Piper of Hamelin who drew all the little children with him into the sea, are very well told, and are well calculated to instruct and amuse the listener.

The *Isle of the Dead* is in an entirely different strain. The domestic scenes are very pretty and, in the gloomy and tragic parts, though your feelings are harrowed, yet the story takes a powerful hold of your imagination.

J. O'C.

ENCHIRIDION SYMBOLORUM : Definitionem et Declarationum de Rebus Fidei et Morum Auctore Henrico Denziger. Editio Decima emendata et aucta. Quam paravit Clemens Brauwart, S.J. Freiburg : Herder. 1908.

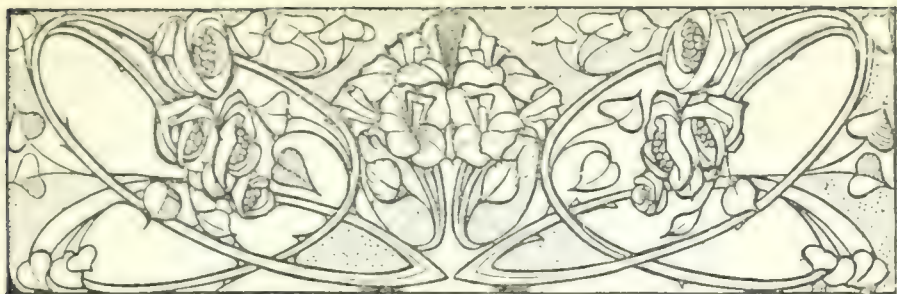
As the title indicates this is the tenth edition of Denziger's admirable collection of dogmatic symbols, decrees, and decisions on questions of faith and morals. It is one of the most useful books a priest can have at his hand, whether he is engaged in teaching theology, in writing, or in preaching. Vast pains have been spent on this new edition. Dates have been corrected and the chronological order of the various acts have been revised. Various changes have been effected in the method of printing, making the text clearer and more easily read. Summaries of the contents have been added in admirable marginal notes. Decisions of the Roman Pontiffs and Congregations have been considerably abbreviated, giving only those parts that are directly to the point. A new and most useful Index has been added, facilitating immensely the work of consultation. Altogether the work is vastly improved and deserves a place in every priest's library.

D. D.

THE LIFE OF ST. MELANIA. By His Eminence Cardinal Rampolla. Translated by E. Leahy and edited by the Rev. Herbert Thurston, S.J. London : Burns and Oates, 1908. Price 4s. 6d., net.

THE Latin text of the life of St. Melania was discovered in the library of the Escorial by Cardinal Rampolla, when he was Nuncio in Spain. It was published by His Eminence, together with the Greek text, and the present biography in one volume some years ago. The texts are omitted by E. Leahy in the volume before us : but even without the texts the biography is full of interest. It is introduced by the Editor, Father Thurston, S.J., in a preface, in the course of which he speaks of the *Journal of Theological Studies* as 'our chief theological review.' I should have preferred a more Catholic language. Why not 'our leading Bible' ? or 'our leading Church synod' ? or, our 'Paliament of

Religions' ? This, however, is by the way. The preface, apart from this, is a worthy eulogium of the work. Society in Rome in the early part of the fifth century is full of interest, and the life of St. Melania, the Patrician heiress, was spent in the midst of it. This work throws a vivid light on the double forces then at play, that of licentiousness and decay on one side, of asceticism and revival on the other. The activity of the Christian band at Rome is illustrated by the travels of Melania to Egypt and Jerusalem. The work is not only instructive and illuminating, but stimulating and edifying in a high degree. Anyone will be the better by reading it.



CANON HEALY ON DEAN COGAN

CANON HEALY, LL.D., Rector of Kells and Canon of St. Patrick's, Dublin, has written and published, through the 'Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge,' a large book in two volumes, titled, *History of the Diocese of Meath*. I have read some of this book with great pain. The writer has unfairly, as I contend, attacked a dear, dead friend of mine, an author favourably known to many of the readers of the I. E. RECORD, a priest who has still devoted friends in all parts of the diocese of Meath, and a man whose memory because of his services to Irish Ecclesiastical history, is held throughout the Irish Catholic Church in grateful esteem and veneration. He now lies mouldering in his honoured grave, the recipient of the pilgrim's homage, in the church on the slope of the historic Hill of Slane. His book increases the reputation of its author as years roll on. One attack has been made upon his character as an historian, and, as far as I know, only one. I will endeavour, in the absence of other defenders, to repel that attack as far as truth and facts will allow me, and, if possible, vindicate the memory of my venerated friend.

A mere superficial inspection of Canon Healy's book will convince its impartial readers that the bounds of literary decorum have been overstepped by him in the portions of it I take exception to.

In his second volume, the author tells of Dr. O'Beirne, Protestant Bishop of Meath. He says that he was born

in the County Longford in 1747, and that he was educated in the College of St. Omer, in France. He continues :—

While he was at this seminary, the health of Thomas O'Beirne gave way, and he was ordered for a time to the South of France. On his return he again fell ill, and this time he was sent back to his native country, in hopes that rest and fresh air would restore him to health again. It has been represented by some Roman Catholic writers that he was on this occasion virtually expelled.

He then gives a quotation, as follows, from Cogan's *Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern*,¹ and makes it one of the targets for his attack :—

O'Beirne, during his stay in the South of France, formed very suspicious friendships, associated with very irregular young men, most of whom were medical students, took to reading bad books then swarming and perverting the intellect and the heart of France, and returned to College at the expiration of his leave of absence, no longer the same—in fact, an altered and dissipated boy. Being attacked a second time with the same complaint, he was again ordered out by the doctor, but the President of the College (Dr. Kelly) consented only on one condition, that he would go home to Ireland, and on his return bring a letter from his parish priest, certifying that his conduct was correct, and that he frequented the sacraments regularly.

The only vestige of truth in this statement [says Canon Healy] is the fact that if O'Beirne had returned he would have been expected to have brought with him a letter from his parish priest. This was the usual custom, and there was no reason for departing from it in O'Beirne's case. How far the charge of dissipation and the rest is from the real facts of the case may be judged by a perusal of the following extract from a letter written by Dr. Plunket, afterwards Roman Catholic Bishop of Meath, and, at this time, one of the chief professors in the College. The letter, which was a long one, dealing with a variety of subjects, and by no means a mere letter of introduction, was entrusted to O'Beirne on his leaving St. Omer's for the last time. In it Dr. Plunket says :—

'The bearer, Mr. O'Beirne, is a young gentleman of this house, who returns to Ireland to recover his health by breathing the native air for some time. His promising parts and amiable

¹ Vol. ii., pp. 185-187.

qualities have made him dear to all the members of the society in which he lived, and particularly to me. I love and esteem him exceedingly. Every civility shown him I shall acknowledge as conferred upon myself. As I am sure he would be glad to be acquainted with Mr. Austin (a priest who at that time kept a school in Dublin) I hope you will procure him that happiness by introducing him.¹

Abandoning the slander of a partisan writer [resumes Canon Healy], and taking as our authority the contemporary document, we are justified in saying that he left St. Omer's, having gained the affections of his companions and the approbation of his superiors. He, however, never returned. We have no further information beyond the fact that, somewhat about this time, he abandoned the Church of Rome and joined the Church of England. He did not, however, relinquish the idea of taking Holy Orders, and he, therefore, continued his studies, only it was not at St. Omer's, but at Trinity College, Cambridge. Here he had for his tutor the Rev. Doctor Watson, who afterwards became Bishop of Llandaff, and on the conclusion of his course he was appointed to the College living of Grendon, in the diocese of Peterborough. He was accordingly ordained deacon by John, Lord Bishop of Peterborough, in Trinity College, Cambridge, on Trinity Sunday, 1772, and was made priest in the same College Chapel on the sixth of June in the following year. His name appears in the marriage register of Grendon parish as the officiating minister for the first time on November 29th, 1772.

'The only vestige of truth' in the above 'slander' of the 'partisan writer,' says Canon Healy, is the statement regarding the requirement of the letter from the parish priest. Unless he can convict Dean Cogan of wilful misrepresentation, the language of the LL.D. is unworthy of any writer, not to say of any ecclesiastical dignitary. And does he so convict the Dean? He does not even make an attempt at an argument to do so unless by publishing the letter of Dr. Plunket, with which it is even the Dean who supplies him in the third volume of the *Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern* (pages 2 and 3). I regret that Canon Healy misinterprets this letter, and

¹ The parenthesis, of course, is not in the letter, though the clause is printed as if it were.

that he argues from it with as little regard for logic as, I fear, for propriety. I have given it above.

What in that letter justifies the Canon in saying that O'Beirne left St. Omer's having gained the *approbation* of his superiors? 'His promising parts and amiable qualities that made him dear to all the members of the community,' and that made Plunket 'love and esteem him exceedingly,' do not prove that he had not formed very suspicious friendships while in the South of France, from a Catholic ecclesiastical point of view; that he had not associated 'with very irregular young men, mostly medical students'; that he had not taken to the 'reading of bad books then swarming and perverting the intellect and heart of France'; and that he had not returned to his college 'an altered and dissipated boy.'

But, Dr. Plunket wrote that he 'loved and esteemed him exceedingly.' Does not that prove that O'Beirne won the approbation of his superiors? Surely, no sound logician can say, yes. Regret for the deterioration, intensified by admiration and affection, would result in the tender sentiments expressed, as it did in the case of the Father of the Prodigal Son. And it is on the illogical inference pointed out that the author of the *Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern*, is to be transmitted to posterity, by the author of the *History of the Diocese of Meath*, as a partisan slanderer!

Dr. Plunket, as is evident from his letters and his life, was a most charitable man. He manifested his charity very much when he gracefully acknowledged a most insulting sermon sent to him, in 1806, by O'Beirne, as told by Canon Healy.¹ He evinced the same charity in the farewell letter expressing his love and esteem, and essaying to help him in life. No doubt, O'Beirne had amiable qualities and estimable talents and accomplishments. But an expression of due appreciation of them is far from an expression of any approbation of any objectionable freaks or features in a juvenile career, and far even from a denial

¹ Vol. ii., p. 120.

that there had been such freaks and features. The words of Dr. Plunket are, therefore, distorted when they are made to mean, as they have been by Canon Healy, that 'O'Beirne gained'—and this he describes as occurring in the plural number—'the *approbation* of his superiors.'

So much, then, for the only proof that the Canon adduces in support of his accusation of slander against Dean Cogan. As is apparent, it fails most miserably to establish his accusations, and its failure points out an obvious gentlemanly and Christian duty.

Cogan was a most painstaking man, and he laboured long and strenuously at his great work. Every sentence must have cost him deep thought. In the Preface to his second volume, he tells the pains he took to be accurate, and at the conclusion of his labours, in the Preface to his third volume, he again describes the labours he went through to accomplish his task accurately and satisfactorily. He says:—

I felt necessitated to inspect every registry, every old chalice, every holy well; to visit every churchyard, stone cross, mountain altar, ecclesiastical hiding-place in the penal times, every monument consecrated to memory by religious association; to *collect every authentic tradition*, and decipher inscribed tombs over priests, in every parish throughout the diocese—from Birr to the County Cavan, from the Shannon to the sea.

'To collect every authentic tradition' was one of Cogan's labours in compiling his book. He had abundance of opportunities of knowing what he wrote about when he composed his sketch of O'Beirne. Dr. Plunket was not dead when Cogan was born. Many of the priests who knew Dr. Plunket well, and some of those who had lived with him as curates, were diocesan contemporaries and friends of Cogan, throughout much of his clerical career. Fathers Jones, W. Barry, Reid, E. O'Reilly, M'Evoy, Geoghegan, etc., must have been intimate friends of Dr. Plunket and they were fellow-priests with Cogan. Rev. Matthew Kelsh was ordained priest in 1805—twenty-two years before Plunket died and eighteen years before

O'Beirne died. He was curate in Ardbraccan where Dr. O'Beirne lived, adjoining Navan where Dr. Plunket lived. He was parish priest in the adjoining parishes of Kilbeg and Kilberry till 1867, i.e., till after Cogan's sketch of O'Beirne was published. Surely, he and the other clergy, and many of the laity of Cogan's acquaintanceship, would know, from Dr. Plunket, everything remarkable about Dr. O'Beirne, who had been a Catholic ecclesiastical student; and whatever they did know, and whatever Cogan came to learn is most likely to have been what Dr. Plunket knew, and certainly not anything that he could contradict. The threads of O'Beirne's career Cogan weaves into the story that is in his book, with a detail that only one with an intimate knowledge of O'Beirne's early life could furnish. I insert a portion of Cogan's sketch that Canon Healy omits, as it will prove intrinsically the intimate knowledge that he had of the man he was biographying. No one in Meath believes him capable of inventing his statements—except Canon Healy. It is manifestly Dr. Plunket who supplied them, and they will remain true history when Canon Healy and his vituperation will have disappeared:—

Poor O'Beirne [wrote Cogan] returned without the (parish priest's) certificate; and as Dr. Kelly was stern and inflexible he refused him admittance into the College. O'Beirne pleaded for mercy in vain, but his friend Dr. Plunket interceded warmly for him, but the reply of the President was: 'Father Plunket, there is not an ounce of priest's flesh on this young man's bones, he *may* turn out a good layman, but he certainly would be a *bad priest*.' O'Beirne remained a few days in Paris, calculating on Dr. Kelly's forgiveness, but Dr. Plunket told him there was no hope, and that the only chance he had of becoming a priest was to go home, to conduct himself *irreproachably*, and that if he minded himself and persevered in his inclination for the ecclesiastical state, in all probability his parish priest would recommend him to the bishop, and have him sent to some other college on the continent. 'As for our President,' said Dr. Plunket, 'you will never be a priest with his consent, so you have no hope here.' O'Beirne then admitted that he was without means, and unable to make his way home; but Dr. Plunket, who had a most sincere regard for him, and who feared he might

be lost in the city of Paris, taking compassion on him advanced him the sum of £6.

Who but Plunket could have furnished these details? Who else could have known, say, of the 'ounce of priest's flesh' or of the £6 transaction? No one that I know of, before Cogan, put the conclusion of O'Beirne's continental college career in print, and to tell the public that Cogan invented the story for unworthy purposes is so foreign to truth as to be utterly incredible.

Killen, a Protestant historian quoted in part by Canon Healy, writing subsequently to Cogan, alludes to college troubles also, narrates much about O'Beirne's career, and candidly throws light upon his renunciation of the Catholic Church.

As was usual in those days [he says¹] O'Beirne seems to have been ordained about the commencement of his career. His confidence in the religion of his fathers was shaken during his residence abroad; the anxiety thus awakened probably impaired his health, and in consequence he was obliged to return home. After remaining some time in Ireland, he resolved to visit London in quest of literary employment. On his way through Wales he stopped for refreshment at a small inn—where he was thrown into company with two strange gentlemen who had been amongst the hills on a shooting excursion, and who had been obliged to take refuge from the violence of the storm in this plain tenement. The strangers soon began to converse in French, but the young Irishman politely informed them that he was acquainted with the language; and that if they had any secrets to communicate, they must take care not to reveal them in his presence. The manner in which he made this candid confession made a favourable impression; he at once supplied proof that he was familiar with the French tongue; and his new acquaintances were at length quite fascinated by his affability and intelligence. Young O'Beirne told them that he was on his way to London, and probably gave them to understand his errand; for, when about to take their leave, one of the gentlemen handed him a card without a name and containing directions how to find his town residence, accompanied by a request that his Hibernian friend would call on him when he reached the Metropolis. Proceeding there on foot, O'Beirne, on his arrival, soon discovered the house indicated on the card; but was

¹ *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii., p. 350

astonished to see that it was a very splendid mansion, and to learn that it was occupied by one of the leading statesmen of the day. On seeking admission, he was equally surprised to hear that the servant in waiting had been expecting his arrival ; and had been specially instructed by his master to secure him an audience. The noble owner welcomed him most cordially, and soon assured him of his patronage. *If he had any misgivings as to the truth of the religion in which he had been brought up, the bright prospects now presented to him no doubt promoted his determination to withdraw from the Church of Rome.* He was shortly afterwards introduced to Lord Howe. He accompanied that nobleman on his ill-starred expedition to America, and was eventually selected chaplain.

To this Killen has a very important footnote : ‘ According to one account the regular chaplain died on the voyage to America ; and O’Beirne, without challenge, was permitted to take his place. No inquiry seems to have been afterwards made about his ordination. Romanists who denied the fact called him, when he became bishop, the “mitred layman.” ’

I wonder what abuse has Canon Healy for this Protestant author who throws such aspersion on the cause of O’Beirne’s perversion and such doubts on the great question of his ordination. Has he exhausted the vials of his vituperation on the head of poor Cogan, the Catholic historian ; or has he been afraid to describe Killen’s sketch as a tissue of falsehoods, and the emanation of the brain of a partisan slanderer ?

From these statements about O’Beirne’s mental and collegiate troubles ; from the state of infidel literature in France at the time ; and from the opportunities he had of becoming contaminated by irreligious influences, it is not difficult to believe—and who can reasonably doubt it when the statement is made by an author of the character and opportunities of Cogan—that he had while in the South of France ‘formed very suspicious friendships ; associated with very irregular young men, most of whom were medical students’ ; ‘taken to the reading of bad books then swarming and perverting the intellect and heart of France’ ; and that he had returned to College at the expiration of his

leave of absence, no longer the same—in fact, ‘an altered and dissipated boy.’

I think I can read even in the ‘contemporary document’ written by Dr. Plunket, a corroboration of much of Cogan’s statement. His Lordship wrote to Father Betagh: ‘As I am sure he (O’Beirne) would be glad to be acquainted with Mr. Austin, I hope you will procure him that happiness by introducing him.’ This Mr. Austin was a priest, even Canon Healy tells us, who kept a school in Dublin. It was a classical school in Sall’s Court, Fishamble Street, Dublin. Why this desired introduction to a priest who kept a classical school in Dublin? To me the reason seems to be that Plunket knew O’Beirne was leaving the Irish College, Paris, for the last time owing to the dissatisfaction he had given the President by such manifestation of objectionable conduct, from a Catholic ecclesiastical point of view, as Cogan describes. Plunket knew that O’Beirne might not hope to return to Paris, or to prosecute in the Irish College therein, his studies for the ecclesiastical state. Being full of talent, having acquired a good classical education and being versed in several languages, he would be an acquisition in a school kept by a priest in these times—a classical school; and as an assistant teacher, or professor, he would have an opportunity of employing his accomplishments to advantage, and perhaps eventually become a priest. That he broke down in faith or in morals, or in both, is manifest, and there is no reason for disbelieving the very natural explanations given in the criticised paragraph of Cogan, which could not be known by him except through some such medium as Dr. Plunket.

To be entitled to write of Cogan as he has done, Canon Healy would be expected to be an accurate historian, free from partisan bias, and of course incapable of unjustly blackening a religious opponent. I leave the question of bias to be judged of by his own religious friends, by the spirit he has manifested in his attack on Dean Cogan, and by the reference he makes to the repetition of O’Beirne’s insulting sermon in his church in Kells, on the hundredth anniversary (1906) of the Thanksgiving for the battle of

Trafalgar.¹ Is the Canon a careful, accurate historian? I will show his carelessness and inaccuracy, even from the only portion of his book I have examined, and from the very letter he quotes in that book to destroy Dean Cogan.

At least four times the Rector of Kells refers to O'Beirne's having been educated at St. Omer's: though the truth is he was never educated there. I freely admit the Canon had authors to follow on the matter, and these authors must have been misled by the person who originally supplied the false information. But his reverence had proof enough before him, when writing against Dean Cogan, that the information was wrong; that the authors who published it had erred; and yet, he allows himself to be misled by them! Fitzpatrick quotes Forde, who distinctly states in the very page referred to by Canon Healy, that O'Beirne was educated in the Irish College, Paris.² But Mr. Forde may not have been regarded by Canon Healy as reliable. Well, Dr. Plunket is accepted by him as such; and the fact is patent from the very letter of Dr. Plunket quoted by Canon Healy, that it was in the Irish College, Paris, O'Beirne received his continental education. The letter was written to Father Betagh, who was originally from Kells, and afterwards Vicar-General of Dublin. It is given in full in the *Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern*.³ It begins:—

MY DEAR FRIEND,

The bearer, Mr. O'Beirne, is a young gentleman of *this* house, etc.

¹ In that sermon O'Beirne preached: 'Napoleon Buonaparte from the extreme of irreligion has passed to the extreme of superstition (extremes that invariably meet), and he exhibits to the world a mockery of religion; a display of theatrical rites, blasphemously engrafted on the awful ceremonies of our religion: a spurious mixture of discordant morals, neither heathen nor Christian, which every sect and denomination who profess the Gospel agree to reprobate. If we have been preserved from this innovating spirit, if we have checked the inroads of infidelity, and the religion established among us be yet untainted by the superstition that surrounds us, let us show our gratitude,' etc.

This sermon was again preached in Canon Healy's church in 1906, and Canon Healy reproduces, evidently with approval, the insulting parts of it.—Vol. ii., p. 119.

² *Sham Squire*, 3rd edition, p. 212.

³ Vol. iii., pp. 1-3.

It ends :—

Your most humble and obedient Servant,

P—

PARIS, 6th June, 1768.

Was it purely an accident that caused the omission of the word, 'Paris,' from the Canon's quotation? On page 113, he shows that he had the word before him when he wrote, for he quoted the date with which it is in juxtaposition, and he writes¹: 'Comparing these dates with that of Dr. Plunket's valedictory letter given above (June 6th, 1768), we see,' etc. Was it purely an accident that the word 'Paris' before 'June,' was left out? Was it carelessness regarding an important event in the career of him whose biography he was writing? Or was it in ignorance of the cause that may have originally inspired the error? Or was it that the erroneous statement about St. Omer's might go on uncorrected, and that Cogan's book might not have the merit of even that 'vestige of truth' in its references to O'Beirne? I verily believe it was simply carelessness, but it proves inaccuracy. And this is the man that brands as falsehoods, without a particle of proof, Cogan's references to O'Beirne's career in Paris!

Canon Healy does not contend—and cannot contend—O'Beirne was in two continental colleges. He pins his narrative to St. Omer's. It was thither, he says, he went with his brother when he first left home. It was there, he tells us, his health broke down. It was thence, we are informed, he was ordered for a time to the South of France. It was there, on his return, he again fell ill, and it was thence he was sent back to his native country. It was St. Omer's, Canon Healy says, he left for the last time bearing a letter of introduction from Dr. Plunket. Therefore, the Canon is pinned to the statement that it was in St. Omer's the future Protestant Bishop received his continental education. And he, four times, makes that statement explicitly with the most convincing refutation of it under his very eyes!

¹ Vol. ii., p. 113.

O'Beirne, undoubtedly, was educated in the Irish College, Paris, and not at the College of St. Omer's, which is near Calais. The college O'Beirne was in, was the college of which Dr. Plunket was a professor and superior. That was the Irish College in Paris; for, from it, Plunket wrote: 'The bearer, Mr. O'Beirne, is a young gentleman of *this house* . . . Paris, 6th June, 1768.' It was the college in which the health of the future Protestant Bishop of Meath broke down. This is all evident from Plunket's letter, eulogized by Canon Healy; and yet, that historian who calls Dean Cogan a partisan slanderer, writes with even the place and date under his eye: 'Their parents'—the O'Beirne parents—'were sufficiently rich to be able to pay for the education of their two sons at the College of *St. Omer's* in France. While at *this* Seminary the health of Thomas O'Beirne gave way,'¹ etc.

If further proof be needed to establish that it was in the Irish College, Paris, O'Beirne received his continental education, it is forthcoming in the fact that the name of Denis O'Beirne who, according to Canon Healy and others was sent to the continental college with Thomas, and whose name not all the authors seem to have given correctly, is on the list of the students who were in the Irish College, Paris, in 1772.² Moreover, it was in the Irish College, Paris, that the Dr. Kelly referred to in Plunket's letter was president³; and the College in St. Omer was for the education of English—not Irish—priests.⁴ So much for the carefulness and accuracy of Canon Healy.

Dealing with subsequent portions of O'Beirne's career, the Canon continues to attack the Dean.

The romancers [he says] place the appointment to Grendon at a much later period of his life, and they say that he went to America as Lord Portland's Secretary when that nobleman was appointed Governor-General of Canada; that on the voyage the chaplain of the vessel died, and that O'Beirne was allowed to take his place without question or the production of any cre-

¹ Vol. ii., p. 111.

² *History of the Irish College, Paris*, by Rev. P. Boyle, Rector, p. 200.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

dentials, it being assumed that he had received orders in the Church of Rome before he left that community; and that thus O'Beirne imposed on the Duke, *having represented himself as a priest returning to take charge of a parish in his native diocese; and that in consequence he received no orders in the Protestant Church.* This action of his on board the fleet is said to have been *his first formal act of apostasy.*¹

All this [says Canon Healy] is simply a tissue of falsehoods, invented by those whose aim was to cast discredit on one who had left their communion. The Duke of Portland was never Governor of Canada and O'Beirne never sailed with him as Secretary. Before he crossed the Atlantic he had been already ordained in the English Church and had held an ecclesiastical appointment, given him by the college in which he had pursued his studies. In every one of its particulars, therefore, the story is not only false but badly invented and impossible.

That Cogan is the chief 'romancer' alluded to in this elegant denunciation is evident from the fact that it is those whose communion O'Beirne had left that are distinctly specified: that it is in Cogan's book the quotations made by Canon Healy, and which I have italicised, are to be found; and that it is there the Canon distinctly states they are to be found. Therefore, the Canon describes the Dean as a romancer as he had previously described him as a partisan slanderer; and he would have his readers believe that the Dean's story 'is a tissue of falsehoods invented by those whose aim was to cast discredit on one who had left their communion.' He elegantly adds that 'in every one of its particulars, the story is not only false but badly invented and impossible.'

It is difficult to restrain one's language—impossible to restrain one's feelings—when reading these sentences. They reproduce the worst spirit of pre-disestablishment times, and are redolent of the old spirit of bigotry that we thought would be allowed to expire, if not in honour, at all events in silence. I will not imitate the example set me, but I will content myself with showing that the passages in Cogan's book that Canon Healy so rudely

¹ Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, vol. ii., p. 186.

criticises are the justifiable statements of a learned and reliable historian.

'The romancers,' says the Canon, 'place O'Beirne's appointment to Grendon at a much later period of his life; and they say that he went to America as Lord Portland's Secretary when that nobleman was appointed Governor-General of Canada.

The Catholic 'romancers' whom Canon Healy clearly refers to, say nothing whatever about Grendon as far as I can find. Fitzpatrick, quoting Forde, alludes to O'Beirne's going to America as Lord Portland's Secretary, when that nobleman was appointed Governor of Canada. This was published in the *Sham Squire* before Cogan wrote his sketch of O'Beirne; and Cogan had thus the authority of Forde endorsed by Fitzpatrick for his statement: 'We next find him . . . Private Secretary to the Duke of Portland when that eminent statesman was appointed Governor of Canada.' That His Grace was ever Governor of Canada I do not contend. Fitzpatrick published in his third edition a denial that he was, but Cogan had not the advantage of this denial when writing. Consequently, while I do not maintain that O'Beirne accompanied the Duke to Canada, I do hold that Cogan did not invent the statement. With Forde's letter in Fitzpatrick's book before him, and without the benefit of the denial that Fitzpatrick published in the editions of his book that were issued subsequently to Cogan's History, Cogan had no reason for supposing the statement to be untrue. The error was an unimportant one, particularly as, according to Rev. G. Croly, A.M.,¹ who wrote in 1830, O'Beirne met the Duke of Portland in the country inn already referred to, that is, immediately on his leaving Paris, and thenceforward became his intimate friend. Cogan cannot have been guilty, therefore, of inventing it, or of publishing it for any unworthy purpose, even if he were capable of doing so. In other parts of the 'tissue of falsehoods' Cogan has said:—

During the voyage² the Protestant chaplain died and

¹ *Life of George IV*, pp. 130-135.

² i.e. to Canada.

O'Beirne read Protestant service for the sailors and soldiers. This was his first act of formal apostasy. It is said that O'Beirne imposed on the Duke, having represented himself as a priest returning to take charge of a parish in his native diocese, and that in consequence of this he received no orders in the Protestant Church. It is quite certain that he received no orders in the Catholic Church; and hence, after his appointment to the Protestant See of Meath, he was called by many 'the mitred layman.' We next find him Protestant chaplain, attached to the flag-ship 'The Eagle' during the American War, preaching occasionally to Protestant audiences in New York, etc.

Here Cogan evidently refers to two voyages O'Beirne, he alleges, made—one to Canada, the other to the now United States. The death of the chaplain, O'Beirne's first act of formal apostasy, and whatever imposition was practised as alleged, have all reference to the first voyage; and Canon Healy's contradictions have reference to the voyage after the ordination in the Protestant Church is said to have taken place. Canon Healy gives the date of this voyage as 1776 (page 116). How clearly this is illogical everyone can see. To contradict statements of facts occurring at one period by statements of facts occurring at another, may be good tactics, but it is bad logic and worse 'cricket,' and one would not require much cleverness to establish a statement as a 'tissue of falsehoods' by such modes of argument.

The other items in the 'tissue of falsehoods' regard the statement that (a) O'Beirne imposed on the Duke, having represented himself as a priest returning to take charge of a parish in his native diocese, (b) and that in consequence of this he received no orders in the Protestant Church. To understand these matters, I shall deal with them in parts.

(a) Did O'Beirne receive Holy Orders before leaving the Catholic Church? Though some authors state that he did, as Canon Healy seems to agree with Cogan that he did not, it is not necessary to delay upon the matter in this reply to him. That Canon Healy thus holds is clear, for he states: 'We have no further information beyond the fact that somewhat about this time,' i.e., the time he left Paris, 'he abandoned the Church of Rome and joined the Church

of England. He did not, however, *relinquish* the idea of Holy Orders, and he therefore continued his studies, only it was not at St. Omer's, but at Trinity College, Cambridge.' Again, Canon Healy writes: 'Killen assumes *wrongly* that O'Beirne was ordained before leaving Ireland.'

(b) Was it supposed that he had been ordained in the Catholic Church? Undoubtedly it was, and even generally believed, outside the Catholic Church. Even Canon Healy says¹: 'Many in his own Church'—i.e. the Protestant Church—'believed that he had Roman orders; and, on the other hand, many Roman Catholics denied that he was ever ordained and spoke of him as "the mitred layman."' "

In the correspondence of Charles, first Marquis Cornwallis,² published in 1859, i.e. seven years before Cogan published his sketch, we read:—

Thomas Lewis O'Beirne was ordained a Catholic priest abroad, but on his return to England he renounced the Church of Rome—a step greatly owing to the persuasions and influence of the Bishop of Peterborough (Hinchcliffe) and of the Archbishop of Canterbury, uncle to Lord Cornwallis. He then went to America with Lord Howe as chaplain, *without further ordination*.

That it was generally believed he had been a priest before he became a Protestant, is also evident from the following references made to the matter in Parliament in 1825:—

MR. BROUGHAM.—He would remind the House of a case of recent occurrence in Ireland. Dr. O'Beirne, the late Protestant Bishop of Meath, was originally ordained a priest by the Pope of Rome. He was then a Catholic, but afterwards becoming a Protestant, he was made a bishop without further ordination.³

We read of further references to the matter four days afterwards, also in Parliament.

MR. PEEL.—The widow of the late Dr. O'Beirne 'desired him to state distinctly . . . that the Bishop, her late husband, never was an ordained priest of the Church of Rome.'⁴ He had

¹ Vol. ii., p. 114.

² Vol. ii., p. 417.

³ Hansard, May 6, 1825.

⁴ Ibid., May 10, 1825.

been brought up a Catholic and so continued till about twenty years of age when, seeing reason to enter the Protestant Church, he went to Cambridge University. At that University, Dr. Watson was his tutor, and he was ordained for the first time a deacon of the Protestant Established Church, and some little time subsequently, a minister of the Church of England.

MR. BROUGHAM.—It had been understood that the Bishop had, in the early part of his life, received orders from the Pope which had been afterwards repealed. This was not a solitary instance. As he understood, a gentleman, at present a very popular preacher, had never received any but a foreign ordination. If Bishop O'Beirne had not received Popish ordination it was singular that this should have been so generally credited. He, in saying so, only said what was generally understood. His friends denied it and he was himself satisfied.

(c) Did O'Beirne impose on the Duke, 'having represented himself as a priest,' etc.? Cogan has not stated that he did, though Canon Healy would have his readers so believe. Cogan is represented as saying¹: 'Thus O'Beirne imposed on the Duke having represented himself as a priest,' etc. What Cogan wrote is: 'It is said that O'Beirne imposed on the Duke having represented himself as a priest returning to take charge of a parish in his native diocese.' There is a substantial difference in the two statements, and when writing of Cogan as Canon Healy has done, one would expect that the former would not be misrepresented, however unintentionally. But I waive the point, and ask very regretfully: Whence originated the very general belief that O'Beirne was ordained priest before he left the Church of Rome? It cannot have originated from Catholics, because they all held, and Canon Healy admits, that O'Beirne never received orders as a Catholic. Were they anxious to throw discredit on him, they certainly would not have invented that he had been ordained priest in their Church. Did the belief originate from Protestants? None of them would have knowledge of it, or authority for stating it, except Dr. O'Beirne himself. If he had done so, or if he acted as if he had been a priest, he would have imposed not merely on the person for whom the Duke of Portland may be

¹ Vol. ii. p. 114.

a misnomer, on the voyage to Canada, but on the Protestant community; and that what Cogan states was said, can be very easily believed on his authority to have been said. The substance of the statement seems to be even involved in the sobriquet that Canon Healy admits was applied to Bishop O'Beirne.

(d) Was O'Beirne ordained in the Protestant Church? In reference to this, in the 'tissue of falsehoods,' Cogan says: 'It is said that O'Beirne imposed on the Duke, having represented himself as a priest returning to take charge of a parish in his native diocese, and that in consequence of this, he received no orders in the Protestant Church.' When Cogan wrote he certainly could not have known Mrs. O'Beirne's statement made through Mr. Peel in the House of Commons; or, without impugning the lady's veracity, he may have thought her misinformed, as Mr. Brougham seems to have done. Canon Healy had not then written:—

O'Beirne on leaving the Church of Rome did not relinquish the idea of Holy Orders, and he therefore continued his studies only it was not at St. Omer's, but at Trinity College, Cambridge. Here he had for his tutor the Rev. Dr. Watson, who afterwards became Bishop of Llandaff, and on the conclusion of his course he was appointed to the College living of Grendon, in the Diocese of Peterborough. He was accordingly ordained deacon by John Lord Bishop of Peterborough, in Trinity College, Cambridge, on Trinity Sunday, 1772, and was made priest in the same College Chapel on the 6th of June in the following year (Registry of the Diocese of Peterborough). His name appears as the officiating minister for the first time on November 29th, 1772 (information kindly furnished by the Vicar of Grendon). He retained the Vicarage of Grendon until 1776, when he was appointed one of the chaplains of the Fleet, and in that capacity sailed with Lord Howe to America.

In Wills' *Lives of Illustrious Irishmen* we read: 'Thomas Lewis O'Beirne repaired to study in St. Omer's, but while there he was led to a renunciation of the creed of Rome, and in consequence sought for, and obtained ordination in the English Church.'

These are strong reasons for concluding that O'Beirne

got Holy Orders in the Protestant Church, but they were not known most probably to Cogan. There were very strong reasons for believing he never got ordained in the Protestant Church, for various writers so stated. In the Correspondence of Lord Cornwallis, as we have seen, we read: 'He then went to America with Lord Howe as chaplain *without fresh*,' i.e. Protestant, '*ordination*.' Mr. Brougham also held that he had received no Protestant ordination. He said in Parliament: 'Dr. O'Beirne . . . was originally ordained a priest by the Pope of Rome. He was then a Catholic, but afterwards becoming a Protestant he was made a bishop *without further ordination*.' Surely, then, there were grounds for Cogan's statement: 'It is said that O'Beirne . . . received no orders in the Protestant Church. It is quite certain that he received no orders in the Catholic Church.'

A most remarkable allusion to his studies, ordination, and honours is found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and one is tempted to ask for an explanation of it. We there read:—

The degree of B.D. was conferred upon him from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1783, but *there is no information about him in the College books*, although, according to Rose's *Biographical Dictionary*, he dwelt there for some time under Watson, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff. He is said to have held the College living of Grendon, etc.

This embraces the time he is said to have been continuing and completing his studies for the Church and getting ordination; and yet, if we credit the writer of the *Biography*, there is no record of any of these things in the College books! Amidst so much absence of satisfactory proof and so many contradictory statements, Cogan's ignorance of Cambridge and his doubts about O'Beirne's Protestant ordination are not to be wondered at, and his allusions to the latter were temperate and justifiable.

I imagine there is a wonderful corroboration of much of Cogan's story in the 'tissue of falsehood,' where, least of all, we would expect to find it, namely, in Canon

Healy's book. O'Beirne, he says, 'was ordained deacon in Trinity College, Cambridge, on Trinity Sunday, 1772, and was made priest in the same College Chapel on the 6th of June, in the following year. His name appears in the Marriage Register of Grendon Parish as the officiating minister for the first time on November 29th, 1772.' Was he, then, officiating minister six or seven months before he was 'made priest' by Church of England ordination? I understand, according to the 'Book of Common Prayer,' one must have been 'a priest' before he can be officiating minister in the ceremony of marriage. Was O'Beirne acting thus by virtue of ordination he pretended he had received in the Church of Rome? Was he, at the same time,—according to Canon Healy he was undoubtedly enjoying the benefice before he was 'made priest'—officiating in the other religious functions of his position?

Let those who will, solve the puzzles which those queries and quotations suggest. I cannot solve them unless by views harmonizing with those of Dean Cogan. It is sad to think that there is room for doubt in a matter that should in former times be regarded as of transcendent importance.

Cogan's sketch of O'Beirne seems wonderfully accurate and was drawn with great Christian charity. It evinces great compassion for an erring one who sold his birth-right for a mess of pottage. Terrible were the temptations operating on the frail, human form of the buoyant young man embarking, unprotected, on a fascinating world. Like the moth around the flame, he got drawn in, caught, and consumed by the glare and influence of the highest associations, social, intellectual, and financial. At least once did he provoke a denunciation when he sent his insulting sermon to Dr. Plunket; but no denunciation came, and the wells of pitying friendship in Plunket's heart dried not up. Cogan, who knew of the insult and its rejoinder, charitably publishes them without much comment.¹ But Canon

¹ *Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern*, vol. iii., pp. 355-357.

Healy revives them, and endeavours by his manner of reviving them to keep alive the spirit of arrogance, towards their fellow-beings, of the Protestants of Kells and of Ireland. He gratuitously accuses Catholics—and notably Dean Cogan, one of the most unlikely of all the priests I ever knew—to be guilty of the crime of defaming, for unworthy purposes, an ecclesiastic who had left their Church. I repel the imputation, and confidently submit to the judgment of the public the declaration that such are not the methods of Catholics or of their Church.

I owe an apology to the readers of the I. E. RECORD for replying at too great length to Canon Healy. His book is, however, an historical publication, and his statements, if unrefuted, might, in future years, mislead. In the pages of the I. E. RECORD I hope the humble defence I make for the memory and reputation of my venerated friend, will find a resting place wherein may be found such facts and truths as will render harmless all attacks upon Dean Cogan by the present Canon Rector of Kells.

JOHN CURRY, P.P.

SOCIALISM AND TITLE BY ACCESSION

SOFT Socialism, as the species has been nicknamed, sums up its policy in the formula: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his want.' The sentiment as expressing the ideal to which we may all aspire, and towards whose realization we may all work by the lawful means at our disposal, is quite admirable, and leaves nothing to be desired. There are, however, many obstacles to its realization in this workaday and selfish world, and prominent among them is the actual organization of social life. The militant school of socialism therefore acknowledges that much pulling down and other rough work must be done before we can hope to establish the socialist paradise on earth. These militant socialists also have their formulæ, and at the root of them all is the claim of the labourer to the whole product of labour. H. S. Foxwell, Professor of Economics at the University of London, in his interesting introduction to Dr. Anton Menger's book on the right to the whole produce of labour, does not hesitate to make this assertion: 'Dr. Menger does not exaggerate when he says of this principle that it is the fundamental revolutionary conception of our time, playing the same part as the idea of political equality in the French Revolution and its offshoots' (page 6). Dr. Menger discovers scattered suggestions of the doctrine in Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*, and it is laid down with sufficient clearness in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. 'The produce of labour,' says the father of modern political economy, 'constitutes the natural recompense or wages of labour. In that original state of things which precedes both the appropriation of land and the accumulation of stock, the whole produce of labour belongs to the labourer. He has neither landlord nor master to share with him.' The writers of the classical school of political economy accepted the doctrine

and developed it. Ricardo, for example, quotes the following extract with approval from Adam Smith :—

In that early and rude state of society which precedes both the accumulation of stock and the appropriation of land, the proportion between the quantities of labour necessary for acquiring different objects seems to be the only circumstance which can afford any rule for exchanging them for one another. If among a nation of hunters, for example, it usually cost twice the labour to kill a beaver which it does to kill a deer, one beaver should naturally exchange for, or be worth, two deer. It is natural that what is usually the produce of two days', or two hours' labour, should be worth double of what is usually the produce of one day's or one hour's labour.

Ricardo then adds :—

That this is really the foundation of the exchangeable value of all things, excepting those which cannot be increased by human industry, is a doctrine of the utmost importance in political economy ; for from no source do so many errors and so much difference of opinion in that science proceed, as from the vague ideas which are attached to the word value. If the quantity of labour realized in commodities regulate their exchangeable value, every increase of the quantity of labour must augment the value of the commodity on which it is exercised, as every diminution must lower it. . . . If we look to a state of society in which greater improvements have been made, and in which arts and commerce flourish, we shall still find that commodities vary in value conformably with this principle : in estimating the exchangeable value of stockings, for example, we shall find that their value, comparatively with other things, depends on the total quantity of labour necessary to manufacture them, and bring them to market.

Classical political economy reached its highest point of development in the writings of John Stuart Mill. He acknowledged that the question of value is fundamental in political economy :—

The smallest error on that subject [he said] infects with corresponding error all our other conclusions ; and anything vague or misty in our conception of it, creates confusion and uncertainty in everything else. Happily [he adds] there is nothing in the laws of value which remains for the present or any future writer to clear up ; the theory of the subject is complete.

He therefore accepted the teaching of Ricardo, but thought that besides the quantity of labour the wages also of labour must be taken into account. Seldom, perhaps, has such expression been given to smug contentment and satisfaction; seldom certainly has smug contentment and satisfaction met with so serious a reversal as has the classical theory of value. Certain English revolutionists and socialists who lived at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, were not slow to appropriate the doctrine of the classical economists and apply it to their own purposes. They began to point out that if the value of things was nothing but the quantity of labour put into them, and the labourer had a right to the fruit of his own labour, all the wealth of the country of right belonged to the workers, who by their labour produced it. Dr. Menger traces this doctrine and its application to anarchism and socialism through a succession of English writers, of whom the chief are William Godwin, Charles Hall, and William Thompson. In a very interesting passage, Professor Foxwell regards modern socialism as a protest against the exaggerated individualism introduced into European society at the Renaissance, and especially by the Protestant Reformation. Nowhere at the opening of the nineteenth century was that individualism more pronounced and the consequent sufferings of the masses of the people more severe than in England. It was natural, then, that the swing of the pendulum to the opposite extreme should first be observed in England, the home of *laissez faire*, and of the bourgeois political economy, as Marx called it. From English socialists the doctrine of the right of the worker to the whole produce of labour was taken over by Marx and Rodbertus, and it thus became the fundamental doctrine of modern scientific socialism. The importance attached to it in modern socialist literature, and the implications contained in it, cannot be better appreciated than in the trenchant language of Mr. Robert Blatchford:—

There are but a few landlords [he says, in *Britain for the British*] but they take a large share of the wealth. There are

but a few capitalists, but *they* take a large share of the wealth. There are very many workers, but they do not get much more than a third share of the wealth they produce. The landlord produces *nothing*. He takes part of the wealth for allowing the workers to use the land. The capitalist produces *nothing*. He takes part of the wealth for allowing the workers to use the capital. The workers produce all the wealth, and are obliged to give a great deal of it to the landlords and capitalists who produce nothing. Socialists claim that the landlord is useless under any form of society, that the capitalist is not needed in a properly ordered society, and that the people should become their own landlords and their own capitalists. If the people were their own landlords and capitalists, all the wealth would belong to the workers by whom it is all produced.

As labour, then, produces all the wealth of the country, all the wealth of the country belongs of right to the labourer. Rent and interest on capital is unearned increment, surplus value, produced by the worker, but which is filched away from its rightful owner by the landlord and the capitalist. To quote Mr. Blatchford again :—

We all know how the landlord takes a part of the wealth produced by labour and calls it 'rent.' But that is only simple rent. There is a worse kind of rent which I will call 'compound rent.' It is known to economists as 'unearned increment.' I need hardly remind you that rents are higher in large towns than in small villages. Why? Because land is more 'valuable.' Why is it more valuable? Because there is more trade done. Thus a plot of land in the city of London will bring in a hundred fold more rent than a plot of the same size in a Scottish valley. For people must have lodgings, and shops, and offices, and works in the places where their business lies. Cases have been known in which land bought for a few shillings an acre has increased within a man's lifetime to a value of many guineas a yard. This increase in value is not due to any exertion, genius, or enterprise on the part of the landowner. It is entirely due to the energy and intelligence of those who made the trade and industry of the town. The landowner sits idle while the Edisons, the Stephensons, the Jacquards, Mawdsleys, Bessemers, and the thousands of skilled workers expand a sleepy village into a thriving town; but when the town is built and the trade is flourishing, he steps in to reap the harvest. He raises the rent. He raises the rent, and evermore raises the rent, so that the harder the townsfolk work and the more the town prospers, the

greater is the price he charges for the use of his land. This extortionate rent is really a fine inflicted by idleness on industry. It is simple *plunder* and is known by the technical name of unearned increment. It is unearned increment which condemns so many of the workers in our British towns to live in narrow streets, in back-to-back cottages, in hideous tenements. It is unearned increment which forces up the death-rate and fosters all manner of disease and vice. It is unearned increment which keeps vast areas of London, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, and all our large towns, ugly, squalid, unhealthy, and vile. And unearned increment is an inevitable outcome and an invariable characteristic of the private ownership of land.

There, then, we have the gospel of anarchy and revolution fully developed. It is short, and easily understood by the meanest intellect ; it flatters the most powerful of all human passions, pride and cupidity. The worker produces by his labour all the wealth of the world ; to the worker, then, all the wealth of the world belongs. What have we to say to this proposition ?

In the first place it is a very defective analysis which traces such great and widely spread evils to so simple a cause. The abuses of private ownership are doubtless great, and nobody deplores them more than we do. But the evils arising from the abuse of a system should not be attributed to the system itself.

Then, we willingly grant that labour and production is one of the titles to property. A man has a right to the fruits of his industry. We do not grant this grudgingly ; on the contrary, as workers, we claim it for ourselves, as we willingly concede it to others. Work is a great blessing, a great safeguard which nobody should forego, and which for most people will ever be a necessity. *In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread : If any man will not work neither let him eat.* We are the last people in the world to undervalue labour, and to deny it its just claims. The labourer, then, has a right to the fruits of his toil. If a man discovers land which belongs to nobody, and cuts timber there, out of which he constructs a cabin, the cabin is his property, as being the fruit of his labour and skill. He has a right to its exclusive use, no one else, against the reasonable wish

of the owner, may make use of the convenience which it affords. The owner has a right to all the advantages which the cabin can afford. It shelters him from rain and cold, it protects him from the too warm rays of the midday sun, it is a defence against wild beasts and other enemies. Any use to which it can be put belongs to him and to him alone, exclusively, because it is his property, the fruit of his labour. Because it is his property he may destroy it if he pleases, and use the material for firewood. He may give it or sell it to another. He may freely dispose of what is his own. To interfere with such a right would be to interfere with the rights of labour, for the products of labour belong to and are at the entire disposal of the labourer. If our labourer is another Crusoe on an island which belongs to nobody else, and he is lucky enough to find and capture a goat, the goat, too, becomes his property. He may kill and eat it if he likes, or he may keep it to furnish himself with milk. He may dispose of it as he likes, because it is his, and a man may do what he likes with his own. All the uses to which it can be put belong to him. If killed, its flesh and skin belong to him. If kept alive, all the uses to which it can be put are his for it is his property. If it happen to have young, the young belongs to the owner of the dam, for the dam, with all its activities, powers and capabilities, belongs to him who reduced it to subjection. If someone else comes to share our Crusoe's solitude, Crusoe may make him a present of some of his property, or he may barter it for something else of value. When the property by mutual consent is made over to another, it becomes his just as before it belonged to Crusoe. To deny this is to deny the sacred rights of property, it is to deny that a man may do what he likes with his own, it is to deny the liberty of contract, which it is so sovereignly necessary for the good of society to keep as far as possible unfettered.

All that has been said must be admitted by those who maintain the right of labour to labour's produce. We have simply been developing what is implied by the right of property, and modern English socialists do not deny the

right of private property; they loudly assert that the produce of labour is the private property of the labourer. But if what has been said cannot truthfully be denied, we begin to see the fallacy of the fundamental tenet of modern socialism. That fundamental tenet is that all wealth is the product of labour, and of right belongs to the labourer. Landlords and capitalists are thieves and robbers who not only may with justice be compelled to disgorge their ill-gotten wealth, but who in the interests of justice should be compelled to do so. But what if by free contract it has come into the possession of the present owners from those who had an undoubted right to transfer it? And this in many instances is undeniably the case. We must conclude that labour is undoubtedly one of the titles to property, but it is not the only one nor the chief one.

But, retorts the socialist, even if I admit this, it will not justify the extortionate rent which the landlord charges, nor the interest on barren capital. The unearned increment should be handed over to the community, to the people who make it.

To deny that the unearned increment of wealth belongs to the owner of that wealth is in reality to deny the rights of ownership as they have just been set forth. The owner of the field has a right to all the advantages which the field can afford. All its uses, all its activities and powers belong to him; it is precisely for those uses, activities, and powers that he values it as his private property. The grass which it produces is his, whether he spent labour on it or not; labour is not the sole title to property. If the grass grew without labour it is unearned increment. Similarly, the young of animals belong to the animals' owner, not by the title of labour but from the very nature of the right of property, by which all that the thing owned is, or is capable of becoming, belongs to the owner of it. If a great number of people come and settle round my field, my field rises in value, not because they or I have spent labour on it, but simply because now being more favourably situated with a view to the conveniences of life, it is more highly valued and is worth more than it was before. The enhanced value

is unearned increment, but on that account it does not cease to belong to me.

Precisely in the same way the labour of the carpenter or bricklayer becomes more valuable in a thriving and rapidly increasing town. Whereas before he had to be satisfied with thirty shillings a week, he can now easily earn forty shillings. He works neither harder nor longer hours, but because of the increased demand, the value of his labour has increased. The enhanced value is unearned increment, but the carpenter would be very much astonished if he were told that it did not belong to him, but to the community who made it; that if he kept it he would be no better than a thief and a robber. All this is admirably summed up in the old maxim—*Res fructificat domino*. By the law of nature, by the very nature of the right of property, whatever a thing produces belongs to the rightful owner of that thing. When the produce is due partly to the natural or artificial fertility of the property and partly to human labour, both the owner of the property and the labourer have rights in the produce. It is not possible to define exactly what proportion is due to the owner and what to the labourer. A labourer indeed whose whole working capacity was given to the work has a right to so much of the produce or its equivalent as will support him in decent comfort. The labourer has a duty and a right to live in a manner conformable to the dignity of human nature and his circumstances, and in the case supposed the only means he has to fulfil his duty and to exercise his right must be derived from the fruit of his toil. Beyond saying this no more precise rule for the division of the produce can be laid down, so there is room for amicable arrangement and contract.

As his labour belongs to the labourer there is nothing to prevent him from hiring it out to an employer at any reasonable rate. As money in our modern capitalistic society is a means of production, as it may readily be exchanged for land, machinery, and other means of production, money has in fact become virtually productive, and therefore the lender of money rightly charges interest

for his loan ; he shares in the produce of the money just as the landlord shares in the produce of his land.

Besides the natural increase of property due to natural fertility which we have hitherto been considering, property may increase by additions being made to it either by the agency of natural forces or by the will of man. The gradual additions made to land by the action of a river or of the sea, called *alluvion* in English law, is an instance of an addition being made to property by natural forces. The mixing of liquids belonging to different owners, called *confusion*, and of solids, called *commixture*, are examples of additions to property made by the will of man. All these instances, like that of natural fertility, are comprised by jurists under the general name of *Accession* as a recognized title to property. In these latter instances, however, the law of nature is not so clear and definite. English law agrees with Roman in applying the maxim that what is accessory follows the principal when questions of ownership of the whole mixed property arise. Although the principle is quite in accordance with reason, yet reason does not seem to demand such a solution as peremptorily as it requires that the produce of the natural fertility of property should belong to the owner of that property. In fact, when we descend to particulars the principle is not applied absolutely and universally in Roman or in English law.

Thus, a gradual increase made to land becomes indeed the property of that land's owner by alluvion, but if the increase was made suddenly the property rights remain as before. So also if a piece of another man's timber is built into a house, the timber becomes the property of the owner of the house, but by law he must make compensation to the owner of the timber. Commixture is a species of accession where movables belonging to one owner are mixed with similar movables belonging to another. The principles of English law on the question are entirely at one with those of the Roman law. The owners in general retain a right to claim a proportion of the mixture or its value.¹

¹ *Encyclopædia of the Laws of England*, s.v. Commixture.

There is a special law with regard to money : ' Si alieni nummi, inscio vel invito domino, soluti sunt, manent ejus cujus fuerunt. Si mixti essent ita ut discerni non possent, ejus fieri qui accepit, in libris Gaji scriptum est, ita ut actio domino cum eo, qui dedisset, furti competeret.'¹

Lugo applies and explains this law in the following interesting passage :—

Si pecuniam furtivam non accepisti gratis, sed in solutionem alicujus debiti, et eam per admixtionem cum majori summa fecisti tuam, postea comparente domino pecuniae, ad nihil teneris ; non enim ex injusta acceptione, cum bona fide acceperis ; neque ratione rei acceptae, quia res accepta jam per admixtionem consumpta est, ac perinde se habet, ac si eam expendisses ; nec denique teneris, quantum factus es locupletior, cum ea occasione nihil prorsus acquisieris lucri, sed habueris quod tibi alias debebatur : in hoc potissimum casu loquitur illa lex *Si alieni, de solutionibus*, quando dicit dominum pecuniae solum habere actionem contra furem ; quia nimirum qui illam in solutum acceperat non fuerat factus ea de causa locupletior, et aliunde jam per admixtionem acquisierat ejus dominium.²

This seems to be modern English and American law :—

Where a person [writes Mr. Attenborough] is entrusted with goods or money for a particular purpose and he misapplies the property with which he is entrusted, the proceeds of such misapplication may be claimed by the owner of the goods or money as, e.g., if A delivers money to B to buy a horse for him and B buys a carriage with the money, A is entitled to the carriage. In such a case it makes no difference into what other form different from the original the change may have been made, whether it be into that of promissory notes for the security of the money which was produced by the sale of the goods, or into other merchandise ; for the product of, or substitute for, the original things still follows the nature of the thing itself as long as it can be ascertained to be such, and the right only ceases when the means of ascertainment fail, *which is the case when the subject is turned into money, and mixed and confounded in a general mass of the same description*.³

¹ L. 78, Dig. De solutionibus.

² *De Justitia*, vi., n. 171.

³ *The Recovery of Stolen Goods*, 1906.

Where it is to be observed that both according to Roman and English law the transference of dominion in the money is not ascribed merely to the receiving of it for value, but to the mixing or commixture of it with one's own moneys. It could be followed up if it remained separate and distinguishable, it cannot be followed up after mixture with one's own.

T. SLATER, S.J

THE FATHER MATHEW TOTAL ABSTINENCE ASSOCIATION IN HONOUR OF THE SACRED THIRST

A S very many enquiries have been made regarding the work and methods of the Father Mathew Association,

I should feel grateful if you would allow me the hospitality of your widely read pages to explain as briefly as I can the objects, methods, and advantages of the Association.

Origin.—The Father Mathew Total Abstinence Association has been in existence in the Church of St. Mary of the Angels, Church Street, Dublin, since 1880, in which year it was established by the late Very Rev. Father Albert Mitchell, O.S.F.C. In connexion with the Association a Temperance Hall was opened in Halston Street, in 1881. In 1891 the present Father Mathew Memorial Hall, under the presidency of the late Very Rev. Father Columbus Maher, was opened by His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin. The Hall is an adjunct to the Church Sodality, and none but members of the Church Association can become members of the Hall. Its object is to afford members a place of social intercourse and opportunities for instruction and recreation without the dangers that too frequently are associated with the advantages of other clubs and societies.

Conjointly with the Association in Dublin, the Father Mathew Total Abstinence Association was established in the Church of the Most Holy Trinity (Father Mathew Memorial Church), Cork. And recently a very spacious hall has taken the place of the small temporary building which for many years served as a useful auxiliary to the Sodality.

Object and Means.—The chief object of the Association is to carry on the Catholic movement for the spread of Temperance on the lines so successfully followed by the Apostle of Temperance, Father Theobald Mathew, O.S.F.C.

The principal means adopted are Prayer and the frequentation of the Sacraments. Daily prayers are recited by the members, and they attend monthly meetings and approach Holy Communion monthly.

Success of the Work.—In Dublin the movement was inaugurated in 1880, and at the first meeting held in St. Mary of Angels, one bench was sufficient to accommodate the members. The Roll has lengthened year by year, until at the present time it is necessary to hold four meetings monthly, two for women and two for men, the membership being close on 4,000—not counting those who take the Total Abstinence Pledge, but who by reason of distance or other hindrance are unable to attend the meetings in the church.

The wonderful change wrought in the lives, and the improvement and comfort visible in the homes of the people rewarded the labours that a movement worked in the teeth of so many difficulties and prejudices demanded. This success attracted the notice of the clergy outside the district and diocese, and on the invitation of the pastors the Franciscan Capuchin Fathers established in many parishes associations formed on the same lines. These Sodalities were generally inaugurated in connexion with spiritual exercises of three or eight days, or longer. In October, 1905, the Hierarchy requested the Fathers to undertake a National Temperance Crusade, and since that time the work has been carried out on a very extensive scale, and Temperance Sodalities have been established in all parts of the country.

Indulgences.—In 1902 numerous Indulgences were granted by the Holy See to the Temperance Associations established in the Franciscan Capuchin churches in Dublin and Cork. And at a special audience on October 7, His Holiness Pope Pius X, acceding to the request of the Most Rev. Father-General of the Franciscan Capuchin Order, granted an extension of these Indulgences and further favours to Temperance Sodalities established in Ireland by the Franciscan Capuchin Fathers after the model of those named.

The following are the Indulgences :—

1. A Plenary Indulgence is granted on the day of enrolment in the Sodality.

2. A Plenary Indulgence once a month on the day of the General Communion of the Sodality.

3. A Plenary Indulgence on the Titular Feast of the Church, on the Feast of St. Patrick, Easter Sunday, Christmas Day, and on 1st January.

4. A Plenary Indulgence at the hour of death.

5. A Plenary Indulgence on four days (to be named by the Ordinary) in the year. (*Rescr., 4th June, 1902.*)

6. A Partial Indulgence of 300 days is granted for taking part in the public prayers of the Sodality, whenever the members meet for religious exercises.

7. A Partial Indulgence of 300 days for every good work performed for the objects of the Association.

All these Indulgences are applicable to the souls in Purgatory.

In order to gain the foregoing Indulgences it is sufficient to be a member of any duly established branch of the Association, and to recite the prayers of the Association, and attend the meetings. The prayers are one 'Our Father,' three 'Hail Marys,' and one 'Glory be to the Father,' daily, in honour of the Sacred Thirst for the suppression of Intemperance; and in addition the following special conditions :—

For Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 5, Confession, Holy Communion, a visit to the Church or Oratory of the Association, or the Parish Church, with some prayers for the propagation of the Faith and the intentions of the Sovereign Pontiff.

For No. 4. Confession and Holy Communion; or if this be not possible, to pronounce, with contrite heart, the Holy Name of Jesus orally if possible, or at least with the heart.

Organization.—In the government of branches of the Association the Rev. Director is assisted by a Council consisting of Secretary, Treasurer, and Heads of Guilds. This Council is appointed by the Rev. Director, or is elected annually by the members. The Association being primarily a religious organization, the Council is a consultative body, and the final decision on all matters in

connexion with the Association rests with the priest in charge.

The Association is organized in guilds or sections of about twenty-five members, and each guild is presided over by a guild-prefect, who marks the register of attendance. In the working of large organizations it is found advisable to appoint head guild-prefects to supervise the working of three or more sections. In such cases the head guild-prefects may form the council with the president, secretary and treasurer.

The Pledge.—The Pledge of the Association is a strictly Total Abstinence Pledge. The Life Pledge is administered to the members of the Sodalties in the Franciscan Capuchin churches in Dublin and Cork. No one may be admitted to membership of any branch who does not take the Total Abstinence Pledge for *at least* twelve months.

Those who take the pledge for twelve months or longer limited periods form a probation division of the Association, and should be encouraged at the close of the year or period to take the Life Pledge. The following is the form of the Pledge :—

For the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls in honour of the Sacred Thirst and Agony of Jesus, and the Sorrowful Heart of Mary, I promise to abstain from all intoxicating drinks (here follow the words, ‘for life, or ‘for one year,’ or other period), and thus to discourage their use in others.

This Pledge forbids the use of all intoxicants, including, ales, beer, clarets, wines, cordials, spirits, champagne, etc.

Prayers and Meetings of the Association.—The members say daily one ‘Our Father,’ three ‘Hail Marys,’ and one ‘Glory be to the Father,’ in honour of the Sacred Thirst of our Lord, and for the suppression of Intemperance. The meetings should be held monthly, if possible. In districts where the fewness of the priests render it impossible or very difficult to hold *special* meetings monthly, the meetings might be held in conjunction with the meetings of other sodalties, or immediately after Mass on Sunday, and an opportunity given for the renewal of the Pledge and the enrolment of new members.

Badges and Certificates.—The Badge of the Association is a Celtic cross with effigy of Father Mathew. There are two forms—one for life members, and one for year (or period) members.

There are also Life Certificates and Year Certificates. The Life Badge and the Life Certificate are given only to those who have been *Total Abstinents* for at least twelve months.

The Badge should always be worn publicly. It is the emblem of our profession of Total Abstinence, and a striking protest against the prejudices and drink customs that too widely prevail. It will serve as a reproach and speak eloquently, if silently, to the consciences of our friends and others with whom we may come in contact in social or business life, and it will be a constant reminder to ourselves of the practice and example expected from us.

Should members have the misfortune to violate their Pledge, they may not wear the badge again without the permission of the Rev. Director of the branch of the Association to which they belong. But permission to resume the Life Badge should not be granted for at least twelve months after the renewal of the Pledge, and only to those who give evidence of a steadfast and firm determination to observe the Pledge for life.

For church meetings, processions, and Temperance demonstrations members wear a large round medal with effigy of Father Mathew on one side and the words of the Pledge on the other.

The Children.—The importance of the juvenile work is not overlooked by the Association. The sad experience of every priest is that too often the Confirmation pledge is broken because its meaning and necessity is not kept before the children. The parents, too, because they are allowed to forget the promise their little ones made, encourage them to take drink, or thoughtlessly permit them to frequent places of temptation to drink, or to keep the companionship of persons whose example is calculated to make them think lightly of their promise. The movement to reform old customs and to teach new ideas must not neglect the

young, whose minds and hearts can be so easily fashioned to good, and who if early taught to love Temperance, and to hate drunkenness, will without difficulty be induced in later years to become earnest and steadfast members of the adult Associations.

To aid the work of the Father Mathew Association and the movement for Temperance generally, a Juvenile League of Prayer and Good Works has been formed, and is styled 'The Young Irish Crusaders.' Membership is confined to boys and girls under twenty-one years of age—corresponding to the usual Confirmation Pledge term. The young Crusaders make the following promises which are printed on the certificates of membership :—

1. To be loyal to my Faith and Country.
2. To fulfil my Religious duties.
3. To abstain from all intoxicating drinks, and to endeavour to win everyone at home, and my companions and friends, to the practice of Total Abstinence.
4. To labour to make the *home* clean, bright, and beautiful.
5. To honour and respect my parents always.
6. To endeavour to be unselfish, and to perform acts of kindness.
7. To be equally respectful and kind to the aged, the infirm, and the poor.
8. To study the Irish Language and Irish History, to encourage Irish Industry, and to strive to live a life worthy of Ireland.
9. To discountenance bad prints and the reading of bad books and papers.
10. To avoid cursing, and all vulgar and bad expressions.
11. To say every day the prayers of the Father Mathew Association, viz., one 'Our Father,' three 'Hail Marys,' and one 'Glory be to the Father,' in honour of the Sacred Thirst of our Lord for the suppression of Intemperance.
12. To endeavour in school and amongst my friends to secure prayers for the success of the Temperance Movement in Ireland.

Special Badges are worn by the Crusaders—the design being an engraving of the Child Jesus, with the words 'Learn of Me.' All information regarding the juvenile work will be supplied by the Director, 'Young Irish Cru-

saders,' *Father Mathew Record Office*, Church Street, Dublin, and instructions in connexion with it will appear from time to time in the Children's Corner of the *Father Mathew Record*, the publication of the Father Mathew Hall, Dublin.

The aid of the prayers of the young, and their fresh and ardent enthusiasm should bring a blessing on the cause, and is bound to win the adhesion of many of the older section of the community over whom the children exercise a mysterious and almost irresistible influence for good.

Conclusion.—The Father Mathew Association aims at the preservation in virtue of those who so far have happily not contracted drink habits; and it also seeks to reclaim the poor victims of drink. An association confined to converted drunkards is an impossible society. Membership of such an organization would brand the character of the individual in question, and would bring shame and confusion to his family and friends. Besides the weak need to be sustained by the strong, and the example of the steadfast will prove a valuable encouragement to those of feeble resolution. In this work especially if we attempt before the harvest time to separate the wheat from the tares, we may lose many souls, and rob many homes of hope of sunshine and grace. To associate with the lowly, the wayward, and the mean, to bear patiently with the oft-repeated relapses of those who have been pardoned seven times, yea seventy times seven times, is trying and disheartening. But, then, our inspiration is the Sacred Thirst of Christ on the Cross. Our Divine Master gathered around Him the little children and the adults, the innocent and the sinner, the master in Israel and the unschooled fisherfolk; to all He preached the same Gospel: 'If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow Me' (Matt. xvi. 24). And when in the solemn desolation of Calvary those words of pain, of yearning, and love, 'I thirst,' were spoken by our expiring Saviour, united beneath the sacred standard were Sinless Mary and Penitent Magdalen. And if we may expect many disappointments and relapses, a hundred-fold will be the compensation in the joy of seeing many homes brightened and made happy,

and many a degraded and wretched slave of intemperance rescued, transformed, and sanctified by the working of God's grace through the prayers and the example of the self-denial of the members of the Association.

FATHER ALOYSIUS, O.S.F.C.

NOTE.—Applications with reference to the preaching of the Temperance Crusade, the establishment of Branches of the Association, or for forms of Affiliation of Branches, should be made to the Very Rev. Father Provincial, O.S.F.C., St. Mary of Angels, Church Street, Dublin.

Badges, Certificates, and Association Manuals can be procured from the Secretary, Father Mathew Total Abstinence Association, Church Street, Dublin.

All business in connexion with the Juvenile work should be transacted with the Director, Young Irish Crusaders, *Father Mathew Record Office*, Church Street, Dublin.

Beatissime Pater,

Hodiernus Minister Generalis Ord. Min. S. Francisci Capuccinorum, ad pedes Sancitatis Vestrae provolutus humiliter exponit quod die 4a Junii 1902 SSmus. Dnus. Leo XIII, fel. mem. benigne concessit aliquas indulgentias Sodalitatibus 'a Temperantia' nuncupatis, in Ecclesiis Patrum Capuccinorum apud Dublinum et Corcagiam in Hibernia jam institutis.

1. Cum vero die 11a Octobris 1905 omnes Archiepiscopi et Episcopi Hiberniae in unum apud Maynutiam congregati, praeside Eminentissimo Michaeli Cardinale Logue, una voce postulerint, ut Patres nostri per omnes Hiberniae dioeceses instituerent 'Sanctum Bellum,' uti vocatur (vulgo—National Temperance Crusade) contra ebrietatis vitium, amoremque virtutis Temperantiae inculcarent, hinc est quod Minister Provincialis Hiberniae, obsecundare volens mandatis supradictorum Episcoporum, enixe postulat ut Indulgentias jam concessas Sodalitatibus Dublini et Corcagiae extendantur omnibus Ecclesiis Hiberniae ubi consimiles Sodalitates a Patribus nostris, annuentibus Episcopo et Clero, eriguntur.

2. Quia autem hisce diebus mense Octobris, decem et octo Patres adlaborant in civitate Belfast in Hibernia Septentrionali, alique Patres per varias Hiberniae dioeceses dispersi sunt causa praedicandi 'Temperantiam,' ad magis magisque fovendum eorum labores, orator supplex et urgentissime postulat ut Sanctitas Vestra dignetur concedere hanc specialem gratiam, scilicet :

Ut ubicumque, nunc et in perpetuum, Patres Ordinis nostri in Hibernia, Clero annuente et invitante, praedicant 'Temperantiam' ibi erigere possint Sodalitates ad normam illarum

apud Dublinum et Corcagiam cum iisdem aliis Indulgentiis, scilicet :

Indulgentia Plenaria, animabus in Purgatorio applicabilis,

1. Die adscriptionis Sodalitatis.

2. Semel in mense, die Generalis Communionis Sodalitatis.

3. In festo Titularis Ecclesiae, Sancti Patritii, Dominicæ Resurrectionis ac Nativitatis, et die 1a Ianuarii, necnon in articulo mortis.

Partialis vero Indulgentia, simili modo animabus in Purgatorio applicabilis.

1. Tercentum dierum pro precibus publice dictis quando Sodales religiose congregati sunt.

2. Tercentum dierum pro omni bono opere in finem Sodalitatis peracto.

Et Deus. . . .

Juxta preces in Domino et in perpetuum.

Die 7 Octobris 1908.

PIUS PP. X.

Concordat cum originali.

28 Oct., 1908.

FR. PETRUS O'SULLIVAN,

Min. Prov., O.S.F.C.

ANECDOTA FROM MAYNOOTH MSS.

AR MAIDIN DUIT A MÁCADOIM ÓIG.¹

Ar maidin duit, a mácaoiḡ óig, iad teagart ar an Tríonóir
lonnail go cáir, saib go slán, san raiḡ ro' láim do leabair.

Féad gac líne go slinn slíe, déin meabruḡaḡ go minic
Ceirt beas ir meabair géar slán, a leimḡ, feuc gac focail.

Beir ag féadain éaic ná cleaḡt, tabair aipe doo' donceadḡ,
Taircior í ó cúl do éinn, bí lé gḡ ar² cnuairḡ an comlaime.

Cia maḡ cnuairḡ ná géill dí, ná rḡaḡ coróce go gcuirir
Sai roḡar caom le éite, comfocail dá aitheirce.

Ar muir móir³ an léiginn lám, bí ro' loingreoir maḡt a máccáim,⁴
Má⁵ áil leat ro' fáirḡ⁶ eagna, i noáil caḡa⁷ comḡfreagair.

Don eagna lán ir dá rior, an tan geabur tu t'oircior,
Biair gac flait fá cior⁸ ro' ceart, biair i nḡac leat do' labairt.⁹

Ibḡ gac lá lán deoc¹⁰ dí, tobair na heagna uairle,
Má¹¹ baḡ reairḡ ro' beoil a bair, buḡ reailḡ óil agur doilneair.¹²

TRANSLATION

In the morning, boy, after being instructed about the Trinity,
Wash chastely, dress neatly, without soiling your books in your
hand.

Look at every line attentively and cleverly, do memorizing often,
A little question (or trouble) and a keen clear memory, child, look
at every word.

¹ Ren. MSS. 66, p. 394 (A); 96, p. 354 (B); 71, p. 198 (C). ² géair, A, B.
³ móir, B. ⁴ mácaoiḡ, A. ⁵ bí maḡ, A. ⁶ fáirḡ, A. ⁷ caḡa do, A, B.
⁸ om., A. ⁹ do leabair, A. ¹⁰ dí, B. ¹¹ má bo, A; ní, B.

¹² Copy A has these words prefixed to above poem:—'ní feadair cia é an
ro gḡeas ir deair é,' 'I do not know who composed this, however it is
interesting.' Copy C has these words prefixed:—'Seandaine áirigḡe ag
teagart a maḡ ir é dá cur ar rḡoil eḡt.' 'A certain old man, instructing
his son when sending him to school, composed it.'

Do not have the habit of looking at everyone, pay attention to
your one lesson,
Store it in the back of your head, be engaged with it though hard
be the struggle.

Though it be difficult do not give in to it, never stop till you put
together
Every delightful advantage of compound words, however
complicated.

On the great sea of full learning be a good mariner, boy,
Be, if you wish, a seer of wisdom in the battle-fray of dispu-
tation.

Full of wisdom and of its knowledge, when you shall get your
fitting place
Every prince will be under tribute in your right, they will
be on every side speaking with you.

Drink every day a full drink of it, the fountain of noble wisdom,
If the taste of it should be bitter in your mouth, your possession
would be of carousing and pleasure.

ÉIST LE CÓMRÁD TUINE GLIC.¹

Éist le comrád tuine glíc, beas an díoghaíl do gní toirt.
Féad sae ní búr léir leat, tuig ir leis móran tairt.

Glíc do péir an tpeanfócal, sae neac toirtar² a bhrátha,
D'eagla na n-anfocal, ir binn beal ó beir iadta.

Ceann céillíde adubairt rin.

Listen to the advice of a shrewd person, little is the harm that
silence does ;

Look at everything you think clear ; understand, and let
much past you.

Shrewd according to the proverb is everyone who silences his
words.

For fear of the evil words, sweet is a mouth from being shut.
A sensible head said that.

DO MOLAÓ DÉ NÁ BÍ TUIRSEAC.³

Do molaó Dé ná bí tuirseac, bío a shápa as tualt so mall,
Mealltar Rí nimh map leanbán, a tuine ná bí d'balbán.

¹ Ren. MSS. 66, p. 394.

² toirtir, MSS.

³ Ren. MSS. 96, p. 304.

Be not tired of praising God, His graces are wont to move slowly.
The King of Heaven is coaxed like a child. O man ! be not
a mute.

COMAIRLE MAIT' DON DUINE ÓG SONN.¹

Δ λεμβ ἀτά α ττῦρ το ῥδοιγίλ μο ἑαδαρς σο ερμνν βειρ λεατ
Δη τέ α ττᾶμις α ἐιάλλ με ηαοιρ εuir-ρι γαέ ní 'na ἑααο.

Ἡά ρανντνίς ῥάιρτε βαοιρ ná ηη ὄρεαμ η-α μβίω ααα,
Sul α ττιοεραὶο ηη ιομαο το τ'αοιρ βιόω αίηηη αη Ἐρίορτ αδατ.

Ἡά εαιτ' το ῥδογδαλ ὀιομάοιη ιρ ná λεις ηη τρλίγε ταρ ααλ,
Óη ηη τρλατ νυαιρ ἑρμαδᾶηηη τε ηαοιρ ιρ ὀεαααιρ α ρνίοη 'η-α γααο.

Δο' ὀίγε οργνιτ' το ἡεαδᾶιρ ιρ βαίλς ηη ῥογλνιη λεατ
Óη ηη γλὶρ ναέ τνιγεαηη ηη αεαηη ιρ αμια α βειτ' ηηη νό αη.

Βειρ μαρ ελεαέταιρ αη ττῦρ νό μαρ το βιαὶὸ ῥογλνιη λεατ,
ῤε γλὶρ το τνιγῥιρ γο ερμνν, ἐ λαδᾶιρ τε Ρί ηη βρεαρτ.

Δη γλὶρ ναέ ρνιηταιρ τε γαοιρ 'ρ ναέ γοιηη ὀοη ἑρὶοῦε ná 'η ἑαβ.
Ἡί βῥνιτ' αέτ ιηηεαέτ τε γαοιτ' μαρ ιηηίγεταιρ ὀη ηγαδᾶιρ βεας
ργεαηη.

Γλαη εοταρ βαίλς γο ερμνν ιρ αμννίς γαέ νιὸ 'na ἑεαρτ.
Δη γλὶρ το βοςαηη ηη ερὶοῦε αη ἐ ταιηηεαηη τε Ρί ηη βρεαρτ

GOOD ADVICE TO THE YOUNG PERSON HERE

Child, who art at the beginning of thy life, take my instruction
carefully,

Settle everything with the leave of him whose wisdom has come
with years.

Desire not foolish speeches nor the people who utter them.
Before many of your years shall come, recognize Christ.

Do not spend your life idly, and forget not the right way,
For when the rod hardens with age, it is difficult to twist it
into a withe.

In your youth open your mind and gather learning,
For the speech that the head understands not, might as well
not be as be.

¹ Ren. MSS. 96, p. 572 (A); Murphy MSS. 72, p. 185 (B).

You will be according to your early habits, or according as you shall have learning ;

Whatever word you understand exactly, speak it to the King of Virtues.

The speech that is not kneaded with wisdom, and is not nearer to the heart than the lips,

It is only a passing with the wind as the bark passes from the small dog.

Gather exactly clear knowledge, and remember each thing aright. The speech set in motion by the heart (or which moves the heart) is what pleases the King of Virtues.

Tomár na hUalláin.

M. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE AND THE IRISH MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE—I

A RECENT writer on early Irish affairs has given the following recommendation to his readers: 'For the fullest compendious treatment of the pagan religion, the epic literature, and the laws of ancient Ireland, the student should read the entire series of volumes on these subjects (*Cours de Littérature Celtique*) by M. D'Arbois de Jubainville.'¹

Desirous of ascertaining the value of this recommendation we have read carefully some of those volumes of the well-known French author, and especially the one that is best known to the Irish public, and has had the greatest influence on our young Irish readers. Let us say at once that we were impressed rather unfavourably with the teachings of M. de Jubainville, and the reasons which lead to this result we intend to lay before our readers in the following pages.

But, first, let us give the title of the book we purpose reviewing. It is named '*The Irish Mythological Cycle and Celtic Mythology*, by H. D'Arbois de Jubainville, translated from the French, with additional notes, by Richard Irvine Best, 1903.'

The work is, the author tells us² a commentary on the *Leabhar Gabhála* or 'Book of Invasions,' and is in the nature of an essay on the fundamental principles of Celtic Mythology, and as the translation is authorized both by the writer himself and by his publisher, M. Albert Fontemoing, we must assume that it harmonizes with the original. The work has had a large circulation in Ireland, as, in addition to the considerable issue of it in the pages of the *United Irishman* newspaper, in whose columns it first appeared,

¹ See article on the *Book of Rights*, by Mr. Eoin MacNeill, B.A., *New Ireland Review*, June, 1906, p. 206.

² Introductory, p. 15.

there has been printed a large edition of the volume now before us.

Unhappily, too, as it has been brought home to us, as well by statements in recent publications which quote the work as an authority as by arguments drawn from its pages by speakers, its teachings have considerably modified the views of many of its readers regarding the light in which the facts narrated in our ancient records are to be interpreted, and in regard to our ancient history in general.

Now, we do not pretend to have a very thorough acquaintance with early Irish literature; but we think we know enough to be able to detect in the work we have read many grave and serious errors; and the opinion has impressed itself upon us that we might find in the learned French author a very unsafe guide in the interpretation of the records of our country.

And, first, the author comes before us with a theory to expatiate on. It is a theory which gives colour to his whole work, and which in our opinion taints and gives bias to every argument and every statement in it. It is—that the different branches of the great Hindu-European family went out from the paternal home, carrying with them an original stock of mythological lore, and that the historic religious traditions to be found among those peoples to-day are but versions of this common primeval store developed and crystallized during the course of their history. The fundamental doctrine whence originates this theory is set forth clearly and definitely in another, and this, perhaps, the most important of M. de Jubainville's works, viz., *Les Habitants Primitifs de l'Europe*, and it cannot be better enunciated than in the words of Professor Max Müller, quoted there with approval: 'There was a time when the first ancestors of the Indians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Slavs, the Celts, and the Germans, were lodged together within the same enclosure, nay, under the same roof.'¹

¹ Lecture on the Science of Language by Prof. Max. Müller. Cited by Dr. Taylor in his *Origin of the Aryans*.

And the author himself, after dealing through several pages with abstruse and not unfrequently absurd etymological constructions and derivations, says :—

Tel est le tableau que nous pouvons esquisser de ce qu'était la civilisation indu-européenne quand, établis au nord de la Perse et de l'Afganistan qu'alors habitaient les descendants de Cham, les Indu-Européens s'étendaient entre les montagnes qui forment la limite nord-ouest de l'Inde, la limite ouest de la Chine, et la limite est de la Russie d'Europe. *Ils ne formaient qu'un peuple.* Un jour ce peuple se sépara en deux. . . . L'un des deux peuples habita les pentes de l'ouest. *Nous lui donnerons le nom d'Européens.* Il allait commencer la conquête de l'Europe. L'autre eut pour première demeure les pentes Septentrionales de l'Hindukush ; puis, sans cesser d'occuper son primitif berceau, il descendit au midi de l'Hindukush aux environs de Cáboul et s'entendit sur la même latitude jusqu'aux cotes méridionales de la mer Caspienne. *Il se donna le nom d'Arien-Arya, c'est à dire, fidèle, dévoué, etc.*

By this we see that M. de Jubainville is a firm believer in the now generally discredited doctrine of the Aryan origin of the European races, and he would have all those peoples, to-day so different in their racial characteristics, spring from the same common stock—the Aryan. The whole scope of the work, then, seems to be to show that this old book, the *Leabhar Gabhála*, or 'Book of Invasions,' really gives a Celtic version of a mythology originally the common possession of the ancestors of the different branches of this Hindu-European family, but distorted and disfigured by the *Euhemerizing Christian writers* of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and particularly by Gilla Coemhain, Eoghaidh O'Flainn, and Flan Monastrech, who transformed the gods and goddesses of the Irish pantheon into mortals, and set out their doings in an apparently historic record.

And now, as the work is shot through and through with this fundamental doctrine, and as it energizes in every argument and every sentence of the writer, perhaps we cannot do better than take issue with it here and now.

Is it true, then, to say that the ancestors of those who are designated by some writers as the Hindu-European, and by others as the Aryan family of races, at one time

formed a united people living to the north of Persia and Afghanistan, and that they formed there an united empire spreading over the vast tracts lying between the frontier of China on the one hand, and those of Russia on the other ?

M. de Jubainville and the school to which he belongs conceive a time when the ancestors of these several races formed a political unity ; nay, ' were lodged together within the same enclosure '—*Ils ne formaient qu'un peuple*. What proofs do M. de Jubainville and those who think with him bring forward to show that the representatives of these several races were at any time more closely united, socially or politically, than they are to-day ? None whatever.

We may, perhaps, admit [says Professor Guest] that the men who wrote the *ædæ*s called themselves Aryas ; that the inhabitants of ancient Media were called Aryoi (Her. 7, 62) ; that a large part of ancient Persia, including Bactria, was called Aryana ; that the modern Persians call their country Iran and the districts inhabited by the Turcomans and Mongolians Turan ; and that the Sanscrit-speaking race probably descended into the Punjaub by the northern passes ; but I do *not* believe that the races speaking what have been called the Hindu-European languages ever lived a united people in ancient Bactria, or gave birth in its neighbourhood to the peculiar idioms which distinguish these languages. If a writer chose to apply the term Aryan to Sanscrit and the immediately connected dialects, there may, perhaps, be no great objection to his doing so ; but there is not a tittle of evidence to show that Celt or Teuton, Greek or Latin, ever dwelt east of Ararat before the conquests of Alexander, and to call these races Aryan involves a serious perversion of history.¹

But let us proceed. The author professes to find (pages 5-6) a 'striking analogy' between the accounts of the 'invasions,' or 'occupations' of our country by the early races—the Partholonians, the Nemedians, the Firbolgs, etc., on the one hand, and the account of the creation of the mythological races of men, as given by the early Greek writer, Hesiod, in his professedly mythological essay, entitled 'Works and Days,' on the other ; though where the analogy comes in we fail to see.

¹*Origines Celticae*, vol. i., p. 335.

Here let us remark that analogies, whether striking or not, carry little weight in historical questions unless supported by strong evidence of fact, form, indeed, part of the ordinary stock-in-trade of theorists who fail in adducing historic proofs, and, at best, lead only to vague and inconclusive results. But, be that as it may, we quote below M. de Jubainville's words, together with the relation of Hesiod as given by him (pages 5-7), and we leave it to our readers to find out for themselves what are the points of analogy between it and the account of the occupations of Erin as given in our ordinary handbooks of Irish history, which is taken chiefly from the *Lcabhár Gabhála*, of which the author says his book is a commentary :—

Irish literature . . . begins the origin of things with a series of *mythic events* which present a *striking analogy* with one of the best known conception of Greek mythology. Hesiod, in his poem 'Works and Days' (109-173), says: 'The golden race of men, gifted with speech, was the first created by the immortal dwellers in the mansions of Olympus; and they lived under Kronos when he reigned in heaven. As gods they were wont to live a life free from care, apart from labour and trouble; they suffered none of the ills of old age; their feet and hands were ever lusty; they passed their life in feasting, secure from adversity; and when they died it was as if overcome by sleep.

For them all things prospered; the fruitful field yielded them rich harvest without stint; and when they reaped they shared gladly with their numerous and kindly brethren. But when this race was buried in the bowels of the earth, it was transformed by the will of almighty Zeus into a race of beneficent demons who inhabit the earth, and are the guardians of mortal men whose actions, both good and bad, they observe. And they go to and fro over the earth, invisible in the air, which serves them for a vesture, distributing riches; for this is the kingly function they have attained.

Then, the dwellers in the mansions of Olympus created a second race, far inferior—the race of silver, like unto the golden race neither in body nor in mind. For a hundred years the child was reared by its watchful mother growing up in foolishness in the house. But when it had attained the period of youth and had come to man's estate, it lived but a little time and was in sorrow, because of its foolishness; for these men could not

abstain from injustice, one towards the other. They refused worship towards the immortals, and sacrifices to the almighty at the holy altars, as it is meet and right for men to do. Then Zeus, son of Kronos, was incensed against them because they would not render honour to the blessed gods, dwellers on Olympus; and he deprived them of life. But when the earth had covered them over, they were known as the powerful dwellers of the under world, and they hold the second rank, but honour is paid to them also.

Then created Zeus a third race of men gifted with speech—the race of bronze—in no way like unto the silver. Sprung from the ash, they were strong and mighty, and their concern was the mournful and unjust works of Ares, the god of War. They ate no wheaten food, and had stout unflinching hearts of steel. Great was their strength, and hands invincible hung from their powerful bodies. Of bronze were their arms, of bronze their dwellings, and in bronze they worked; for black iron was not yet.

With their own hands they took away life, and entered the corrupt abode of chilling Hades. For, however terrible they were, black death overtook them at last, and they quitted the bright sunlight. But when the earth had covered this race also, Zeus, son of Kronos, created a fourth race on the fruitful earth—a better and more upright one—who are the divine heroes of the former generation, known over the immense earth as demigods. These, fatal war and rude strife deprived of life; some of them near Thebes of the seven gates, in the Cadmean land, doing battle for the flocks of Œdipus. Others sailed over the great sea in their ships to Troy for the fair-haired Helen's sake, and there death enshrouded them. Zeus, son of Kronos, withdrawing them from men, gave them nourishment and a dwelling at the ends of the earth far from the immortals. Kronos reigns over them, and they live free from care in the isles of the blest beside the deep-eddy ocean, blessed heroes, for whom, thrice in the year, a fertile soil yields fruit as sweet as honey.

The Greeks thus believed that long before the days of their ancestors, who wrought the epic wars of Thebes and of Troy, three races from whom they had no descent had flourished on the ancestral soil. In Ireland we find an almost identical conception, though the names of the mythic races are not the same in Ireland as in Greece. Hesiod calls them the golden race, the silver race, the bronze race. The Irish speak of the family of Partholon, that of Nemed, and the Tuatha de Danaan. The Tuatha de Danaan are identical with the golden race of

the Greeks. In the family of Partholon we have the silver race of the Greeks, and in that of Nemed the bronze race. . . . In the seven pieces, therefore, whose titles we have just given, viz., the emigration of Partholon to Ireland, emigration of the Firbolgs, emigration of the Tuatha de Danaan, emigration of Mile, son of Bile, to Spain, emigration of the sons of Mile from Spain to Ireland, emigration of the Picts or Cruithnech from Thrace to Ireland and from Ireland to Britain, we have the Irish form of a doctrine whose fundamental elements are already found in Greece in Hesiod's 'Works and Days.'

Now, in reference to the analogy here sought to be established, perhaps we may be permitted to apply a judicious principle somewhere laid down by the learned author, viz., 'that in analogies we should look to the differences, not to the affinities.' Adopting this principle we discern many and striking differences between the accounts of the various occupations of ancient Erin and the mythical conceptions of Hesiod. And, first, in the order in which their appearance on the stage of fancy is conceived.

In the Hesiodic conception the golden race precedes the silver one; the silver one, the bronze; whereas, in the Irish conception, the Tuatha de Danaan, the counterpart of the golden race, comes fourth; the Partholonian, the counterpart of the silver race, first; and the Nemedians, the counterpart of the bronze race, second in the order of invaders; and for a parallel of the demigods who fought at Thebes and Troy he lumps together the Firbolgs, the Milesians, and the Cruithnech or Picts; though why he should make the Tuatha de Danaans the counterpart of the first Hesiodic race, and the Firbolgs the last, seems unaccountable, seeing that the Firbolgs were the predecessors of the Tuatha de Danaans in the occupation of ancient Erin.

Again, in the Hesiodic conception, not only the golden race, the counterpart of the Tuatha de Danaans, are assigned mansions in the other world 'by the will of Almighty Zeus;' but the silver race also, and the demigods, who 'were deprived of life' near Thebes of the seven gates, and at Troy; whereas, in the Irish conception, save the Tuatha de Danaan, 'who live free from care in the isles of the blest beside the

deep-eddying ocean,' all the other races seem to have been forgotten by the God who dispenses immortality to mortals.

And as to the affinities, what resemblance can be established between the Partholonians and the silver race spoken of by Hesiod? True, Partholon was a murderer, on account of which crime of their leader the whole race was swept away by a pestilence; and in this we should think they resembled the bronze race rather, 'who with their own hands took away life,' on account of which 'black death overtook them at last, and they quitted the bright sunlight.'

Again, what affinity between the Nemedians, who underwent unjust and cruel exactions at the hands of their oppressors, the Fomorians, and the bronze race, 'whose concern was the mournful and unjust work of Ares, the god of war'? and what between the demigods who fought at Thebes and Troy and the Firbolgs, the Milesians, and the Picts, save that they, like them, 'came over the sea in ships,' and were posterior in the order of invaders? But, in truth, the analogy sought to be established between the conceptions of Hesiod and the ancient invaders of Ireland has scarcely the merit of originality; and we, for our part, to a certain point, prefer the analogy discovered by his venturesome countryman, M. Lizeray, in the opening pages of his famous translation of the same old chronicle. In it he finds a parallel between the principal characters to be met with in the *Leabhar Gabhála*, and those others who go to ornament a Greek fable.

In penetrating the sense of the *Leabhar Gabhála* [says M. Lizeray] one can establish the accord of this work with other cosmogonies and mythologies. Partholon from *Partas*, Paradise and his wife, Dealguat, the *unjust*, indicate the epoch of the first laws. The adultery of Dealguat has analogy with the sin of Eve. The Nemedians, i.e., the *celestials*, correspond to the Olympic gods, who bear also the name of Uranians, i.e. *celestials*. The former combat with the Fomorians as the second with the Titans; the Firbolgs and the Tuatha de Danaan symbolize the epoch of the heroes and demigods. Finally, the Gaels, sons of Milesius, i.e., of the military man, *du militaire*, characterize the warrior of Homeric epoch. Cesair symbolizes the epoch of polygamy in use at the origin of nature; the

radical 'Caes,' *obscurity*, refers to the period when our ancient planet was yet enveloped in a thick covering of vapour. The father of Caesair, 'Biot' 'of *the living*,' bears a name equally significant.¹

Leaving the field of early Irish legend, this sapient French author carries his analogies into the sacred domain of Scripture, and he 'recognizes under the puerile hagiography of the Hebrews' the same 'Greek fable.' 'Adam and Eve,' the terrestrial paradise, the giants, symbolize the same epoch as Uranus and Rhea, the age of gold, and the Titans. (Here we see the analogy carried into the Semitic world.) Noah, planter of the vine, is Saturn (the Kronos, the god of death, of M. de Jubainville), cultivator of fruits. Sem, Cham, and Japheth, these are Jupiter, Pluto, and Neptune. Sem peoples Asia, Cham Africa, Japheth Europe. So Asia is the domain of Jupiter, surnamed Asios, i.e., the Asiatic; Europe that of Neptune; and Africa that of Pluto, which signifies that Asia is possessed of a salubrious climate, *aérée*; Africa, hot; and Europe, humid; for Jupiter is air; Pluto, fire; and Neptune, water. 'These myths,' he says, 'are easy of interpretation.'²

M. de Jubainville uses almost the same words in regard to the elucidation of events and personages treated of in the *Lcabhar Gabhála*. The learned author (page 8) finds in the accounts of the battles, massacres, sieges of Magh Tuireadh, Conaing's Tower, etc.,

A Celtic version of the wars waged by the Hellenic Zeus against his father, Kronos, and the Titans; that of Ormuzd, the god of righteousness, with Ahriman, the personification of evil, in Iranian literature; and the battles between the Deva or gods of day and light, and the Asura, or god of darkness, of storm, and of night, in Indian literature.

Perhaps we might put the pertinent question: What grounds has M. de Jubainville to institute those alleged parallels? or, are they entirely arbitrary? and, if so, what confidence can we have in following writers like him who

¹ *Au Lecteur Français*, pp. 9 and 21.

² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

see 'striking analogies' between these various mythological conceptions of the different branches of the alleged Aryan race and the sober relation of facts pertaining to our early history, when the points of resemblance sought to be established are so vague and far-fetched, and the differences so surprising?

In the case before us we have, on the one hand, only the fabulous creations of poets, romanticists, and mythological writers; and on the other, the accounts of annalists and historians, told in the language of sober narrative; an immemorial tradition connecting the alleged battles with the numerous and important mural remains which stud the locality around; the description of the arms, etc., used on the occasions receiving strong corroboration from the rich and varied collections of antique weapons preserved in our museums, and said by our antiquarians to have been those used by the respective combatants. We have besides the numerous descendants of one, at least, of the contending races still occupying in great part the territories alleged to have been given them according to the terms of the compact entered into by the combatants as the result of one of the famous battles; and if one of the other races spoken of, the gifted Tuatha de Danaan, make little show afterwards in the Ireland of clearly historic times, the fact only shows how thoroughly their ruthless conquerors, the Gaels, did their work 'of driving them to the hills,' as was afterwards said in the description of the wars of that (for them) disastrous period. In fact, the tract recording 'the battle of Magh Tuireadh' (the first battle) is one of the few chapters of our ancient writings that will scarcely need retouching by the historian of the future when the real history of our country comes to be written.

But let us come to examine the author's qualifications for the task he has set himself to perform.

At page xv (Introduction), M. de Jubainville tells us that his work is a commentary on the *Leabhar Gabhála* or 'Book of Invasions.' What are we to think of the author's acquaintance with the matter with which he is dealing when he looks upon this work as an original compilation, the

euhermerizing product of an eleventh-century writer : ' So we read in the *Book of Invasions* (compiled at the end of the eleventh century)' (page 49) ; ' the *Book of Invasions*, written in the following century (eleventh)' (page 86) ; ' the Christian annalists, such as Gilla Coemain and the author of the *Leabhar Gabhála* in the eleventh century' (page 163), etc., when the *Leabhar Gabhála* is not an original compilation of an eleventh-century writer at all, but a work compiled from a very ancient chronicle indeed, the *Cin Droma Sneachta*, and transcribed into our most ancient books, the most reliable version of which, compiled with the aid of several books of great antiquity and authority, has been given to the world by the celebrated Michael O'Cleary and his companions (the Four Masters) in the middle of the seventeenth century, A.D. 1631-7.

This, not to advance other proofs, the following statements of the transcriber of the work, two autograph copies of which, at least, are still extant, will show :—

I, the friar, Michael O'Cleary, have, by the permission of my superiors, undertaken to purge of error, rectify and transcribe *this old chronicle called Leabhar Gabhála* that it may be to the glory of God, to the honour of the saints, and the Kingdom of Erinn, and to the welfare of my own soul, etc.

And in the Preface he writes :—

It appeared to certain of the people, and to me, the poor simple friar, Michael O'Cleary of Tirconnell, one of the native friars of Donegall, whose inheritance it is from my ancestors to be a chronicler, that it would be a charity for some one of the men of Erinn to purify, compile, and rewrite this ancient, honoured chronicle which is called the 'Book of Invasions' for these reasons, etc.

After that it occurred to me that the work of which I have spoken (the *Lives and Genealogies of the Saints of Erinn*) was incomplete without correcting and writing the 'Book of Invasions' already mentioned, *because it is the original foundation of the history of the saints and kings of Erinn, of her nobles and her people . . .* It is right that you should know that it was ancient writers of remote times and commemorating elders of great age that preserved the history of Erinn in chronicles and books

in succession from the period of the deluge to the time of St. Patrick. . . .

St. Patrick, after all this, invited unto him the most illustrious authors of Erinn at that period to preserve the chronicles, synchronisms, genealogies of every colony that had taken possession of Erinn down to that period. These that he invited to him at that time were Ros, Dubhthach, the son of Ua Lughair, Fergus, etc. These were the sustaining pillars of this history of Erinn in the time of St. Patrick.

St. Colum Cille, St. Finnen of Cluain Forard (Clonard), and St. Comgall of Beauchuir (Bangor), and the other saints of Erinn induced the authors of their time to perpetuate and amplify the history and synchronisms of their day. . . . The histories and synchronisms of Erinn were written and tested in the presence of these illustrious saints, as is manifest in great books which were named after the saints themselves and from their churches. For there was not an illustrious church in Erinn that had not a great book of history named from it or from the saint who sanctified it.

It would be easy, too, to know from the books which the saints wrote, and the songs of praise which they composed in Gaellic, that they themselves and their churches were the centres of the true knowledge, and the archives and homes of the manuscripts of the authors of Erinn in olden times. . . .

The Books of Invasions which were present (i.e., which we had by us) at the writing of these conquests of Erinn were the Book of Bally-Mulconry, which Maurice, the son of Paidin O'Mulconry, transcribed out of the *Leabhar-na-hUidre*, which was written at Cluainmichnois in St. Ciaran's time (about A.D. 580);¹ the Book of Bally-Cleary, which was written in the time of Melsheachlainn Mor, the son of Domnall (King of Ireland, who began his reign in the year 979); the Book of O'Duignanns from Seanchua in Tírerill which is called the Book of Glen-da-Locha, and the Book of Ua Chonghail, together with other Books of Invasions and history beside them.

The sum of the matters to be found in the following book is the taking of Erinn by (the lady) Ceasair; the taking by Partholon; the taking by Nemedh; the taking by the Fírbolgs; the taking by the Tuatha De Danaan; the taking by the sons of Míledh and their successors down to the monarch Melseachlainn or Malachy the great (who died in 1002).

A. M. SKELLY, O.P.

¹ Not the eleventh-century manuscript bearing the same title so often quoted by M. de Jubainville.

Notes and Queries

CANON LAW

PUBLIC ORATORY FOR THE GAINING OF SOME INDULGENCES

REV. DEAR SIR,—In several Decrees of the Congregation of Indulgences it is stated that some indulgences cannot be gained unless a visit is paid to the parochial church or some other public oratory. What is the meaning of a public oratory in this connexion? Can nuns or students in a college gain those indulgences by visiting their own chapel? An answer will oblige.

D. M.

A public oratory, as distinct from a private oratory, is the same as a public church, that is a building dedicated to divine worship to which all the faithful have right of free admittance to perform their religious practices; whereas a private oratory belongs to and is erected for the exclusive use of one individual or family that has obtained the Indult. '*Ecclesiae vel oratoria publica,*' says Icard (ii. p. 438), '*dicuntur sacrae aedes ad Dei cultum dicatae ad quas omnibus patet aditus. Sacella seu oratoria privata ea sunt quae tantummodo inserviunt domino aedium huiusque familiae.*'

It is true that, according to a Decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Council, dated January 23, 1899, chapels belonging to Convents, Seminaries, and similar pious institutions, are not strictly private and are called semi-public, for the reason that strangers may be admitted into them and fulfil the ecclesiastical precept of hearing Mass on Sundays and Holidays; but it is equally true that these chapels are not public oratories in the strict canonical sense, which are erected for the use of all the faithful without any distinction or discrimination.

According to this theory, the Congregation of Indulgences has repeatedly decided that inmates of pious institutions cannot, without a special indult from the Holy See, gain, by visiting their own chapel, those indulgences for which, as a necessary condition, the visit to a public oratory is required. Not speaking of decisions of the said Congregation given before these chapels received the denomination of semi-public, we refer to a recent Decree in which it was asked of the same Congregation whether chapels of religious institutions, by being made or called semi-public, can be freely availed of for the fulfilment of the condition of the visit to a public oratory in order to gain indulgences, and the answer was in the negative. This Decree states :—

Num quando agitur de lucrandis prae-fatis Indulgentiis sub nomine Ecclesiae veniunt etiam huiusmodi oratoria ?

Negative et supplicandum SS^mum. ut benigne extendere dignetur etiam ad oratoria semi-publica Tertiarorum privilegium lucrandi indulgentias, de quibus in casu, sed favore tantum eorundem Tertiariorum coet^{er}arumque personarum cum ipsis in communitate viventium.¹

Lastly, it is not entirely out of place to remark here that, when for the gaining of Indulgences the visit to the parochial church is prescribed, this is the church of the parish of the domicile or quasi-domicile or actual habitation of those who wish to gain these indulgences, according to a Decree of the Congregation of Indulgences, dated September 13, 1905.

USE OF BOOKS OR MANUSCRIPTS IN THE QUALIFYING EXAMINATION FOR PARISHES

REV. DEAR SIR,—Suppose that a priest when answering in writing the questions given by the examiners in a concursus for a parish, makes use of the theological notes he composed when preparing for that qualifying examination, and is approved, perhaps, in preference to other candidates and entrusted with the care of a parish, can he *tuta conscientia*

¹ S.R.C., 22 Mart, 1906 ; 18 Aug., 1903 ; 17 Feb., 1892 ; 15 Mart., 1890 ; 16 Jan., 1886 ; 22 Aug., 1842, etc.

retain the parish conferred on him by the diocesan authorities under these circumstances? Does he incur any ecclesiastical penalty by acting in that way? B.A.

To this question a Canonist, answering from the legal point of view, would say that *in foro externo*, strictly speaking, the conferring of the parish under those circumstances which, we presume, are not publicly known, is in accordance with the prescription and the letter of the law, which only requires that a qualified man be entrusted with the parochial benefice after passing the experiment demanded by law, and obtaining the necessary approval from the examiners. And until the contrary be clearly and conclusively proved, by showing, for instance, that the examination was fraudulently made and that the fraud was the only cause of the candidate being qualified, the conferring of the parish stands good, and the law defends its possessor on the presumption that he is the legitimate owner, having afforded the proof demanded by the law, and having received the canonical institution from the competent authority.

A Moralist, however, would make a distinction, because there is, *in foro interno*, some fault committed which did not transpire in public, and which makes doubtful the proof of the ability of the candidate for the parish. If this industry, he would say, used in the examination for a parish, helped the candidate, at least, to such an extent as to make him achieve the result of being declared qualified for it, a result which he would have in vain hoped for were it not for the secret means used, then he cannot in conscience retain the parish conferred on him. But if, on the contrary, the fraud employed in the qualifying examination was not substantial to it, and to the proof of sufficient knowledge of the candidate for a parish, in the sense that it only helped him to expound in a more learned and exhaustive manner his doctrine, and that he would have otherwise shown a sufficient knowledge of the subject and given a sufficient proof of his ability to be entrusted with the care of souls, he may keep the parish to which he was appointed under these circumstances—for all that by

law is required in a candidate for a parish in point of doctrine is *idoneitas*—that is, sufficient knowledge and ability for the discharge of the pastoral duties. In fact the examination is instituted to test such a degree of knowledge and the examiners are bound to approve as qualified for the parish not only the candidate who is first in the concursus, but also all those who exhibit a knowledge sufficient for the administration of the parochial office. Hence in the second hypothesis the report of the examiners to the competent superior as to sufficient ability of the candidate who employed fraud in the examination is not wholly and objectively incorrect, and, on the other hand, the demands of the law with regard to the knowledge required for the acquisition and tenure of a parochial office, and the intention of the superiors who intend and wish to entrust it to a sufficiently able person, are fully complied with.

Nor is he bound to renounce the parish in favour of the candidate who, in ordinary circumstances, would have won the first place in the examination, because, besides absence of knowledge as to whether the other candidates used the same unlawful means, the presumption is, until there is proof to the contrary, that the superior appointed him to the parish not alone for his doctrine, but also and principally for the other qualifications which are required by law and are necessary in a superior of a parish.¹ We say *principally*, because in the present discipline of the Church diocesan superiors, following the doctrine of the Congregation of the Council and that of several Apostolic Constitutions,² in appointing parish priests, give preference to those who, being already equipped with sufficient knowledge, possess in a higher degree experience in ministerial work, practical tact, good morals, wisdom, and prudence in the government of a parish. 'Doctus est,' used to say D. Berardi,

¹ The Council of Trent, Sess. 25, c. 18, *De Ref.*, enacts: 'Peracto examine (examinatores) renuntiare debent Episcopo quocumque ab his idonei iudicati fuerint actate, moribus, doctrina, prudentia et aliis rebus ad vacantem Ecclesiam gubernandam.'

² Cf. Scavini, iv., p. 695.

'doceat nos; sanctus est, oret pro nobis; prudens est, regat nos.'

As to the other part of the query, to our knowledge, there is no penalty established by the common law of the Church to be incurred by or to be inflicted on those who make use of books or manuscripts in a qualifying examination for parishes; but some ecclesiastical penalty or censure may be, in this case, threatened by particular legislators and local superiors. In Rome, for instance, and in the Roman diocese, the use of books or manuscripts in the concursus for parishes is strictly prohibited under penalty of suspension to be incurred *ipso facto*, and of expulsion from the concursus if the candidate is caught *in flagranti*.

THE 'ACTA APOSTOLICAE SEDIS'

The first number of the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* has already appeared. Copies of it were first distributed amongst the Cardinals resident in Curia, and afterwards they were forwarded to subscribers all over the world.

This is the periodical that the Holy Father, by the Constitution *Promulgandi*, of September 29, 1908, ordered to be published, as a rule, twice a month by the Vatican Printing Press. There all ecclesiastical laws requiring promulgation will find place, as well as other acts of the Apostolic See which it is necessary or useful to bring under the knowledge of the people or of their local superiors.

The insertion of these Papal enactments in the new periodical is, according to this new discipline of the Church, the sole mode of promulgation of ecclesiastical laws. Hitherto general laws of the Church were held as promulgated for the whole Catholic world if they were published in Rome by posting copies of them in some public and prominent places, or if issued by the Roman Congregations in the usual authentic form; and thus they had the power of binding, at least *in actu primo*, all the faithful of the whole Church. This method of promulgation of laws, as can be readily perceived, caused, in many instances, dissatisfaction and inconveniences; so that, in order to avoid them,

the Roman authorities, besides publishing Papal enactments in Rome, used to send copies of them to all Ordinaries, or, at least, to the heads of ecclesiastical provinces or nations with the injunction of communicating them to the other local superiors.

All this has now come to an end. In this first number of the *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis*, in fact, an important declaration of the Secretary of State is published, by which all Bishops and other Ordinaries are warned that henceforth no copies of Acts of the Holy See will be sent to them as before; and that Church laws enacted for the whole Catholic world and other important acts of the Apostolic See will only be published and promulgated in and through the new periodical. This, of course, will necessitate on the part of diocesan superiors subscription to this new Bulletin.

The first number, as might reasonably be expected, contains the Apostolic Constitution *Promulgandi* which founded the periodical and constituted it as the sole mode and official organ of promulgation of Church laws; it contains also all the documents relating to the recent reform of the Roman Curia, and a list of all the superiors and officials connected with it.

No doubt, this publication will do away with many of the inconveniences complained of in the past, and of the questions discussed by experts as to the mode of promulgation of ecclesiastical laws.

We note that, owing to the appearance of this official Commentary of the Acts of the Apostolic See, the publication of the time-honoured periodical *Acta S. Sedis* will, in future, be discontinued.

S. LUZIO.

LITURGY

THE 'TE DEUM' AND EXPOSITION OF THE BLESSED
SACRAMENT

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have heard recently that it has been decided in Rome that, when the *Te Deum* is sung in connexion with Solemn Benediction, the singing of this hymn should precede the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, so that the order of things would be as follows:—First, on the celebrant arriving at the altar, the *Te Deum* is sung and the usual versicles and responses with the prayer are said; then the *O Salutaris* is sung, during which the Blessed Sacrament is exposed and benediction goes on in the usual way. Now, may I ask you kindly to inform me whether such a regulation has been made, and, if so, how soon it begins to bind in this country?

Related to this is another question, the solution of which will be appreciated by your readers. It is this: When, as has been the custom so far, the chanting of the above hymn takes place after the exposition and incensation of the Blessed Sacrament, what is the order of the prayers? Are the versicles and responses of the *Te Deum* to be recited after the hymn and the prayer said after the *Tantum Ergo*, and, in the latter case, which of the two prayers—the *Deus qui nobis* or the *Deus cujus Misericordiae*—is to get precedence. These are points on which some diversity of opinion has prevailed, and in the interests of rubrical harmony it is desirable to have them cleared up.

Thanking you, etc.,

SACERDOS.

The regulation referred to in this question has not, thus far at all events, been published in any of the official organs of the Holy See. The *Acta Sanctae Sedis* and the *Ephemerides Liturgicae* contain no mention of it, and it is scarcely possible that so important a Decree, if really issued, would escape the vigilant attention of the editors of the periodicals just mentioned. However, should the information of our correspondent prove to be correct and receive confirmation through the ordinary approved channels, the fact will be duly brought under the notice of the readers of the I. E. RECORD. But the answer to the second query, on which the fullest authentic information is available, based as it is on very recent Decrees of the Congregation of Rites,

must make one sceptical as to the truth of the rumoured change in the singing of the *Te Deum* in connexion with Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament. Assuming, then, that this hymn may still be sung during Exposition or Benediction, what order is to be observed? Fortunately, a Decree of the Congregation of Rites has been issued on this identical point. In February, 1907, it was asked:—

Quoties exposito Sanctissimo Sacramento canitur hymnus *Te Deum* in omnibus functionibus, expresse per Rubricas et decreta non directis, ac datur in fine cum eodem Sanctissimo Benedictio; utrum versiculi, qui citantur in decreto S.R.C. 11 Sep., 1847, *Veronen.* (n. 2956, ad iii.), dici cum Oratione *Deus cuius misericordiae*, debeant ante hymnum *Tantum Ergo*; an potius duo hymni sint conjungendi et absolvendi cum solo versiculo *Panem de coelo* et duabus orationibus sanctissimi Sacramenti et actionis gratiarum sub una conclusione?

The reply was:

Affirmative ad primam partem, negative ad secundam.

The only Benediction with the Blessed Sacrament which is recognized in the Rubrics and in the Decrees is that which is given when the Viaticum is taken to the church from the home of the sick, and that which takes place after the Procession on Corpus Christi and at the *Quarant' Ore*. Hence, then, the ordinary solemn Benediction is a sort of extra-liturgical function, and there being no hard and fast rules for carrying it out, the door lies open to great diversity of practice in points of detail. The above Decree, therefore, settles one of these, so that when the *Te Deum* is sung while the Blessed Sacrament is exposed, then immediately after the hymn the versicles and responses with the prayer should be recited. The versicles, etc., suitable for the occasion, and defined by another Decree, are:—

V. Benedicamus Patrem et Filium cum Sancto Spiritu.

R. Laudemus et super exaltemus eum in saecula.

V. Benedictus es Domine in firmamento coeli.

R. Et laudabilis et gloriosus et superexaltatus in saecula.

V. Domine Exaudi orationem meam.

R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

V. Dominus vobiscum.

R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

Deus cujus misericordiae, etc.

Here, too, it may be well to refer to another Decree of the Congregation of Rites which determines the order to be followed when other prayers are said at Benediction. In November, 1906, the question was put : ' An in functione Benedictionis SSmi. Sac., praeter orationem de eodem, alia cantari possit ? ' The response was : ' Affirmative, priusquam cantetur *Tantum Ergo*, quando aliae dicendae sunt preces. Negative, in casu opposito, nec non in festo et infra Octavam SSmi. Corporis Christi.'

The meaning of this Decree is that when prayers are authorized during Benediction and said before the *Tantum Ergo*—as, for instance, on the occasion of a Novena or of a Feast of the Blessed Virgin when the Litany is sung—then the suitable *Oratio* that is to form the conclusion to these prayers should precede the *Tantum Ergo*. In the same place should come the prayers ordered by the Bishop for the occasion. But in the opposite case, that is *after* the *Tantum Ergo* has been sung and when other prayers precede, then it is not lawful to add any *Oratio* to the *Deus qui nobis*. This interpretation of the second part of the above response seems laboured, but it is evidently the correct one, since it is recognized that an *oratio imperata*, or any other appropriate collect may be added to the prayer of the Blessed Sacrament when there are no others said before the *Tantum Ergo*.¹ The unity of the formal prayer of the Blessed Sacrament must not be interfered with during the Feast, or the Octave, of Corpus Christi. The reason is obvious. For the solemnity of this Festival should fittingly absorb the devotional attention of the faithful so completely and entirely as to exclude everything else which might tend to alienate their minds and thoughts from this central object. In the same way should it happen that Devotions are held

¹ Cf. *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, v. xxi., p. 72.

in honour of any Saint during the Octave of Corpus Christi it would be in the spirit of this Decree to have these prayers before the Blessed Sacrament is exposed, and then hold the Benediction during which nothing should be said or sung that has not reference to the august mystery commemorated in the Festival.

It only remains to note that when other prayers are added to the *Deus qui nobis* the conclusion should be that which is peculiar to the last *oratio*.

USE OF DOUBLE-FACED VESTMENTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—We have in use here what might be called a double-faced vestment, black on one side and white on the other. We find it the greatest convenience for Corpse Masses and Out-Masses.

Some priests throw doubt on its rubrical character, basing their view upon the prohibition of vestments having various colours mixed, though I myself think that the prohibition does not touch the case of the two-sided vestment, and that its use is quite rubrical and legitimate, just as the analogous one of a stole with two sides, one violet and the other white. Still I can find scarcely anything bearing on the point in the books I have consulted.

I would feel grateful, then, if you would give your opinion on this practical matter in the pages of the I. E. RECORD.

A SUBSCRIBER.

The vestment described in this query is hardly up to the rubrical standard, and its use cannot be sanctioned except in such circumstances as would justify in a rare case departure from the ordinary laws of the Liturgy. It is open to the same objections as the multi-coloured article which has come in for severe condemnation by the Congregation of Rites.¹ It is scarcely necessary to add that such a vestment was never contemplated by the Rubrics since they prescribe for the lining a less costly material than that employed for the exterior. And indeed it would be, to say the least, very unbecoming to use as a vestment what is intended for the purpose of preserving the exterior

¹ Decrees nn. 2675, 2682, 2769, etc.

or precious surface and protecting it from getting soiled and dust-begrimed. Then, too, one reads in books about the colour that the lining-material may be, but no writer has ever suggested black cloth for a red or white set.

The analogy of the stole would be to the point if its use were in accordance with the Rubrics and, especially, if it were the one employed in the Mass. But neither condition obtains. In the first place the use of the double-faced stole is against the spirit of the Rubrics, but tolerated on account of its convenience;¹ and in the next, its employment is only sanctioned in the administration of the sacrament of Baptism.

It is the writer's opinion, therefore, *salvo meliore iudicio*, that the two-coloured vestment described is not rubrical, and that, further, its use has no sanction, and is not likely to get any, such as that which has been given to the employment of the 'double-faced' stole in Baptism. This much, however, may be conceded to the custom in its favour wherever it exists, namely, that its use might be authorized until it becomes worn out. The same concession was made at the time that the multi-coloured vestments were condemned.

PRIVATE 'REQUIEM' MASS ON DAY AFTER NEWS OF
DEATH ARRIVES

REV. DEAR SIR,—I get tidings of the death of a friend in distant parts some weeks after it has occurred. The day following that on which the sad news reaches me happens to be a semi-double. I wish to say Mass for my deceased friend, and to give him as much benefit accruing from the Holy Sacrifice as possible. May I, therefore, say the Mass as a privileged one, that is, *cum unica oratione*? An early answer will oblige.

CLERICUS.

It is certainly quite lawful to say the *Requiem* Mass as suggested, and not only so, but this is the proper thing to do. Of course, if the day following the arrival of the news of the death was a double, then the *private* Mass for the

¹ Cf. Decr. S.R.C. n. 3086, vii.

Dead could not be said for these Masses are not privileged in this respect. They enjoy, however, a privilege as to the method of their celebration when this takes place on a day that is privileged as regards the Solemn Masses. In other words the privileges accorded in favour of *Requiem* Masses are two-fold. First, they make it possible to have the Masses on days that are not *semi-doubles*, and, secondly, they impart to the office and Mass of these days the character of a *double* rite. Now, it is only the Solemn *Requiem* Masses that, in the main, enjoy the first class of privileges, but *all* Masses for the Dead partake in the second.

P. MORRISROE.

DOCUMENTS

THE IRISH LANGUAGE IN THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY.—
STATEMENT OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE
IRISH HIERARCHY

A MEETING of the Episcopal Standing Committee was held on January 20, 1909, at University College, Stephen's Green, Dublin. There were present : His Eminence Cardinal Logue (in the Chair), His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, His Grace the Archbishop of Cashel, the Bishops of Raphoe, Kildare, Clonfert, Waterford, and Cloyne.

The Standing Committee unanimously resolved to issue for publication the following statement :—

As this is the first meeting of the Standing Committee of the Irish Bishops since the Charters of the National University and of its Constituent Colleges have been issued, we avail ourselves of the occasion to express the profound interest that we feel in the very important work which the Statutory Commission, the Senate and the Governing Bodies of the Colleges have taken in hand.

We entertain no doubt whatever that, no matter how slender the resources of Irish Catholics may be, means will be forthcoming to enable the students of the Colleges to have from the outset the advantage of the highest education in the truths of religion, and of the necessary facilities for the practice of Divine Worship. A College destitute of such spiritual provision as this would be utterly out of keeping with the sacrifices of Ireland for the faith, and quite devoid of any claim on the confidence of the Episcopate. It must, therefore, be our endeavour to secure the means of providing for religion as worthily as may be, and in such a manner as may be altogether acceptable, under the Universities Act of 1908.

The framing of the curriculum is the business of the Senate, and, with all our concern for the young life of the new University, we should not allude to the course of studies, or the programme of examinations, did we not notice with deep pain that the Senate is receiving, in the columns of the public Press, treatment which is neither creditable nor serviceable to the nation.

Whether it be good for the Irish Language movement, and

good for the new University, to make Irish compulsory is a question for fair argument. For our part, we look forward to the day when the Irish language will again be spoken throughout the country, and will in consequence become largely the medium of instruction in the Constituent Colleges. But to reach that stage we consider that by far the best means is to set up in the Colleges bright centres of Gaelic study, that will, by their light and by their rewards, attract young Irishmen within the sphere of their Irish influence. The progress of Irish in our seminaries and in numbers of the Intermediate schools of the country, so far from being an argument for compulsion, shows what the voluntary system, under our constant encouragement, has hitherto done, and what, no doubt, it will do still more successfully in the Colleges of the new University.

It is quite possible that in existing circumstances compulsion, instead of being a help, would be a hindrance to the language movement. It certainly would drive away from the University not a few students who, if once brought under the influence of the Gaelic school of a Constituent College, would grow up good Irishmen.

Entertaining these views, and deeply concerned alike for the revival of our National Language, and for the success of the National University, we deem it right to put them on record for the information of our people.

✠ MICHAEL CARDINAL LOGUE, *Chairman.*

✠ RICHARD ALPHONSUS, Bishop of Waterford
and Lismore,

✠ ROBERT, Bishop of Cloyne,
Secretaries to the Meeting

MASS ON BOARD SHIP

DECRETA SS. RR. CONGREGATIONUM

AMERICAE, OCEANIAE ATQUE AUSTRALIAE

INDULTUM LITANDI SACRUM IN NAVI PRO EPISCOPIS AMERICAE
OCEANIAE ET AUSTRALIAE

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Pius Papa X, clementer deferens supplicibus votis Sacrorum Praesulum ecclesiarum sive dioeceseon totius Americae, Oceaniae atque Australiae, privilegium benigne impertiri dignatus est, quo ipsi Revmi. Sacrorum Antistites, quotiescumque Romam petituri sint, perdurante maritimo itinere, etiam in reditu, singulis diebus Sacrum in navi

peragere valeant ; dummodo locus ad hoc delectus nihil indecens aut indecorum praeseferat ; mare sit adeo tranquillum, ut nullum prorsus adsit periculum effusionis sacrarum specierum e calice, et—si adsit—alter sacerdos supercelliceo indutus Praesuli celebranti adstat. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Die 30 Iunii 1908.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secretarius*.

THE GOVERNMENT AND REGULATIONS OF ITALIAN SEMINARIES

APPROVAL OF THE HOLY FATHER

Quae in hoc libello, cui titulus : ' Norme per l'Ordinamento educativo e disciplinare dei Seminari d'Italia ' a Sacra Episcoporum et Regularium Congregatione praescripta sunt, ab omnibus, ad quos spectat, servari et executioni demandari iubemus.

Ex Aedibus Vaticanis, Kalendis Ianuarii Anno MCMVIII.

PIUS PP. X

PARS PRIMA

SEMINARIORUM REGIMEN

CAPUT I.—DE SUPREMO REGIMINE

Art. 1.—Supremum regimen iura et officia Episcoporum in Seminaria comprehendit vi plenitudinis potestatis iisdem a Conc. Trid. delatae : '*Episcopus . . . omnia et singula, quae ad feliciem huius Seminarii profectum necessaria et opportuna videbuntur, decernere ac providere valeat.*'¹

Art. 2.—Diocesanorum Seminariorum supremum regimen pertinet ergo ad Episcopos cuiusque dioeceseos ; seminariorum vero interdioecesanorum Episcoporum Collegio adscribitur qui eodem Seminario fruuntur.

Art. 3.—Dispositiones Conc. Trid.² officia Deputatorum Seminariorum resplendentia in suo pleno robore permanent quoad Seminaria dioecesana. Seminariis vero interdioecesanis rite consultum est Episcoporum Collegio.

Art. 4.—Munus est Episcoporum gravissimum maxima cum diligentia Seminariis invigilare. '*Seminaria clericorum iure*

¹ Sess. XXIII, Cap. 18, De Reformat.

² Sess. XXIII, Cap. 18, De Reformat.

sibi indicant plurimas et maximas animi consilii vigilantiae vestrae partes.¹ Quod obtinebunt mandatis parentes Conc. Trid. *Episcopi omnia opportuna et necessaria (ut pueri in disciplina ecclesiastica instituuntur) constituent, eaque ut semper observentur, saepius visitando, operam dabunt.*²

Art. 5.—Episcopi, ad quos pertinet supremum Seminariorum interdioecesanorum regimen, saltem semel in anno conveniant ad examinandam relationem Rectoris de statu morali scientifico, oeconomico atque hygienico Instituti, et ad consilia sumenda, de communi consensu, necessaria et utilia; ea exequenda generaliter committant Episcopo dioeceseos in qua Seminarium adest. Ut vero sibi suadeant de recta Instituti agendi ratione, cum eo directè consuetudinem fovebunt, alumnos invisere et ipsis moderatoribusque quidem epistolas mittere poterunt.

Art. 6.—Ad Episcopum vel ad Episcoporum Collegium pertinet nominatio et dimissio illorum qui intimae Seminariorum directioni praeficiuntur, de Rectoris autem consensu, cum agatur de dependentibus ab eo.

Art. 7.—Electio et permansio tum Superiorum tum professorum Seminarii moderator iuxta dispositiones Sacrae Romanae Inquisitionis die 28 Augusti, 1907, publicatas, Litteris Encyclicis *Pascendi dominici gregis* et Motu proprio regnantis Pontificis Pii PP. X *Praestantia* confirmatas. Praestat autem in mentem revocare quae Leo XIII f. r. Episcopis Hungariae commendabat: *In iis (Seminariis) maxime erigilent curae et cogitationes vestrae: effice ut, litteris disciplinisque tradendis, lecti viri praeficiantur, in quibus sanctitas cum innocentia morum coniuncta sit, ut in re tanti momenti confidere eis iure optimo possitis. Rectores disciplinae, magistros pietatis eligite prudentia consilio, rerum usu prae ceteris commendatos, communisque vitae ratio auctoritate vestra sic temperetur, ut non modo nihil unquam alumni offerant pietati contrarium, sed abundant adiuventis omnibus quibus alitur pietas: aptisque exercitationibus incitentur ad sacerdotalium virtutum quotidianos progressus.*³

Art. 8.—Nullimode Episcopi permittant alumni suae dioeceseos studiis incumbere privatim aut extra Seminaria a se dependentia.

Art. 9.—Episcopi omne studium adhibeant ut Seminarium domum habeat rusticationis in qua alumni animum relaxare queant feriis autumnalibus. *Vitandi periculi ratio suadet ut comparetur alumni rusticatio ad feriandum, nec arbitrium relin-*

¹ Leo XIII, Encycl. *Etsi Nos*, 25 Feb., 1882.

² Sess. XXIII, Cap. 18, De Reformat.

³ Enc. *Quod multum*, 22 Aug., 1886.

*quatur suae cuique ipsorum adeundae familiae. Multa enim pravitatis exempla manent incautos . . . quo fit ut, in juveniles cupiditates proni aut ab incoepto deterreantur, aut sacerdotes futuri sint offensionis populo.*¹

Art. 10.—Inter gravissima Episcoporum officia illud recensetur promovendi clericos ad Ordines sacros; quare omni studio utantur ut illud adamussim persolvant. *'In admittendis invenibus ad SS. Ordines maxima utatur ponderatione, iuxta monitum gravissimum S. Pauli ad Timotheum: manus cito nemini imposueris. In his omnibus oportet ut posthabeatur quaevis alia ratio, quae semper inferior censenda est ea gravissima dignitatis S. Ministerii.'*²

Art. 11.—Ut recte iudicetur de qualitatibus moralibus Ordinandorum prae oculis habeatur Decreta S. Officii atque bina documenta Summi Pontificis Pii X sub num. 7 citata. Quod ad aetatem studiaque pertinet sequentia servantur:

Art. 12.—Tonsura nonnisi alumnis conferatur Propedeuticae curriculo operam navantibus, et Ordines minores iis tantummodo qui primo vel secundo anno S. Theologiae studio incumbunt.

Art. 13.—Nullus, licet aetatem a Conc. Trid. statutam attigerit, ad subdiaconatum promoveatur nisi tertium annum S. Theologiae expleverit; ad diaconatum ante Pascha quarti anni; ad presbyteratum ante exitum quarti eiusdem anni.³

*Sciant tamen Episcopi, non singulos in ea aetate constitutos debere ad hos ordines assumi, sed dignos dumtaxat et quorum probata vita senectus sit.*⁴

Art. 14.—Mense saltem ante statutam ordinationi diem ordinandi rectorem de sua voluntate certiore reddant per syngrapha. Si de alumnis dioecesanis agatur, Rectores petitiones Episcopo offerant, qui necessariis exquisitis investigationibus a parochis Moderatoribusque Institutorum, in quibus forte antea commorati sint, ad se advocet componentes Tridentinae Commissionis, Rectorem ac Seminarii Professores, ut ab eis sententiam petat; proinde iuxta conscientiam statuta, Rectorique elenchum Ordinandorum mittat, qui de hoc interesse habentes moneat, vetito exclusis iure recurrenti. Si vero agatur de alumnis extradioecesanis, petitiones ad respectivos Episcopos mittat Rector una cum sua sententia. Episcopi, peractis necessariis inquisitionibus, prout iam dictum est, dimissoriales litteras tradant, vel suos alumnos in suam dioecesim vocent ad S. Ordinationem, prouti opportunius sibi videatur.

¹ Leo XIII, Encyl. Paternae providaeque nostrae, 18 Sept., 1899.

² Leo XIII, Epistola ad Italiae Episcopos, 8 Dec., 1902.

³ Cf. Art. 113.

⁴ Conc. Trid. Sess. XXIII, Cap. 12.

Art. 15.—Statim antequam ad Ordinationem procedatur, ordinandi spiritualibus exercitiis vacent decem per dies promoveni ad maiores, quinque per dies ad minores ordines.

Art. 16.—In reliquis praescripta SS. Canonum servantur.

Art. 17.—Ut rectae oeconomicae agendi rationi consulatur Seminariorum, quae interdioecesana declarabuntur, instituetur aerarium commune ab Episcopis ordinarium Episcopale consilium componentibus.

Art. 18.—Hoc aerarium constituetur: (a) ex mensarum Episcopali ac dioecesanorum Seminariorum contributionibus iuxta rationem ab ipsis Consiliis determinandam; (b) ex fortuitis subsidiis a peculiaribus S. Sedis concessionibus promanantibus; (c) ex oblationibus cleri fideliumque.

Art. 19.—Huius aerarii administratio Commissioni committatur trium saltem membrorum in Consilio Episcopali eligendorum.

Art. 20.—Ad aequam fundorum praefati aerarii distributionem in Seminaris interdioecesana, Consilium Episcoporum opportunas peculiaresque normas statuatur.

Art. 21.—Singulis annis Episcoporum Consilio offerat Commissio summam rationum (*bilancio*) atque sumptuarias rationes (*conti consuntivi*) ut adprobentur.

CAPUT II.—DE INTIMA DIRECTIONE

Art. 22.—Seminariorum intima directio ad Rectorem pertinet, qui quoad disciplinam adiuuabitur iuxta alumnorum frequentiam ab uno vel duobus Vice-rectoribus, et a contuberniorum praefectis; quoad pietatem a pietatis magistro; quoad studia a studiorum praefecto et a professoribus; quoad denique administrationem ab oeconomo.

Art. 23.—Singulis ab Episcopo vel Episcoporum Collegio ad praetata munera explenda vocatis omnia iura atque officia competent ab ipsa muneris natura vel a legitima consuetudine promanantia. Quae maioris momenti sunt, hic breviter attingimus.

Art. 24.—Quisque Superior in nobile graveque munus sibi commissum animum intendat, et studeat totis viribus, ut fidelitate, zelo, constantia atque caritate illud expleat. Omnes prae oculis habeat verba Summi Pontificis Leonis XIII f. r. in Epistola ad Italiae Episcopos diei 8 Decembris, 1902: *‘Maxime interest ut ad instituendos sanctuarii alumnos iuxta vivam imaginem*

D. N. I. C., quod tota complectitur ecclesiastica institutio, moderatores et professores cum diligentia peritiaeque sui officii exemplum vitae omnino sacerdotalis coniungant. Integrae vitae ratio Superiorum vox est maxime iuvenibus eloquentior ac suadentior ut in eorum animis proprii muneris persuasio ac boni amor inspiretur.'

§ I.—De Rectore

Art. 25.—Rector est Seminarii praepositus proximus: omnium primus, ut ait S. Carolus Borromeus, cuius etiam haec sunt: '*eique ceteri cuiuscumque ordinis, in functionibus munerum suorum ac in omnibus prorsus quae ad Seminarii referuntur utilitatem, obtemperare tenentur.*'¹ Rector itaque velut centrum est, a quo vita Seminarii promanat: ad eum pertinet intima directio cum omnibus officiis ac iuribus quoad moralem, scientificam, hygienicam et materiale Instituti agendi rationem.

Art. 26.—Ei immediate subiiciantur omnes alii ministri. Ipse autem ab Episcopo depondeat, cui continuo referat cuncta quae ad Seminarium attinent, nihilque gravioris statuatur absque eiusdem approbatione.

Art. 27.—Suam expleat actionem suos coadiutores dirigendo ac ducendo, cum quibus semel saltem in mense conferet; ab ipsis de statu communitatis certior reddetur; eorum consilia curet ut futuris obsistat abusibus, ac pietatem scientiamque inter alumnos promoveat.

Art. 28.—Eius praecipuum munus in alumnos esto eos instituere ad vitam religiosam et sanctam. Utpote pater eos dirigat, idest eos moderando cum aequa auctoritate atque suavitate: *fortiter et suaviter*. Ipse potius quam uti minis et punishmentibus, in eis inspiret sensus officii, et obsequii erga auctoritatem ac desiderium boni libere, potius ob suasionem ac conscientiae impulsu, quam ob servile metum, iuxta monitum Pauli: *Non solum propter iram, sed etiam propter conscientiam*². . . *facientes voluntatem Dei ex animo.*³

Art. 29.—Cum alumni itaque saepe opportunos habeat sermones, ut eos doceat atque hortetur ad eorum munerum observantiam, et usum praeceptorum humanitatis. Ut autem eos intime ac directe cognoscat, non tantum privatim singulos admoneat ac hortetur, sed pater studiosus saepius iis interesso absque tamen auctoritatis detrimento.

Art. 30.—Iuxta munus suum Rector invigilet sinceritati ac progressibus sacerdotalis vocationis alumnorum, eorundem

¹ Inst. p. 2, c. 2. ² S. Paul ad Rom. xiii. 5. ³ S. Paul ad Eph. vi. 6.

profectum animadvertens in pietatem, virtutem, studia, omnia que statum ecclesiasticum respicientia.

Art. 31.—Quod ad disciplinam attinet, supremam ac generalem exerceat vigilantiam in omnes et in omnia, quin tamen se nimis immisceat in rebus minimis ac secundariis suis coadiutoribus commissis. In eos fidem ostendat eis congruam gerendi libertatem relinquens. Studeat ut auctoritatis principium integre existimetur, et regulæ religiosissime serventur. Reservata suis dependentibus minorum punitionum cura, gravioribus casibus adesto, ut debite admoneat et congruam, quatenus id necesse sit, punitionem infligat.

Art. 32.—Quod vero ad studia attinet, invigilet, ut alumni veros in variis disciplinis progressus faciant. Opportune itaque perpendat acta in quibus Professores adnotant statum quotidiani progressus in studiis et disciplina singulorum alumnorum; ius habeat scholas visitandi, alumnos interrogandi, periculis adstandi; et absoluto quovis bimestri adnotationes singulorum mittat Episcopo, vel Episcopis Consilium constituentibus.

Art. 33.—Paternarum Rectoris sollicitudinum obiectum quidem esto alumnorum valetudo, certiore se faciens sive per se, sive per vice-rectorem de victus, integritate, et ut hygienica praecepta serventur ac infirmis apte consulatur illisque quidem quorum valetudo peculiares deponat curas.

Art. 34.—Quod autem ad Comunitatis administrationem attinet, iure gaudeat, urgentes impensas ordinandi, quas necessarias vel utiles ad rectam Seminarii gerendi rationem existimet, consulto prius Episcopo cum de gravioribus agatur expensis, ne statui oeconomico Instituti ullum praeiudicium afferatur.

Art. 35.—Tabulas generales habeat omnium alumnorum, in quibus, inscriptis nomine cognomine cuiusque ipsorum eorumdem parentum, diocesi, patria, ortus anno, mense, ac die, ac ingressu in Seminarium, studiis expletis ac incoeptis, annuatim adnotentur contubernium, auditorium, fortuiti e Seminario egressus, periculorum annualium ac reparationis exitum, dies ss. ordinationum praemia adepta, omnia denique quae ad progressum vel regressum alumni in pietatem, disciplinam atque studia referantur.

Art. 36.—Singulis annis expletis Episcopo Rector diligentem relationem subleciat de Instituti statu morali, scientifico, hygienico, atque oeconomico.

§ 2.—*De Vice-rectore*

Art. 37.—Munus est Vice-rectoris rectorem coadiuvandi, eiusque vices gerendi, cum absit vel detineatur. Vice-rector itaque peculiarem obsequium in rectorem ostendito, et abstineat

a dissentionibus et ab imprudentis voluntatis iactantia ; semper sibi commissa tantum expleat, ac eundem prosequatur benevola apertatque subiectione.

Art. 38.—Omnia ad Vice-rectorem pertinent quae disciplinam vel legum observantiam respiciunt. Eius esto assidue seduloque contubernii praefectis, vitae communi alumnorum, eorumdem munditiae atque usui praeceptorum civilis institutionis.

Art. 39.—Praefectis frequenti congregiatur consuetudine, ut de agendi ratione contubernii ipsis commissi certior sit, et ita consulere possit necessitatibus sive per se, sive, in negotiis maioris momenti, de Rectoris consensu. Hunc nihil celato, et diebus horisque statutis eum doceat de omnibus, ut normas consiliaque recipiat quae fideliter exequatur.

Art. 40.—Curam habeat ut alumni sibi omnia comparent quae propriis sumptibus comparanda tenentur, uti v. g. libros, res scholasticas, etc., studeat ut nihil in Seminarium importetur, nihil alumni tradatur absque consensu suo. In libris comparandis maxima utatur cautela, idque agat de Rectoris consensu.

§ 3.—*De Contubernii Praefectis*

Art. 41.—In praefectos eligat Rector clericos pietate, studio, intelligentia ac amore erga disciplinam prae ceteris excellentes. Ipsi autem studeant ut omnibus exemplo sint aetatem cum prudentia compensando.

Art. 42.—Eorum esto praecipue, tempore lectionum excepto, continuo in alumni interesse, eosque vigilantia prudenti modestaque prosequi absque tamen vana iactantia, ut quibuslibet incommodis via praecludatur, ac indoles qualitatesque cuiusque intime cognoscatur.

Art. 43.—Omnino curent ut ab alumni mussitatio censuraque amoveantur, praesertim cum auctoritatem respiciant, nitentes ut ab ortu funesta deleantur initia cuiusvis haud rectae propensionis.

Art. 44.—Impediant pariter manuum lusus, lites, pungentes facetias, quemlibet actum, quaecumque verba, ecclesiasticae gravitati non congruentia ; delinquentes cum caritate admonendo ut ad meliorem frugem se recipiant. Generatim semper invigilent, ne unquam alumni variis rerum adiunctis praeceptis deficiant perfectioris urbanitatis.

Art. 45.—Omnem diligentiam adhibeant ut adamussim serventur praecepta Seminarii atque dispositiones peculiares Moderatorum.

Art. 46.—Cum prudentia ac sinceritate Rectorem et Vice-

rectorem doceant de alumnorum agendi ratione, in quos nec praelationem nec peculiarem dilectionem exhibeant.

Art. 47.—Invigilent ut alumni, domi forisque, semper nitida munditie excellant.

Art. 48.—Si contigerit aliquem admonere, id agant fraterna cum caritate, cum observantia et moderatione, ratione habita diversae indolis iuvenum ut eos meliores reddant.

Art. 49.—Singulariter sint solliciti de alumnorum sanitate, cautelas contra infirmitates adhibentes, atque statim Superiores doceant si quis infirma valetudine afficiatur.¹ Eorum muneris fundamentum caritas esto.

§ 4.—*De pietatis Magistro*

Art. 50.—Pietatis Magister committitur alumnorum spiritualis cura, ut instituantur ad perfectam vitam sacerdotalem. Itaque summopere studeatur, ut huic muneri praeficiatur sacerdos, quem constet praeditum esse necessariis requisitis.²

Art. 51.—Nulli Seminario Magister desit pietatis idque utpote grave peculiareque praeceptum infungitur omnibus Rm. Ordinariis. Ipse habitualiter in Seminario commoretur, ut paratus sit quoties alumni eum exposcant, prouti mos est praestantiorum Institutorum.

Art. 52.—Si ob pecuniaria adiuncta per aliquod tempus quominus resideat impediatur, Seminarium quotidie petat horis et loco statutis sacerdos externus, cui munus, de quo agimus, commissum est, ut alumnos eum petentes audiat.

Art. 53.—*Cura praecipua pietatis Magistro esto in alumnos infundere ac colere, maiori qua potest constantia, pietatem illam, quae omnibus sed praesertim clero uber est inestimabilis utilitatis. Quo magis pietas in clericos penetraverit, eo magis ipsi parati erunt ad sacrificii studium strenuum, cuius tanta est necessitas ad sollicitam curandam Dei gloriam et animarum salutem.*³

Art. 54.—Confessiones alumnorum audiat pietatis Magister, eisque monita, quae in Dno expedire iudicaverit, praebeat, quoad praesertim sacerdotalem vocationem. Eos dirigat ad meditationem peragendam, sive lectione sive expositione, sive quemdam librum aptum indicando, atque eiusdem diluturnitatem iuxta alumnorum aetatem moderatur.

Art. 55.—In obsequium sui sublimis ac peculiaris muneris, summo studio caveat, ne sese immisceat in disciplinari agendi ratione Seminarii; neque alumnos admonitos vel punitos protegat.

¹ Cf. *Praecepta hygienica*, n. 4. ² Cf. Art. 7. ³ Leo XIII, Epist. cit.

Art. 56.—Ad alumnorum confessiones audiendas praeter pietatis Magistrum, alii quidem deputentur docti piique sacerdotes, qui ratione habita gravissimi muneris, atque ducibus probatis auctoribus, poenitentibus lumina, consiliaque praebeant in eorum dubiis, obligationem imponentes statum ecclesiasticum relinquendi iis qui ostendant ad eum non vocatos esse.

Art. 57.—Moderatores ac Professores Institutū prohibeatur a munere Magistri pietatis vel Confessarīi ordinariū simul gerendo.

§ 5.—*De studiorum Praefecto*

Art. 58.—Munus studiorum Praefecti descriptum est in Programmate generali studiorum, Cap. VI.

Art. 59.—Peculiaribus in adiunctis ad huiusmodi munus idem Seminarii Rector vocari poterit.

Art. 60.—Praefectus studiorum curare tenetur, ut religiose serventur studiorum normae atque media aptiora adhibeantur ad promovenda eadem studia in Instituto, semper tamen de Rectoris consensu.

Art. 61.—Interdum auditoria tempore lectionum visitet, alumnosque interroget ut in eis discendi ardor, in magistris studium docendi excitentur.

Art. 62.—Invigilet ut diligenter habeantur acta scholastica, utque in fine singulorum bimestrum paratae sint schedulae notarum ab alumnis obtentorum.

Art. 63.—Dirigat omnia quae pericula extrema ac reparationis respiciunt; omne studium adhibeat ut pericula cum gravitate et absque favoribus expleantur, et meritum tantum singulorum pendatur in promotionibus decernendis ad scholas superiores; scholam novis quoque alumnis assignet eorum cognita idoneitate sive ex documentis, sive ex admissionis experimentis.

Art. 64.—Curet ut solemniter celebretur anni scholastici inauguratio ac praemiorum distributio, pro quorum adiudicatione opportunas statuatur normas de consensu Rectoris, et Episcopo vel Episcoporum Collegio adprobantē.

Art. 65.—Singulis exeuntibus annis scholasticis, diligentem de statu scientifico relationem generatim scribat simul ac de progressu in studiis ab alumnis habito, vota enuncians quae praestantiori studiorum conditioni utilia vel necessaria iudicaverit. Eiusmodi relationem Rectori obferat qui de ea Episcopum vel Episcoporum Collegium certiores reddet.

§ 6.—*De Professoribus*

Art. 66.—Cuiusvis professoris esto discipulos cum doctrina

atque ex conscientiae officio dirigere ad rerum notionem, quas quis docere teneatur, illud prae oculis habens quod dicitur : *primus discendi ardor, nobilitatis est magistri*.

Art. 67.—Professores quoad munus sibi commissum immediate studiorum Praefecto subiiciantur.

Art. 68.—Sedulo ac diligenter horis statutis in scholis intersint, in lectionibus explicandis sese parent, statutum programma absolvant, saepe alumnos interrogent, eorumque pensa corrigant, eos in studium excitent, adiuventque, disciplinam in scholis tueantur, quibus vero neglectis, frustra verus expectatur progressus. Exempla per se potissimum praebeant omnium virtutum, quod eis debitum afferet obsequium. Si vero interdum quis alumnorum huic reverentiae defecerit, eum Professores ad Rectorem vel ad Vice-rectorem deferant ut apte admoneatur.

Art. 69.—Ne negligent Professores eos qui in scholis haud nimium ostendant ingenii, imo antequam ad novas explicandas lectiones procedant, sibi suadeant omnes explicatam lectionem recte clareque intellexisse, quod quam maxime iuvabit, ut aemulatio excitetur et omnes alumni optimum consequantur progressum.

Art. 70.—Quisque professor codicem habeat, in quo adnotentur quotidie notulae quas alumni in scholasticis periclitationibus et in sese gerendi ratione consecuti sint. Singulis vero bimestribus ipsarum notularum mediam computet, quam studiorum Praefecto afferat.

§ 7.—*De Oecono*

Art. 71.—Ad Oeconomum pertinet, sub Rectoris auctoritate, interna Seminarii oeconomica ac materialis negotiorum gestio.

Art. 72.—Peculiare habeat Tabularium in quo de more conservet omnia necessaria documenta, praesertim rationes accepti et expensi, acta, etc., ita ut quoties postuletur, rationem diligenter reddere valeat. Initio cuiusque anni praevisam sumptuariam rationem (*preventivo*) computet, et expleto anno Rectori exhibeat summam rationum.

Art. 73.—Numquam absteineat ab iis peragendis impensis, quas Rector utiles vel necessarias existimaverit incremento morali, disciplinari atque scientifico Seminarii, iuxta art. 34.

Art. 74.—Peculiari cum diligentia culinae invigilet, ut alumni congruenter deserviantur.

Art. 75.—Saepe varias domus partes visitet, ut inspiciat an omnia ordinata reperiantur, an quid perierit aut corruptum fuerit ut cito consulatur.

Art. 76.—Curet ut in Seminario regulae decentiae observentur et hygienica subsidia adhibeantur.¹

Art. 77.—Omne studium adhibeat ut in Ecclesia vel in Sacello Seminarii omnia expedita reperiantur, nihilque desit cultui necessarium, ac debita cum decencia semper conserventur sacrae suppellectiles.

Art. 78.—Oeconomus, in anno facultate fruatur non modum quoad ordinarias expensas, sed etiam quoad urgentiores, animadvertens tamen graviores expensas, ut instaurationes aedificiorum, suppellectilium, etc., antea adprobandas esse ab Episcopo dioecesano vel Episcoporum Collegio.

Art. 79.—Oeconomus, de Rectoris consensu, famulos seligat, qui ab eo immediate dependeant. Ipse autem eorum vitae rationi invigilet tum quoad pietatem tum quoad mores et disciplinam iuxta opportunas leges, quas ipse quidem de Rectoris consensu statuet.

PARS ALTERA

DE IUVENUM ADMISSIONE IN SEMINARIUM

Ad quidnam sint Seminaria instituta aperto patet ex verbis Conc. Trid., instituentis: '*Singulae Cathedrales certum puerorum numerum religiose educare et ecclesiasticis disciplinis instituere teneantur, quorum indoles et voluntas spem afferat eos ecclesiasticis ministeriis perpetuo inservituros, ita ut hoc Collegium Dei Ministrorum perpetuum Seminarium sit.*' Et Summus Pontifex Leo XIII s. m. in laudata Epistola ad Episcopos Italiae ait: '*Nos existimamus iterum ac ardentiori sollicitudine commendare, ut Seminaria omni studio serventur in proprio peculiari spiritu sive quoad mentis, sive quoad cordis institutionem. Semper prae oculis habeatur ea omnino destinata esse ad instituendos iuvenes non ad humana munera, sint quidem legitima ac honorifica, sed ad officium sublime Christi administrorum et mysteriorum Dei distributorum.*'

Admissio ergo iuvenum in Seminarium maximam exposcit prudentiam. '*Tantum admittantur iuvenes,* prosequitur Leo XIII, '*qui solidas afferant spes sese perpetuo tradendi ecclesiastico ministerio.*' Ex hoc tamen praesumendum non est, praesertim si adhuc iuniores, certum propositum, sed oportet ut saltem quandam naturae ostendant propensionem in statum ecclesiasticum.²

In alumnorum admissione tum in scholas inferiores, tum in

¹ Cf. Appendic. I, § 1.

² Cf. Appendic. II, § 3.

superiores prae oculis habeatur S. Congr. Concilii Decretum '*De Seminariorum alumniis*,' diei 22 Decembris, 1905,¹ et sequentia.

CAPUT I.—DE ADMISSIONE IN SCHOLAS INFERIORES

Art. 80.—Ut iuvenis in Seminarium admittatur ad familiam vere christianam et integrae existimationis pertinere debet.

Art. 81.—Alumni, vel eorum vices gerentes documenta exhibeant :

1°. Baptismatis et confirmationis si hoc iam susceperint sacramentum ;

2°. legitimi parentum matrimonii ;

3°. documentum bonae vitae rationis a Parocho vel a Moderatoribus Institutorum, in quibus forte commoratus sit, dimissum ;

4°. bonae corporis constitutionis, et insiti vaccini virus.

Art. 82.—In scholis adsignandis religiosissime serventur dispositiones Cap. 11 (*a*) studiorum generalis Programmatiss.

Art. 83.—Quoad aetatem regula a dispositionibus Tridentini Concilii praebetur. '*In hoc vero Collegio (Seminario) recipiantur qui ad minimum duodecim annos et ex legitimo matrimonio nati sint.*'²

CAPUT II.—DE ADMISSIONE IN SCHOLAS SUPERIORES

Art. 84.—Nullus admittatur in scholas superiores nisi de more expleverit scholas inferiores atque pericula superaverit.

Art. 85.—Alumni qui, absolutis interioribus scholis in aliquo Seminario, aliud adeunt ad studia superiora aggredienda, documenta expletorum studiorum ac bonae vitae rationis a Rectore dimissa offerant.

Art. 86.—In scholas superiores non admittantur nisi iuvenes qui indicia praebuerint vocationis ad statum clericalem.

Art. 87.—Prudenti Rectoris arbitrio committitur alumnos retinere qui in Seminario commorari cupiunt ad consequendum tantum gradum prolytae in Lyceo.

PARS TERTIA

LEGES AB ALUMNIS SERVANDAE

CAPUT I.—DE PIETATE

Dicitur pietas in Deum illa animi propensio, quae urget ad

¹ Cf. Appendic. II, § 2.

² Sess. XXIII, Cap. 18, De Reformat.

officiorum observantiam, quibus homo tenetur erga Creatorem, studiosam ac devotam venerationem eidem profitendo. Ipsa ergo totum complectitur hominem, eumque ad divinam metam dirigit, excelsitatem menti, characteri constantiam, cordi nobilitatem, omnibus virtutibus fulcrum atque incitamentum largiens. Quibusvis institutionis rationibus necessaria, pietas omnino requiritur in clericali institutione, cuius finis est in alumnos efformare *hominem Dei*.¹

Pietatis itaque adeptio primum ac maius esto alumnorum officium. '*Decet clericos vel a prima aetate iugo Domini assuescere, pietati vacare plurimum, inservire sacris ministeriis, vitae sacerdotalis exemplo conformari.*'²

Modus aptior ac simplicior pietatem acquirendi est exercitium eius operum, quae aperte intima consilia ac animi sensum significant. Opera pietatis itaque peragantur quotidiana, hebdomadaria, mensualia et annualia.

§ 1.—*Quotidiana opera*

Art. 88.—In quovis Seminario quotidie sequentia pietatis opera peragantur :

- 1°. Preces matutinae.
- 2°. Meditatio.
- 3°. Missa.
- 4°. Lectio spiritualis.
- 5°. SSmi. Sacramenti visitatio.
- 6°. SSmi. Rosarii recitatio.
- 7°. Preces vespertinae et de operibus suis cuiusque generalis inquisitio.
- 8°. Mane meridie et vespere *Angelus Domini* vel *Regina Coeli* iuxta tempora recitetur.

§ 2.—*Opera hebdomadaria*

Art. 89.—Diebus dominicis aliisque solemnibus Contubernia turnatim operam praebeant in Cathedralibus. Rector consulat, ut alumni, qui in Seminario remanent, iuxta opportunitatem aliud pietatis opus expleant. Omnes alumni Cathedralē petant, cum Episcopus ibi functionibus intersit.

Art. 90.—Feriis V et diebus dominicis spirituali sermoni adsint, quod munus committatur cuidam sacerdoti scientia pietateque idoneo. Singulis feriis VI. iustis horis vespertionis, recitetur

¹ S. Paul. Ad Timoth. i., cap. vi. 11.

² Leo XIII, Encycl. *Paternae Providaeque nostrae*, 18 Sept., 1899.

quinquies *Pater, Ave et Gloria* cum oratione *Respice, quaesumus Domine, super hanc*, etc.

Art. 91.—Singula hebdomada sua admissa peccata confiteantur, ac saepe, iuxta Confessarii consilium ad S. Synaxim accedant.

§ 3.—*Opera mensualia*

Art. 92.—Prima cuiusque mensis feria VI pium exercitium celebretur in honorem SS. Cordis Iesu ea ratione, quae opportunior visa fuerit, inspecto quidem Missae votivae privilegio a Summo Pontifice Leo XIII f. r. concesso.¹

Art. 93.—Recessus a bona morte nuncupato exequantur alumni iis sermonibus ac operibus quae induxerit consuetudo ea ratione, ut quis diligentius se percontetur, et consilia capiat quibus melius defectus corrigere ac in virtutem progredi valeant.

§ 4.—*Opera annualia*

Art. 94.—Religiose novendiales supplicationes, tridua, etc., celebrentur quae maioribus D. N. I. C. et Mariae V solemnitatibus praemitti solent; item peculiari pietate praefatae solemnitates celebrentur, nec non aliae quas Ecclesia christiano populo urget.

Art. 95.—Filiari pietate pium opus expleatur mensis in honorem B. M. V.

Art. 96.—Singulis annis semel spirituales peragantur exercitationes, saltem per quinque dies continuos, vel etiam bis per tres dies, iuxta locorum consuetudines. His diebus clerici iam in *sacris* horas canonicas collegialiter recitent.

Art. 97.—Alumni attentas aures adhibebunt ad sacras conciones tempore spiritualium exercitiorum, et generatim ad meditationes, instructiones, spirituales sermones, ut ex eis utilitatem consequantur ac de eis referre queant, quoties id petant superiores.

CAPUT II.—DE STUDIO

Studium est unum ex praecipuis officiis iis qui instituuntur, ut simul fiant *sal terrae et lux mundi*. '*Lumen doctrinae neque illud vulgare, in sacerdote requiritur, quia muneris eius est implere sapientia ceteros, evellere errores, ducem esse multitudini pro itinere vitae ancipitia et lubrica.*'²

¹ Cf. Appendic. II, § 1.

² Leo XIII Encycl. *Exeunte iam anno*, 1 Dec., 1888.

Alumni itaque omni cum diligentia operam dent studiis praescriptis. Ante omnia mente et cogitatione in Deum se convertant, ut eius auxilium implorent, studio autem impendant totum statutum tempus ab otiositate, animi corporisque veneno, abhorrentes.

§ 1.—*De scholis*

Art. 98.—Omnes alumni semper ad lectiones, respectivaque scholastica exercitia parati sunt.

Art. 99.—Scholarum divisio servetur, in quibus cuique locus statuatur, quem non mutant absque Professoris venia.

Art. 100.—Ad scholam se conferentes vel eam relinquentes sive ad eam immutandam, sive ad proprium petendum contubernium, semper cum silentio et ordine procedant, quin maneant et conversentur cum alumni externis, si forte sint, ac meminerint vetitam esse quancumque cum ipsis consuetudinem absque peculiari Rectoris licentia.

Art. 101.—Nullus nisi legitima de causa, et de expressa Professoris licentia e schola exeat.

Art. 102.—Ad lectiones quisque debite animum intendat, ut ex eis progressum consequatur.

Art. 103.—Silentium et modestia corporis, obsequium et moderatio in petendo et in respondendo dotes sunt bene instituti alumni.

§ 2.—*De loco ac tempore studii*

Art. 104.—Praecipue alumni sese in scholasticis praelectionibus, aliisque affinibus disciplinis exerceant. Itaque prohibeantur secum retinere libros qui damnum inferre morale, vel a studiis principalibus distrahere valeant. Quoad lectiones attinet religiosissime dispositiones regnantis Summi Pontificis Pii X in Encyclica '*Pieni l'animo*' diei 28 Iulii, 1906,¹ et praecitata S. Officii Instructio diei 28 Augusti, 1907, serventur.

Art. 105.—Tempore ad studium destinato perfectum servetur silentium; nullus itaque ex aula exeat ne ad petendos quidem moderatores vel Confessarium, nisi ex urgente necessitate.

Art. 106.—Praeter studium litterarum scientiarumque alumni gregorianum cantum iuxta praescripta Summi Pontificis Pii X discant, quare eiusmodi scholae, diebus statuendis, singula hebdomada intersunt.

Art. 107.—Curetur ut quodvis Seminarium, cantus gregoriani

¹ Cf. Appendic. II, § 3 et 4.

praecipua habita ratione, *Scholam cantorum* habeat, in qua musica doceatur iuxta praescriptiones Motu Proprio Pii X regnantis Pontificiis (22 Nov., 1903) contentas, operibus poliphonis antehabitis, quae in aestimationem atque amorem retinent cantum gregorianum.

Art. 108.—Diebus horisque statutis in sacris caeremoniis sese exerceant, ut diligentia, gravitate et pietate sacris inserviant functionibus tum in Sacello Ecclesiae Seminarii, tum in Cathedrali.

§ 3.—*Experimenta studiorum obligatoria*

Art. 109.—Singulos alumnos experimenta, concursus, etc., quae a studiorum Praefecto de Rectoris intelligentia statuentur, obligent.

Art. 110.—Periculis, ut ad scholas superiores promoveantur, omnes subiiciantur, iuxta dispositiones Cap VI e, f, studiorum Programmatiss.

Art. 111.—Quicumque a manifesta infirmitate vel ab alia legitima causa, a Superioribus cognita, non impeditus periculis non se subiiciet, hoc ipso pandet ut Seminarium relinquat animum suum esse.

Art. 112.—Si quis alumnorum legitima ex causa periculis non interfuerit, vel etiam iisque peractis non promotus sit, pericula reparationis substinere teneatur.

Art. 113.—Si quis periculis reparationis non interfuerit, vel etiam iis peractis non promotus fuerit, si alumnus gymnasii vel Lycei scholam repetere poterit cum facultate duplicis experimenti; si vero theologiae alumnus sit, cum fieri non possit ut eadem schola repetatur (cum simul sint alumni ad duas vel tres scholas pertinentes pro nonnullis materiis), per alterum annum curriculo obligabitur, cuius rei ratio habebitur in eius admissione ad SS. Ordines.

CAPUT III.—DE DISCIPLINA

Sub disciplinae nomine hic venit complexus expertorum praeceptorum, quae alumnorum vitam in Seminario moderantur. Ipsa disciplina, cum ordinem exteriorem foveat, intendit ad ordinem intimum voluntatis ut eam instituat ad officii et virtutis studium.

Iuvat disciplina naturalem imbecillitatem cum in animo gignat habitum boni, qui non obtinetur nisi eorundem actuum frequentia. Superiores nim eam inducant ac florere curent,

alumni vero eam magni existiment sibi suadentes ipsam voluntati vim non afferre, sed potius eam servare a pravis propensionibus. Ii Sacerdotes erunt singularis olim exempli qui alumni disciplinam dilexerint. *' Illi in sacerdotio integre sancteque versabuntur, qui sese in hoc genere ab adolescentia excoluerint, et tantum disciplina profecerint, ut ad eas virtutes quae commemoratae sunt, non tam instituti quam nati videantur.'*¹

§ I.—*Monita generalia*

Art. 114.—Omni diligentia curetur, ut alumni a frequentia iuvenum ad sacerdotium non spectantium separentur, si scholas petant alumni quidem externi.

Art. 115.—In Contuberniis dividantur alumni iuxta aetatem, et scholam ad Rectoris iudicium.

Art. 116.—Unicuique in schola, in triclinio, in sacello, etc., locus adscribatur, et interdum immutetur ad fovendam ac servandam mutuam caritatem.

Art. 117.—Ordo actuum communium singulis horis adscriptorum statuatur tum pro diebus in quibus lectiones habentur, tum pro aliis in quibus scholae vacant; quique ordo exponatur, ut de eo omnes notitiam habeant. Peculiaris ordo statuatur pro feriis autumnalibus, in quibus praeter pietatis exercitia, brevis saltem hora dicetur lectionibus et studio.

Art. 118.—Omnes alumni, nullo excepto, adstringantur diligenter actibus communibus interesse, a quibus dispensari poterunt peculiaribus rationabilibusque de causis a Moderatoribus tantum.

Art. 119.—Si necessitas aliquem alumnorum brevi tempore sacellum, triclinium, scholam, recreationem relinquere urgeat, licentia petatur a Moderatore qui praesidet.

Art. 120.—Opportuna gravitate silentium servetur, quod, si recte adhibeatur, quam maxime iuvat studium ac virtutem.

Art. 121.—In Seminario designata loca habeantur ad animi relaxationem pro variis contuberniis.

Art. 122.—Prae ceteris ludibus, occupationibus operam detur, quibus omnes participare valeant.

Art. 123.—Tempore refectionum ordinarie lectio habeatur librorum qui exemplo sint ac instituant.

Art. 124.—Caveatur ne studium, recreationes, ipsaeque pietatis functiones nimis protrahantur, ne alumni taedio afficiantur.

Art. 125.—Curetur ut diaeta dormitoria, aliaque loca omnia, horis nocturnis frequentata, sufficienter illuminentur.

¹ Leo XIII, Encycl. *Etsi Nos*, 15 Feb., 1882.

§ 2.—*In Moderatores*

Art. 126.—Alumni in Rectore patrem agnoscant cui debetur amor filii et prompta oboedientia. Idem servata proportionem in alios moderatores agant.

Art. 127.—Quisquis, horis et ratione statuendis, Rectorem petere poterit ad suas necessitates ac desideria confitenda apertum ac fidenti cum animo. Ipsius cautelis, rationabilique de causa pietatis Magistrum quidem petere poterunt ac Vice-Rectorem. Contubernium tamen deserentes praefectum moneant.

Art. 128.—Animo placido demissoque denegationes, expro-bationes, reprehensiones punitionesque sumant sibi a Superioribus impositas, atque ex iisdem progressum agant quem ostendant ac comprobent sincera diuturnaue emendatione.

Art. 129.—Coram Rectore, aliisque Superioribus vel viris illustribus semper detecto sistant capite, nisi expresse invitentur ad sedendum et ad tegendum caput.

Art. 130.—Quisque alumnus aliquem conspiciens defectum ex quo oriri possint offensio in Deum, discriminaue in aliorum virtutem aut in Seminarii integram famam, de eo Moderatores certiores reddat, ut remedium afferant. Id agentes munus delatoris sciant se non exercere, sed studiose curare commune bonum ac caritatem in proximum.

§ 3.—*In seipsos*

Art. 131.—Quisquis alumnus in seipso imaginem Dei, templumque Divini Spiritus colat, maxima cum moderationis ac decentiae observantia tum cum aliis tum solus in proprio cubiculo, prae oculi habens ubique Deum esse.

Art. 132.—Omnes munditiam corporis, vestiumque curent, comam apte caesam dispositamque habeant, ab omni vanitate foeditateque at etiam ab omni singularitate affectationeque abhorrentes, sese in omnibus conformantes usibus seminarii.

Art. 133.—Eorum esto hygienica praescripta curam corporis respicientia observare.¹

Art. 134.—In modo, incessu, sermone decorem servant, ab omni levitate et a quovis cum clericali dignitate actu incongruo abstinentes.

Art. 135.—Ordinem ac nitorem servant in cubiculo, in libris, in suppellectili, neque sua aliaue Seminarii dissipent.

¹ Cf. Appendic. I, § 2.

§ 4.—*In sodales*

Art. 136.—Alumni constanter divisiones inter varia contubernia servant, tum domi tum extra, ita ut alumni diversorum contuberniorum nullam inter se ineant consuetudinem nisi de Superiorum licentia

Art. 137.—In sodalibus totidem inspiciant fratres in Iesu Christo, ita ut inter se eam foveant mutuam caritatem tam expetendam inter clericos.

Art. 138.—In invicem consuetudine semper adhibeant rationes ad christianam caritatem institutas, quamobrem litigia, verba aspera devitent, praesertim abhorrentes a contumeliis in eos qui virtute praecellunt, vel aliquo naturae defectu laborant.

Art. 139.—Solo nomine vel familiae cognomine inter se vocentur, vetitis omnino quibusvis aliis vocandi rationibus.

Art. 140.—Peculiares amicitias, in alios manus iniicere etiam iocose, invicem epistolas mittere, dona inter se similiaque omnino prohibita caveant. Trasgressores apte puniantur.

Art. 141.—Verba sermonesque indecentes nec non quancunque actionem haud honestam horreant.

Art. 142.—Recreationis vel deambulationis tempore nunquam permittatur sodales relinquere, atque a Praefecti vigilantia recedere.

§ 5.—*In famulos*

Art. 143.—In famulos alumni debitis caritatis ac urbanitatis rationibus utantur, quin tamen nullam cum ipsis consuetudinem ineant. Si de eorum famulatu conqueri debeant, querelas Praefecto referent.

Art. 144.—Nulli liceat cum famulis morari, atque multo minus eis iussa vel negotia committere.

Art. 145.—Praefecti tantum, de Vicerectoris licentia, cum famulis agant ad consulenda quae alumni propriis sumptibus sibi comparare tenentur, atque ad munera explenda.

§ 6.—*In extraneos*

Art. 146.—Generatim alumnos invisere indulgeatur bis in hebdomada, diebus statuendis, horis ab actibus communibus non impeditis et ante *Ave Maria* vespers. Ad extraordinarias visitationes semper exposcatur Superiorum licentia.

Art. 147.—Generatim alumnos invisere poterunt parentes atque propinqui tantum. Si de aliis vero agatur, licentiam requiritur Rectoris vel Vicerectoris.

Art. 148.—In aula visitationum in omnibus et cum omnibus

se gerant alumni iuxta urbanitatis praescripta, idque agant non ad inaniter homines satisfaciendos, sed ad rusticitatem fugiendam.

Art. 140.—Prohibentur alumni recipere cibos vel potus absque Vicerectoris licentia qui de eis disponet prout opportunus iudicaverit.

Art. 150.—Nullus recipiat vel mittat epistolas, quin a Rectore inspiciantur, qui in sua prudentia iudicabit an tradenda vel expedienda sint.

§ 7.—*De Refectione*

Art. 151.—Triclinium ingredientes, vel deserentes silentium servant alumni, et refectionis tempore lectionem audiant.

Art. 152.—Quisquis in triclinio speciem castigatam adhibeat iuxta praecepta humanitatis, ab aviditate praecipitationeque in cibis sumendis praesertim abhorrens, sanitati non minus ac continentiae oppositis.

Art. 153.—Communibus cibis assuescant alumni. Peculiari-
bus in casibus iuxta necessitatem rationemque, quid expedire iudicaverit, consulat Moderator.

§ 8.—*De Recreatione*

Art. 154.—Libenti animo quisque communi recreationi participet, ut ex ea solatium habeant et animus.

Art. 155.—Nulli liceat, absque Praefecti peculiari licentia, a sodalibus recreationis tempore seiungi, nec in contubernium se conferre, ne ratione quidem studii vel alicuius libri lectionis.

Art. 156.—Prohibeantur lusus qui cum caritati spiritu atque civili institutioni non conveniant, simul ac ii qui periculum sanitati inferre queant.¹

§ 9.—*De deambulatione ac de aliis egressibus e Seminario*

Art. 157.—Quisque curet ut omnino et congrua ratione paratus sit ad deambulandum, ordinem profectionis a Praefecto expectans.

Art. 158.—Nulli liceat domi permanere tempore ambulationis nisi gravi de causa et de licentia identidem a superioribus obtenta.

Art. 159.—Quodque contubernium iter aggrediatur, quod a Praefecto de superiorum consensu statuatur. Deambulantes omnino a quacunque refectione prohibeantur, nisi expressam obtinuerint Rectoris licentiam.

Art. 160.—Semper in civitate deambulent servato ordine,

¹ Cf. Appendic. I, § 2.

honesto incessu, moderato passu, et, quisque cum suo sodali, dimissa loquentes voce. Extra civitatem Praefectus indulgere poterit ut ordines dissolvantur, tamen quin nullus nimis recedat.

Art. 161.—Si deambulantes in Episcopum occurrerint, detecto capite sistant alumni, ut ei debitum praebeant obsequium ;—si vero in Canonicos, Moderatores, Professores Seminarii aliosque sacerdotes vel alios viros a superioribus praecipue designatos, tunc saluent detecto capite, quin consistent.

Art. 162.—Ne indulgeatur alumniis e seminario egredi ad prandendum vel visitandum in privatis domibus. Item non indulgeatur alumniis generatim cum parentibus e seminario egredi, cum hi seminarium petant ad eos invisendos.

§ 10.—*De feriis*

Art. 163.—Diebus, in quibus scholae vacant, firmo tamen ordine statuto, ius esto Rectoris deambulationem ac recreationes protrahere, et etiam a studio penitus vel partim iusta de causa dispensare.

Art. 164.—Occasione diuturnarum feriarum ne liceat alumniis eas apud parentes impendere ; quisquis acquiescat solatiis quae in Seminario iis diebus parabuntur.

Art. 165.—Feriae autumnales ab omnibus impendantur in loco ad rusticandum designato.

Art. 166.—Prudenti Episcoporum arbitrio committitur alumniis, praesertim Lycei et Theologiae, indulgere ut per aliquod tempus (mensem ad maximum) apud parentes se conferant. Hoc in casu Rectoris esto eos committere respectivi Parochi vel alii pii sacerdotis diligentiae, a quibus privatas expostulet notitias de eorundem vitae ratione, antequam eos in seminarium denuo admittat.

§ 11.—*De expulsionem*

Art. 167.—E seminario expulsio remedium est extremum, sed interdum seminarii ipsius incolumitati necessarium. '*Discipulos et incorregibiles*, ait Conc. Trid.¹ *ac malorum morum seminatores acriter punient, eos etiam, si opus fuerit, expellendo.*' '*Dimittantur*, ait Leo XIII f. r. citata Epistola, *quot tempore eorum institutionis propensiones ostendent cum vocatione sacerdotali incongruas.*'

Art. 168.—Dimittantur itaque incorrigibiles, illi scilicet, qui habitis studiosis monitis ac opportunis reprehensionibus,

¹ Sess. XXIII, Cap. 18, De Reformat.

haud multam afferant spem sese ad meliorem frugem recipiendi ; et qui malo exemplo caeteris sint, qui alios inducant ad defectiones, praeceptorum transgressionem et arrogantiam.

Art. 109.—Graves in mores transgressionem puniantur immediata e Seminario expulsionem, iuxta rectam hac in re sententiam S. Alphonsi '*Tutus consilium est cum statim e seminario expellere quia talis exis inquinata contagione potens est totum seminarium corrumpere.*'¹

APPENDICES

I.—PRAECEPTA HYGIENICA

§ 1.—*De aedibus*

Art. 1.—Sacellum, triclinium, loca ad studium designata eorundem adnexa, etc., ampla, satis illuminata, aerieque exposita sunt, et si fieri potest electrica illuminatione praedita.

Art. 2.—Auditoria purgata servantur, commoda habeantur scamna iuxta typum hygienicum et aptum diversae alumnorum aetati.

Art. 3.—Curetur ut ubique saepe quocumque anni tempore aer renovetur.

Art. 4.—Cubicula contuberniaque ea sunt amplitudine ut quisque ex alumnis sibi saltem habeat 14 m³.

Art. 5.—Aqua potabilis ab alia quae usibus communibus inservit separetur.

Art. 6.—Foricae numero alumnorum accomodate sunt, aeri expositae et constructae iuxta hodierna hygienica praecepta.

Art. 7.—Ubique vasa ad expiendum metallica malthaque obducta habeantur.

Art. 8.—Quotidie cubicula, auditoria, triclinia cunctaque domus loca poliantur madida scobi, vel etiam scopis mappis involutis.

Art. 9.—Si auditoria extra seminarium sint, oportet ut prope ea vestibulum habeatur amplum ventoque commodum, in quo umbellae, pilea humidaque pallia deponantur.

§ 2.—*De corporis sollicitudine.*

Art. 10.—Quisque alumnus quam maxime curet corporis munditiam, faciem collumque quotidie, manus saepis praesertim ante refectiones abluat ; horis opportunis os et dentes quidem colluat.

¹ Homo Apost. Reg. de Sem., 1, 4.

Art. 11.—Oportet ut interdum totum corpus balneis lavetur. Ad hoc destinentur dies in quibus scholae vacant. Balnea ingrediantur alumni turnatim, servato temporis spatio a refectioibus; post balneum exercitia opportuna corpori quisque in aprico peragat.

Art. 12.—Res lintearia tum corporis tum lecti saepius mutetur; vestes quotidie peniculo mudentur. Strophia gummis omnio prohibentur utpote sanitati perniciosae.

Art. 13.—Deambulatum eant extra urbem per horam saltem quotidie, et diebus, in quibus scholae vacant, per binas horas.

Art. 14.—Loca ad recreandum destinata, si fieri potest, aperta sunt et sub porticu si pluat. Alumni nec sedeant nec consistent ad conversandum, sed deambulent, ac partem habeant ludis collectivis in quibus corpus exerceatur.

§ 3.—*De medico*

Art. 15.—Medicus Seminario adscriptus quemque iuvenem visitare severe tenetur qui admittendus sit, et inspicere an vaccinum virus ei inoculatum fuerit. Ab illius prudenti arbitrio pendet acceptatio vel reiectio eorum, qui haud optima sanitate gaudeant, vel infirmitatibus faciles se praebeant, nec non eorum qui morbos contagiosos praeseferant.

Art. 16.—Rotatim ipse ad Seminarium accedat diebus horisque determinatis, ita ut omnes alumni facile eum petere possint ad hygienica consilia consequenda.

Art. 17.—Rectorem doceat quodcumque hygienicum incommodum in Seminario detegat, mediaque proponat apta ad ea reparanda.

Art. 18.—Declaret an quis a ieiunii lege dispensandus sit.

Art. 19.—Summatim omnes visitet alumnos ante et post rusticationem, ac adnotet in peculiari codice valetudinis conditiones cuiusque.

Art. 20.—Alumnis, omnibusque Seminario adscriptis medeatur in brevibus levibusque infirmitatibus in eodem Seminario; sed si existimet aliquem morbum diu perdurare vel aliis transmitti posse Rectori proponat immediatam translationem infirmi in familiam, vel in aliquam valetudinariam domum.

Art. 21.—Necessarias iubeat purificationes, et ne in valetudinario serventur venena aliaeque sanitati infesta curet.

Art. 22.—Medicus, de Oeconomi intelligentia, incoctilibus, lacti fervefacto et ut culina promptuariarumque cella purgata serventur invigilet. Cibum potumque quoad eorum qualitatem et corruptionem examinet.

§ 4.—*De Valetudinario*

Art. 23.—Valetudinarium, si fieri potest, in meridiem versum, et aqua potabili, furnaculo et foricis distinctis praeditum esto. Cubiculorum parietes encausto pingantur. Valetudinarium materiis septicis et antisepticis primae curationi necessariis praeditum esto.

Art. 24.—Cubiculum habeatur separatum ac distinctum pro iis qui contagiosis morbis laborent.

Art. 25.—Quisquis alumnus, in infirmam incidens valetudinem, illico Praefectum doceat, hic autem Rectorem, ut infirmus omni cum diligentia in valetudinarium transferatur, et statim medicus de re doceatur.

Art. 26.—Vicerector studebit ut infirmus cum diligentia ac caritate fida idoneaque persona adsistat.

Art. 27.—Infirmus medico, adsistentique in omnibus quae sibi ordinentur, pareat.

Art. 28.—Si morbus, iuxta medici sententiam, ingravescat vel diuturnum sit, Rector alumni parentes vel propinquos de re doceat.¹

Art. 29.—Nullus aegrotos invisere poterit absque peculiari Rectoris vel Vicerectoris licentia.

THE ANNIVERSARY OF A DECEASED BISHOP

FULDEN

DE ANNIVERSARIO CELEBRANDO PRO ULLIMO DEFUNCTO EPISCOPO
NON AUTEM PRO ADMINISTRATORE

In Relatione status ecclesiae Fuldensis Sacrae Congregationi Concilii die 8 Maii 1908 exhibita sequens invenitur Postulatum ad Sacrorum Rituum Congregationem pro opportuna declaratione seu sanatione transmissum; nimirum:

Hodiernus Episcopus Fuldeniss exponit, post mortem Georgii Ignatii Homp, qui a sede Fuldensi ad sedem archiepiscopalem Friburgensem anno 1898 translatus fuerat, retenta administratione tantum dioecesis Fuldensis, anniversarium, quod iuxta Caeremoniale Episcoporum pro ultimo defuncto Episcopo celebrandum est celebratum fuisse pro dicto Episcopo Georgio Ignatio, quamvis administrator tantum erat, dum in ipso ad suam novam sedem itinere moriretur. Pro Episcopo vero, qui ultimus in sede Fuldensi mortuus erat, sc. Iosepho Weyland anniversarium fundatum persolutum quidem fuit, non tamen illud quod Caere-

¹ Cf. sec. 3, art. 20.

moniale Episcoporum postulat. Unde petit, ut Sacra Congregatio, si quid in hac re praestandum adhuc sit, declarare vel sanare benigne velit.

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, exquisitis tum Commissionis Liturgicae tum alterius ex suis Consultoribus, suffragiis, attentis expositis una cum specialibus informationibus ex officio assumptis, reque accurato examine perpensa, ita rescribendum censuit: *Pro declaratione seu sanatione in casu, facto verbo cum Sanctissimo et prout Ipsi placuerit.*

Quibus omnibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae X. infrascriptum Cardinalem Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefectum relatis, Sanctitas Sua petitam declarationem seu sanationem indulgere dignata est, supplendo de thesauro Ecclesiae et imposito tamen onere hodierno Episcopo Fuldensi applicandi unam Missam lectam pro anima Episcopo Iosephi Weyland.

Die 22 Iulii 1908.

L. ✠ S.

S. CARD. CRETONI, *Praefectus.*

✠ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secretarius.*

DISPENSATION FROM IRREGULARITY OF DEFECTIVE SIGHT

VICTORIEN.—DISPENSATIONIS AB IRREGULARITATE

Bernardinus Irco y Garralda, acolythus e dioecesi Victoriensi in Hispania et quintum sacrae theologiae curriculum peragens, cupit ad sacros ordines ascendere, a quibus arcetur ob defectum facultatis visivae ex laesionibus retinae pigmentariae exortum 'vi cuius haud facile sit ei, in loco ubi parum lucis existat nec aliquo instrumento optico instructus, bene legere aut videre, quamvis optime videat ac legat ubi lux copiosa non deest.' Hinc supplici libello diei 2 Martii proxime elapsi deprecatur SSmm. Dominum ut dignaretur cum eo super irregularitatem ob defectum visus, qua forte obstringitur, benigne dispensare. Ex parte sua Episcopus dioecesanus declarat, 'vera esse exposita, et attentis optimis moribus, quibus orator ornatus apparet, simulque profectibus in scientiis ecclesiasticis ab eo peractis, enixe oratorem pro gratia commendare.'

Emi. Patres in plenariis comitiis subsignata die habitis, attento voto tum Ordinarii, tum Magistri Caeremoniarum, tum peritorum circa morbi gravitatem et admirationem ex eo orituram, precibus exceptis, responderunt:

'*Pro gratia arbitrio et conscientiae Episcopi, facto verbo cum SSmo.*'

DECREE OF THE HOLY OFFICE ON THE REFUSAL OF
CATHOLIC RITES AT BURIAL

S. CONGREGATIO S. OFFICII

CIRCA DENEGATIONEM SEPULTURAE ECCLESIASTICAE

Utrum catholici, qui cum acatholicis coram haeretico ministro qua tali nuptias contraxerunt, et in eiusmodi nuptiis vel expresse consenserunt acatholicae prolium educationi, vel eas de facto in haeresi educari fecerunt, adeoque censuram incurrisse dicendi sunt, si apoplexia tacti et sensibus destituti aut statim aut brevi post discesserint, Ecclesiae minime reconciliati et quin resipiscentiae signa unquam dedissent, donari possint sepultura ecclesiastica et exequiis nec ne.

Eminentissimi DD. Cardinales Inquisitores Generales, re in generali conventu huius Supremae Congregationis habito feria IV die 8 mensis Maii 1907 mature discussa, respondendum decreverunt: *Negative*.

PETRUS PALOMBELLI, *Notarius*.

A NEW INSTITUTE OF NUNS

S. CONGREGATIO EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM

DECRETUM

QUO APPROBANTUR INSTITUTUM ET CONSTITUTIONES ANCILLARUM
SEU VICTIMARUM SS. CORDIS IESU.—NAMURCEN

SSmus. Dominus Noster Pius D. Prov. Pp. X, attenta ubertate salutarium fructuum quos tulit Institutum Sororum Namurcen. quae vulgo vocantur Famulae seu Victimae SS. Cordis Iesu, attentisque praesertim commendatitiis litteris Antistitum locorum in quibus illae commorantur, in Audientia habita ab infrascripto Cardinali S. Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium Praefecto die 15 Decembris 1907 Institutum ipsum iam amplissime laudatum et commendatum uti Congregationem votorum simplicium sub regimine Moderatricis Generalis ac praeterea eiusdem Instituti Constitutiones prout continentur hoc exemplari cuius autographum in archivo praefatae S. Congregationis asservatur approbare et confirmare dignatus est, prout praesentis decreti tenore respective approbat et confirmat, salva Ordinariorum iurisdictione ad normam SS. Canonum et Apostolicarum Constitutionum.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium die 3 Februarii 1908.

L. ✕ S.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praefectus*.
PH. GIUSTINI, *Secretarius*.

THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. DOMINIC AND ST. CATHERINE

DECRETUM

QUO APPROBANTUR CONSTITUTIONES INSTITUTI SORORUM III
ORDINIS S. DOMINICI A S. CATHARINA

SSmus. Dnus. Noster Pius Div. Prov. Pp. X, in Audientia habita ab infrascripto Cardinali S. Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium Praefecto die 3. h. m., attentis litteris commendatitiis Antistitum locorum in quibus reperitur Institutum Sororum III Ordinis S. Dominici a S. Catharina Senen., e Novana vulgo Civitanova, eiusdem Instituti Constitutiones prout continentur hoc exemplari cuius autographum in Archivo praefatae S. Congregationis asservatur approbare et confirmare dignatus est prout praesentis decreti tenore approbat et confirmat, salva Ordinariorum iurisdictione ad normam SS. Canonum et Apostolicarum Constitutionum.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium die 14 Februarii 1908.

L. ✠ S.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praefectus*.

PH. GIUSTINI, *Secretarius*.

UNION OF CONVENTS OF SISTERS OF DIVINE LOVE

DECRETUM

QUO MONASTERIA SORORUM A DIVINO AMORE IN UNAM CONGREGATIONEM CONFLANTUR CUIUS CONSTITUTIONES ADPROBANTUR PER MODUM EXPERIMENTI

Sorores quibus titulus est a Divino Amore originem primam habuerunt a quadam piarum mulierum domo quae medium circiter saeculum XVII Montisfalisci orta in monasterium postea superiorum auctoritate erecta est. Hae quidem Sorores post multas vicissitudines et mutationes ob temporum difficultatem, Ordinariis probantibus, nonnullas in variis dioecesibus stationes fundarunt, quae licet charitate coniunctae proprio inter se verae consociationis vinculo ad formam Institutorum hucusque carebant. Finis quem sibi proponunt est primo quidem propriam sanctitatem obtinere per observantiam trium votorum communium, deinde ut in adulescentularum institutionem tum civilem tum religiosam sedulo incumbant. Quum autem Sorores ad uberiores fructus obtinendos maioremque inter ipsas, promovendam charitatem SSmo. Domino Nostro supplicaverint ut, religiosis earum domibus in dioecesibus Roman. Reatin. Nepesin.

Sutrin, nec non in abbazia Nullius S. Pauli existentibus ad unum corporis compaginem iuxta 'Normas' huius S. Congregationis redactis, eas cum suis constitutionibus approbare dignaretur, Sacerorum Antistites praefatarum dioecesium datis litteris earum preces summo opere commendare non dubitarunt. Itaque Sanctitas Sua, re mature perpensa, attentisque praesertim dictis commendatitiis litteris, in Audientia habita ab infrascripto Cardinali S. Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium Praefecto die 15 huius mensis, optatam unionem ratam habens, Institutum Sororum a Divino Amore, illud erigendo ut Congregationem votorum simplicium sub regimine Moderatricis Generalis, approbare dignatus est, domum Romanam domum principem declarando. Praeterea eiusdem Instituti Constitutiones prout continentur hoc exemplari cuius autographum in Archivo praefatae S. Congregationis asservatur, ad septennium per modum experimenti approbare et confirmare dignata est, prout praesentis decreti tenore Constitutiones ipsae approbantur et confirmantur, salva Ordinariorum iurisdictione ad formam SS. Canonum et Apostolicarum Constitutionum.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium die 24 Martii 1908.

L. ✠ S.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praefectus*.

P. GIUSTINI, *Secretarius*.

BEATIFICATION AND CANONIZATION OF THE VENERABLE SERVANT OF GOD, PETER JULIEN EYMARD

GRATIANOPOLITANA SEU PARISIENSIS

BEATIFICATIONIS ET CANONIZATIONIS VEN. SERVI DEI 'PETRI
IULIANI EYMARD' SACERDOTIS FUNDATORIS CONGREGATIONIS
A SSMO. SACRAMENTO

DECRETUM INTRODUCTIONIS CAUSAE

Quotquot sunt Dei et Ecclesiae filii, a Sancto Spiritu ducti, ubicumque praedicatur Christi Evangelium in universo mundo, et in omni loco sacrificatur et offertur divino Nomini oblatio munda, fidem, religionem ac pietatem erga pretiosum convivium, miraculorum maximum, dominicae passionis et charitatis memoriale perenne, SSMum. Eucharistiae Sacramentum habere, fovere et variis mirisque modis ostendere non desinunt. Inter illos autem qui religiosa instituta huic SSMo. Sacramento adorando, superioribus saeculis, considerunt, digne meritoque recensetur sacerdos PETRUS IULIANUS EYMARD, fundator Con-

gregationis SSmi. Sacramenti, qui alumnos suos eidem ineffabili Mysterio penitus mancipatos volens, in principio suarum Constitutionum scripsit: 'Ad servitium Divinae Personae Dei et Regis nostri Iesu Christi in amoris sui sacramento vere realiter et substantialiter permanentis, sciant omnes nostri se unice lectos ac professos fuisse, ac ut boni et fideles servi huius tanti Regis, omnia sua dona et virtutes, studia et labores, maiori eius gloriae devovenda curent, absque sui proprio.' Hinc non solum per annum in Festo et Octava SSmi. Corporis Christi, atque in pio exercitio quadraginta Horarum, sed quotidianam et perpetuam orationem coram SSmo. Sacramento sodalibus suis iussit; eosque ad vitam contemplativam et activam, hancque illi subiectam, et ad perfectionem religiosam per Divinam Eucharistiam excitavit atque provexit. In oppido *La Mure d'Isère* nuncupato, intra fines dioeceseos Gratianopolitanae, anno 1811, die 4 Februarii, in lucem editus est Servus Dei ex probis piisque parentibus, quibus antea praedictum fuisse fertur infantem habituros gentis suae gloriam et religiosi Instituti SSmo. Eucharistiae Sacramento honorando conditorem. Illud praetereundum non est matrem idem Sacramentum quotidie in templo visitasse, simulque secum duxisse puerulum IULIANUM coelestium benedictionum participem. Qui succrescens innocens, pius et ad sacra inclinatus, vix quinquennis sorori suae Mariannae desiderium se Deo vovendi in sacro ministerio pandere coepit, eam insimul rogans ut fratrem ad hunc statum cum virtutibus sibi comparandum effusis precibus adiuicaret. Compos sui effectus, sacramento poenitentiae frequens erat, animae purificandae valde studiosus. Anno 1823, die 16 Martii, postquam cum sorore sanctuarium B. Mariae Virginis *du Laus* Murensi civitati proximum adiisset, validumque Virginis Matris apud Deum Filium patrocinium implorasset, ad mensam Angelorum cum magna devotione, prima vice accessit: quem diem postea commemorare soebat, veluti initium suae conversionis et vocationis atque singularium gratiarum fontem. Quum IULIANUS suam vocationem vehementius sentiret, studiis Latinae linguae incubuit, primum domi, dein Gratianopoli usque ad annum aetatis decimum septimum; quo domum rediens ob piac genitricis obitum, invenit hominem divinae providentiae administrum P. Guibert ex Oblatis Marialibus Eius ductu et consilio, annuente patre, an. 1829, die 7 Iunii, in Oblatorum Marialium Societatem inter tyrones cooptatus est, paucosque post menses habitum clericalem sumpsit. Verum intermissis studiis vix resumptis, infirma valetudine adeo laboravit, ut, eius causa, ad patriam redire coactus sit, ubi per duos annos mansit cum patre qui pie decessit die 3 Martii an. 1831. Deiparae Virginis auxilio suffultus,

philosophiae periculum feliciter peragit, et seminarium maius Gratianopolitanum, prouti optabat, ingreditur. Studio et virtute proficiens, die 20 Iulii an. 1834, ad sacerdotium per gradus evehitur; et post tres menses Chattensi paroeciae tanquam Vicarius addicitur. Hoc in munere ita recte se gessit, ut, triennio exacto, Parochus Monteynardi renunciatus sit. Illic omnibus omnia factus, ac divini Pastoris exempla sectatus, num eximia pietate in Deum ferebatur, coelestem doctrinam et charitatem suam in fideles sibi commissos effundebat. Interim meliora aemulatus charismata, audito P. Touche Olbato Mariali, habitaque venia a Dioecesano Praesule, Lugdunum ad radices montis qui olim Forum Vetus appellabatur, se contulit; atque in societate Mariali, brevi tyrocinio expleto, religiosa vota nuncupavit. Illico Bellicensi Collegio praefectus, postea Lugduni Provinciae societatis regendae destinatus, in eadem civitate Tertii quoque Marialis Ordinis director et instaurator fuit; demum tyronibus moderandis praepositus. Anno 1851 ad ephebaeum in urbe *La Seyne sur mer* regendum stranslatus, frequentiores ad Eucharisticum thesaurum habebat accessus; atque, initio consilio cum nobili viro de Cuers, Opus nocturnae adorationis Tolone Martis (Toulon) erigendum curavit. Ab eo anno usque ad an. 1856, Servus Dei, non absque divino instinctu, de Congregatione SSmi. Sacramenti instituenda totam mentem operamque adhibuit. Gravibus obstaculis forti animo superatis, sub auspiciis Deiparae Virginis, atque ecclesiastica auctoritate interveniente, prius obtento a P. Fayre Praeside Generali Maristarum legitimo discessu, cum remissione votorum et paterna benedictione, novum institutum erexit, ab Archiepiscopo Parisiensi probatum, qui etiam Famulo Dei domum in sui operis sedem obtulit. Die 1 Iunii, praedicti anni, coeperunt sodales sacrum tabernaculum habere et coram throno Eucharistico Regem qui fossus est delicias suas esse cum filiis hominum, adorare. Opus tamen anno sequenti 1857 die festo Epiphavariis de causis sedem suam in S. Iacobi suburbium transtulit, successivis amplificatum incrementis. Cum eiusmodi Instituto aeque consociatur alterum Ancillarum SSmi. Sacramenti, cuius Puella Guillot magna pars fuit et prima antistita. Haec, consulente Beato Ioanne Baptista Vianney, Lugduno discessit, Parisios adiit et sancti sacerdotis IULIANI directioni et obedientiae, prout ille Beatus suggesserat, libenti animo se submitit. Inde Servus Dei Novi Instituti puellis vestes albas indui, et Ancillae SSmi. Sacramenti, ad cuius perpetuam adorationem consecrandae erant, nuncupari iussit; eisque simul constitutiones, directorium atque litteras ad perfectionem et finem Instituti assequendum maxime congruentes tradidit. Anno 1859, die 9 Novembris, alteram domum suae

Congregationis, Massiliae, rogante Praesule de Mazenod, Ipse aperuit. Praefatis Institutis alia quoque Opera ad cultum et apostolatam Eucharisticum spectantia adiunxit, uti *Aggregationem* a SSmo. Sacramento et Tertium Ordinem saecularem seu *Fraternitatem*, quarum prima unam adorationis horam per mensem cum onere suppellectilis quae propius Eucharistiam attingit comparandae, altera per diem respectivis alumnis praecipit; item *Excubias Honorarias* seu assiduos per turnum adoratores, *Hebdomadas Eucharisticas* ad cultus splendorem, solutis ab adscriptis per quatuor, hebdomadas in anno sumptibus necessariis, et *Primam Communionem* pro adolescentibus aetate provectoribus. Sacrum quoque praedicationis ministerium in variis Galliae civitatibus et dioecesibus cum doctrina, virtute et laude peregit IULIANUS. Qui an. 1862, excitiata Andegavi domo religiosa, Romam venit cum litteris commendatitiis plurium Episcoporum Galliae, et non solum decreto laudis sed etiam decreto approbationis a Summo Pontifice Pio IX fel. rec. anno 1863 suam Congregationem cohonestari curavit. In Galliam reversus, plurium Ordinum tyrocinia et domos perlustravit; et deinde Constitutiones, ad normas ab Apostolica Sede acceptas, composuit atque emendavit. Insuper propositum habuit redimendi sacrum Coenaculum a Turcis, ut ibi thronus SSmo. Sacramento adorando erigeretur, sed, pluribus adversantibus causis, perficere non potuit. Eius tamen animus recreatus est, tum ob novas domos Bruxellensem et Versaliensem ad sanctum Mauritium ubi et tyrocinium et recessum posuit, tum ob saecularium sacerdotum apostolatam quod Opus viget, floret atque actoginta circiter millia sodalium enumerat. Tandem IULIANUS labore atque aegritudine fractus, vertente anno 1868 die 17 Iulii, de medicorum consulto, Parisios reliquit ut in oppido natali valetudinem confirmaret. Iter faciens, Vichy attigit ubi Sorori Margaritae quae sub Eius ductu Institutum Ancillarum SSmi. Sacramenti fundaverat, supremam benedictionem peramanter impertiit. Gratianopoli die 21 eiusdem mensis sacrum litavit in sacello B. Mariae Virginis. Reconciliatricis Peccatorum, vulgo *de la Salette*, et pomeridianis horis Muram pervenit, Sororis germanae hospes dilectissimus. Verum gravi morbo et paralyssi oppressus, extrema Ecclesiae sacramenta piissime recepit; atque, adstantibus cum sorore et amicis Eius Fratre Alberto et P. Chanuet tyronum praeside, qui duo e religiosa domo Parisiensi ad amatissimum Patrem legiferum morientem missi fuerant, die Sabbati, prima Augusti in festo S. Petri ad vincula, devote orans et Iesu Christi cruci affixi simulacrum suspiciens placide expiravit, annos aetatis agens quinquaginta septem, menses quinque, dies viginti et octo. Dominica sequente, in propinquo templo, funere

religiose persoluto cum ingenti cleri populique concursu, corpus Servi Dei humatum fuit, donec an. 1877 integrum repertum ac Parisios translatum in medio choro templi domui principi Congregationis continentis requiescit. Fama vero sanctitatis quam Servus Dei vivens sibi adeptus fuerat, post obitum in dies clarior, signis ac prodigiis ut fertur, confirmata, viam aperuit Inquisitionibus Ordinariis Informativis ac Rogatorialibus super ea conficiendis. Quibus absolutis et ad Sacram Rituum Congregationem transmissis, quum scripta eiusdem Servi Dei revisa et probata iam fuerint, simulque indulta dispensatio tum a lapsu decennii tum ab interventu et voto consultorum, nihilque obstarét quominus ad ulteriora procedi posset, instante Rmo. P. Edmundo Tenaillon Congregationis SSmi. Sacramenti procuratore generali et postulatore, attentisque obsequentibus litteris postulatoriis tum Regiae et Caesareae Maiestatis Francisci Iosephi, Imperatoris Austriae, et praecelsae Principissae Gallicae Blancae ab Aureliano, tum quorundam Emorum. S.R.E. Cardinalium atque plurium Sacrorum Antistitum, necnon Capitulum Cathedralium, Ordinum Religiosorum, Sodalitatum SSmi. Sacramenti atque virorum ecclesiastica vel civili dignitate praestantium, Emus. et Rmus. Dñus Cardinalis Dominicus Ferrata huius Causae Ponens seu Relator, in Ordinariis Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Comitiis subsignata die ad Vaticanum habitis, sequens dubium discutiendum proposuit: *'An signanda sit Commissio Introductionis Causae in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur?'* Et Emi. ac Rmi. Patres, Sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, post relationem ipsius Emi. Ponentis, audito etiam voce et scripto R.P.D. Alexandro Verde, Sanctae Fidei Promotore, omnibusque accurate perpensis, rescribendum censuerint: *'Affirmative seu signandum esse Commissionem, si Sanctissimo placuerit,'* die 11 Augusti 1908. Facta postmodum de his Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae X per infrascriptum Cardinalem Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefectum relatione, Sanctitas Sua Rescriptum Sacre eiusdem Congregationis ratum habens, propria manu signare dignata est Commissionem Introductionis Causae Venerabilis Servi Dei PETRI IULIANI EYMARD, sacerdotis fundatoris Congregationis SSmi. Sacramenti, die 12, eisdem mense et anno.

L. ✠ S. SERAPHINUS Card. CRETONI, S.R.C. Praefectus.
 ✠ DIOMEDES PANICI, Archiep. Laodicea, S.R.C. Secr.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE CATHOLIC SUNDAY SCHOOL.: Some Suggestions on its Aim, Work, and Management. By Rev. Bernard Feeney. With Introduction by Most Rev. John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul. 8vo, xxii. and 234 pp. St. Louis, Mo., and Freiburg : B. Herder. Cloth, 4s. 6d. 1907.

THIS is a most valuable work for the pastors of souls, whose duty it is to secure that the children under their charge are properly instructed in the truths of their holy religion. It is of special importance in view of the injunctions imposed by Pius X. in his Encyclical on the Teaching of Christian Doctrine, on all priests who have the care of souls. I cannot give a better notion of the nature of the work before me than to quote the opening words of the Introduction : 'I have requested,' says Archbishop Ireland, 'Rev. Bernard Feeney to put into print the lectures given by him, during the past year, to the students of the Seminary of St. Paul. I believe that a perusal of those lectures will be of service to the pastor of souls, one of whose chief duties is the instruction of childhood and of youth in the lessons of the Catechism. The lectures, it may be, teach few things that are new, but the old things which they do teach are of such vital importance in the exercise of the pastoral charge that lest, now and then, they slip from memory, or be overlooked in practice, frequent effort should be made to hold them ever in vivid freshness before the mind of the priest, so long as he is left by the Master to his work of teacher and sanctifier of the little ones of the flock. Olden things, too, may be made new in being adopted to new needs and new circumstances. And this is what happens in the present instance. Father Feeney speaks for our age and for the special circumstances attending the work of the priest in modern times. His lectures are eminently practical ; and this is no small merit on a treatise on Catechetics.'

Just a few heads of chapters will help to make clear the scope and object of the volume : 'General Idea of Sunday School,' 'Its Necessity,' 'The Director,' 'The Teacher,' 'Gradation of Classes,' 'Sunday School Apparatus,' 'Religion in the Catholic School,' 'A Catholic Revival.' And its concluding chapter

is a translation of our present Holy Father's Encyclical Letter on the Teaching of the Christian Doctrine. This simple enumeration of some of the headings suffices to make known the utility of the work apart from further words of comment. We need say no more than recommend it to our readers as an object for safe investment.

C. M'C.

POEMS OF SISTER TERESA, CARMELITE OF LISIEUX. Translated by S. L. Emery. London: Burns & Oates. Price 4s. 6d. net.

THE poems of Sister Teresa, better known as the 'Little Flower of Jesus,' are well known and admired, especially in France. We have now a translation of them in English. It contains one hundred and sixty-three poems. They are divided into five sections. The first part contains some fifty-two poems, almost exclusively in honour of our Divine Lord. The other sections have poems in honour of the Blessed Virgin, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Agnes, St. Cecilia, and Jeanne D'Arc. One is certainly struck by the wonderful degree of inspiration which is manifested in them. It is not too much to say that they often remind you of the inspired Psalms of David. His soul rose above the wicked, idolatrous world of his time into a region sublime and heavenly. So too in this materialistic age of ours the noble soul of Sister Teresa (to quote the words of the preface), 'lifted up by an angelic presence, shakes off the dust of the earth, and rises gently towards the true ideal—God, and Eternal Love.' Twenty-nine thousand copies of her life, written by herself, have been sold in France within a few years. I have no doubt but that the present translation of her poems will be equally welcomed in the English-speaking world. I recommend them to all especially to nuns and clerics. I can safely say that the translation is excellent, and that full justice is done to the original.

A. O'C.

DE GRATIA CHRISTI. R. Tabarelli. 8vo, xii. and 533 pp. Romae: M. Bretschneider. Lib. it. 7.50.

THE author commences by giving a brief history of the doctrine. I believe he was ill-advised in so doing. The pure science of theology and the history of dogmas are so distinct that the union of both subjects in one volume is unscientific.

The classical writer, St. Thomas, on whom the author undertakes to comment, was far removed from this spirit of confusing different matters. Though the angelic doctor was a poet of no mean merit, and left behind some exquisitely religious hymns, there is little poetry in his *Summa*; though he had a varied knowledge of history, you will find very little of this subject in his scientific disquisitions. In the history of the doctrine, page 25, the author institutes an interesting comparison between St. Thomas and our own Duns Scotus. According to the present author's idea, the Theology of St. Thomas on Grace is more organic and profound than that of the subtle doctor. Each had his own system which ramified into every portion of the doctrine. St. Thomas started with the idea that sanctifying grace was a *new being* superadded to nature; Duns Scotus believed it was the virtue of charity residing in the will. St. Thomas held the absolute gratuity of grace; Scotus believed in the possibility of a creature to whom the beatific vision would be connatural. Whatever be the merits of these widely diverging systems, it is interesting to note that either can be freely held by a Catholic—a fact which shows that the doctrine of Grace is not laid down even by St. Thomas according to any cast-iron method. Whereas the doctrine of St. Thomas got (from the late Holy Father) an impetus, which has sometimes been abused into making his doubtful opinions pass as certainties, the lapse of time has done little justice to Duns Scotus, even amongst his own, and even in those days of the Irish intellectual awakening. The author mentions that Cardinal Cansanus triumphantly wrote 'a lucid reconciliation of all the controversies between Thomas and Scotus,' which must have been a marvellous display of human ingenuity. To add insult to injury, there was published recently a work which set forth the doctrine of Scotus according to the method and order of St. Thomas. Surely this has been an undue subordination of essences.

Page 65, the author quotes St. Bonaventure's explanation of the strong statements which St. Augustine made regarding the inutility of nature. St. Bonaventure points out that the great doctor of grace was writing polemics against the Pelagians and 'slipped into extremes to reduce them to the mean.' If this quite reasonable explanation is true, the pity is that the great revolt of Jansenism was caused to some extent by placing too absolute a trust in one man, even though a great doctor of the Church.

Approaching the fundamental question as to the essence of actual grace, the author is not very clear. In one place, page, 240, he says that it consists in illuminations of the intellect and

inspirations of the will. In another place, page 244,—and here he wishes to be more definite—he states that exacting grace in the case of one not yet justified consists in a *kind* of transient force. What is meant to be a precise answer is more obscure than the previous general remark. Towards the problem of reconciling grace with free-will the author adopts a despairing attitude.

He adds to the information of previous text books by mentioning a new system for reconciling them, called a system of selecticism, which is meant to select the true things from all previous systems and which shares the usual fate of theological conciliators, making itself odious to all parties. The present work will be found to be a useful text book for the schools. It does not differ from the usual treatises and it is as good as any one amongst them.

G. P.

HISTORY OF IRELAND. By Geoffrey Keating, D.D. Vols. II. and III. Edited and translated by Rev. P. S. Dinneen, for Irish Texts Society.

KEATING'S *Foras Feasa ar Eirinn* is the biggest prose work in modern Irish yet printed. Father Dinneen has acquitted himself well of his appointed task. The manuscripts of the *Foras Feasa ar Eirinn* are numerous. Besides those quoted by the late David Comyn, who edited for the Irish Texts Society the *Dionbhrollach* and the first part of the *Foras Feasa*, and those quoted by Father Dinneen in his Introduction, there are four copies of the work in the Murphy and O'Renehan MSS. in Maynooth College. These are: (1) A copy made by a Franciscan, MacArdle, at Prague in 1663 (Ren., vol. 68); (2) a copy by Uileog a Bure (sic) in Cork, 1750 (Ren., 102); (3) a copy made in the year 1807 (Ren., 67); (4) a copy by Tadhg Ua Conaill in 1818 (Mur., 61). There is a copy by one of the MacCurtins very early in the eighteenth century, preserved in the library of Mount Melleray Monastery, Co. Waterford. Father Dinneen has, I believe, been the first to point out the existence of two distinct styles in the various versions of Keating's History—one an archaic, and the other a more modern style. The more modern version is, he thinks, the original, while the archaic version was done by a first-class scribe 'with the author's knowledge and consent.' To make a comparison between the versions would require more space than is at my disposal. It is to be hoped that amongst the fruits that will grow in the soil of the National University will be a fully annotated edition of Keating's monu-

mental work. Keating was for his time a man of very wide reading. He quotes from numerous authors, native and foreign. Father Dinneen says truly: 'The annotation of the *Foras Feasa*—a work scarcely less important or less difficult than the annotation of the *Annals of the Four Masters*—will require years of patient labour and research.' Ireland has cause to be grateful to Father Dinneen for having provided us with the whole text.

Keating's *Foras Feasa* I regard as much a classic as Herodotus' history. Keating was not a Thucydides. He attempted and achieved more than Thucydides. The scope of the former's history counts as many centuries as the latter's counts years. Moreover, Keating modestly styles his history a 'Foundation (ἡ. ῥοιδαί) of the knowledge of Ireland.' Besides, Thucydides wrote as a contemporary, Keating was five centuries from the latest period of which he treats. As for the style of Keating, I consider it stately and splendid prose, the work of a scholar of very wide reading. I have observed very few slips in the editor's work: *τιμοῦς*, *καοῦς*, etc., are the nominatives, not *τιμοῦς*, *καοῦς*, etc., which are genitives.

Since penning the above, I came across yet another copy of Keating's History, preserved in the O'Curry MSS., Maynooth College. This copy is found in the leabhar of one Diarmuid Ua Súilliopháin. The scribe signs himself 'Mise, Goghan Ua Caoimh, 1704.'

TOMAS UA NUALLAIN.

THE HOLY GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MARK. With Introduction and Notes by the Rev. Cecil Burns, M.A. London: Catholic Truth Society, 69, Southwark Bridge Road, S.E. Price 2s. 6d.

EMPHASISING the opportuness of his commentary, the editor is justified in stating that recent research has made St. Mark's Gospel in one sense more important than the other Synoptics. It bears on its face the stamp of being older than the other Gospels at least in their present form; it exhibits a closer approach to the exact style of the Master's discourses. The present commentary on St. Mark is turned out in a pleasing form. The editor is to be congratulated on endeavouring to give us in English dress a Catholic rival of the Cambridge Scriptural texts. The work is not intended for advanced scholars, but will be of much service to the average seminarist. When I find fault with certain portions of the commentary, it must be remembered that these are but parts and that the main body of the work is replete with invaluable and learned comments.

The defects to be pointed out may merely have escaped the author's attention, but such as they are, they jar on the feelings of a Catholic reader of a Catholic Truth Society publication. Page 122, did our Lord, then, wish to substitute the purely spiritual for the ritualistic worship? If so, wherein do we Catholics differ from Adolf Harnack? In the Introduction (p. xxii.) the author says that St. Mark seems to have no difficulty in supposing that our Lord's power of working miracles was limited. St. Mark believing absolutely that our Lord's miracle-working power was limited! Have we no escape from a difficulty but to assert that an Evangelist believed and an inspired writer expressed a confused and inaccurate view of a peculiarly religious matter?

Page 109, commenting on the famous text that the Son does not know the day of the general judgment, the author explains that the only possible theological distinction is that He did not know it as man. But the author has not sufficiently distinguished. Can we indeed say that Christ as Man was ignorant of the day of the last judgment? The Agnoeti will be remembered as holding this view. The belief is commonly qualified with the note, 'erroneous.' It is true that certain of the Fathers made the round statement that Christ as Man was ignorant of the last day. But distinguished scholars, as M. Vacant, interpret these statements in the light of others and hold that the writers meant the commonly received view—namely, that Christ as a Man with purely human lights laboured under this ignorance, but in His human nature as endowed with Heavenly grace knew the day and the hour of the last judgment.

G. P.

GEORGE EVANS, PRIEST AND MILLIONAIRE. An Autobiography. Edited by Brian O'Dowd, M.D. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1908.

THIS is a work of which we have nothing good and nothing bad to say. It leaves us quite indifferent. There is nothing of the higher light in it that lifts a work of romance above the commonplace. It is, on the whole, earthly, worldly, unreal and immature, but there is nothing in it to call for unqualified condemnation. It has a few redeeming features; but they have undoubtedly something to redeem. Its villain is a woman compounded partly of Madame Humbert, the 'grand Therese,' and partly of Madame Gould. That is enough. All we will say is 'Read it who will.' We neither recommend it nor condemn it.

GADUALE SACROSANCTAE ROMANAE ECCLESIAE SS. D. N.
 Pii X. Pontificis Maximi iussu restitutum et editum.
 Editio Ratisbonensis. 1908,
Id. Editio Schwann. 1908.
Id. Editio Tornacensis. 1908.

THE *Vatican Gradual*, itself a splendidly printed, but somewhat bulky volume, has given rise to a considerable number of excellent reprints. We have before us specimens of editions by Pustet of Ratisbon, Schwann of Duesseldorf, and Desclée et Cie of Tournai.

Pustet's edition is the cheapest and, excepting those on special paper, the lightest of those we have seen. The price is 4s. in paper covers, 6s. bound with sheepskin back. A slight drawback is that the notes on the opposite side of the paper show through to some extent. We observe that Pustet has given up the special note form he used in his first edition of the *Ordinarium missae*, and has adopted the form first employed by Dom Pothier in his *Liber Gradualis* of 1883. We notice one misprint on p. 56, where the first note of the Alleluia Verse has dropped out.

Schwann's Editions are in excellent style. The large and shapely note forms, the ornaments designed with exquisite taste, and faultless printing make them very pleasant to use. He has maintained the note forms of his early *Ordinarium Missae*, but by adopting a larger page has succeeded in securing a more pleasing appearance. His *Editio P*, bound half Morocco, at the price of 7s. has rather thin paper, which allows the notes to show through a little, though, not so much as Pustet's edition. An edition on thick paper, *Editio R*, is issued in two volumes and costs 10s. The division is made in *Proprium de Tempore* and *Proprium Sanctorum*. Each volume contains the *Ordinarium Missae*, the *Toni Communes*, and an appendix giving such pieces from the other volume as are merely referred to in the text. Hence each can be used independently according to the Mass of the day. Altogether this edition is well worth its price.

Schwann has also published Extracts from the *Gradual*, intended for parochial and convent churches. In these such Masses as are never sung, Ferias of Lent and Feasts of semi-double and simple rite, for instance, are omitted, weight and cost thus being reduced. *Ed. T.* is in the style of the editions already mentioned; *Ed. U.* has somewhat smaller, but still rather large type. *Ed. T.* bound as before, costs 5s. 9d.; *Ed. U.* 5s. Editions in modern notes and with English rubrics and translations of texts are, we understand, in preparation.

In Desclée's Editions the notes are noticeably smaller than in Schwann's, though they are fully twice as large as in the *Liber Usualis*. But in clearness of print they are unsurpassed. Their No. 605, a mere reprint of the text of the Vatican edition, costs, in paper covers, 4s. ; in cloth, 5s. 8d. ; with back in sheepskin, 6s. 5d. There is a special edition, No. 605A, on real India paper, a marvel of clearness and lightness. It is only $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch thick and weighs, when bound, 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ ounces. It costs 1s. 8d. more than No. 605. For choir boys the thinness of the paper is perhaps an objection. But for anyone who treats a book with care this edition is highly desirable.

The same publishers have an edition, otherwise like the one just described, with rhythmical signs added by the Solesmes Monks. There was a little difficulty about the rhythmical signs at first, a special decree of the Congregation of Rites being launched at them, by which it was forbidden to add any signs that would interfere with the shape of the notes. The Solesmes Monks, however, rose to the occasion and promptly changed the form of their signs, so that they now do not touch the notes at all, and they have got assurances that these new signs will not be objected to. We are of opinion that these signs are a most valuable addition to the Vatican text, in fact, that the latter is incomplete without them. Although it is unquestionably the rule in Plain Chant rhythm that the first note of a neum bears the accent, or ictus, as the Solesmes Monks prefer to call it, still the concordant testimony of the manuscripts of two such important schools as those of St. Gall and Metz leave no doubt that frequently the rule does not hold, and rather the second or third note of a neum is accented. Hence special signs are required for that. Again, the same authorities show that many notes were considerably prolonged. This the Solesmes Monks indicate by a dot placed after a note to mark, approximately, a doubling of the time value of that note, and by a little horizontal stroke to mark a prolongation amounting to less than doubling. We are glad to find the use of these horizontal strokes much increased, because they are a great help towards a supple rhythm of the Chant.

We see that the *episema*, the ictus mark, is in many instances changed as compared with the *Liber Usualis*. We take this as an indication that the monks are still prosecuting their investigations in this subject, which is both rather new and by no means easy. It seems from certain of these changes that they are now less hostile to feminine endings. But in some instances this is not clear. It must be borne in mind that they are hampered in their indications of the divisions of neum groups by

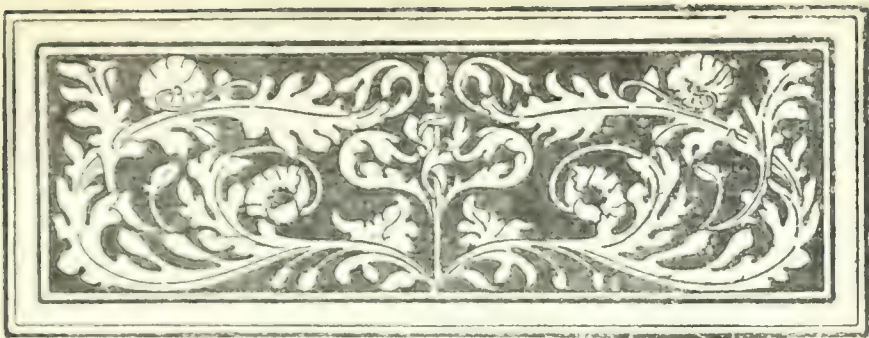
the strict rules laid down for the reprints of the Vatican Edition. The grouping of the neums by means of spaces and bars must be maintained absolutely. If, then, the Solesmes editors wish to indicate a division where the original marks none, they can manage it by slipping in their prolongation dot. But if they wish to indicate a close connexion where the original marks a division, they are helpless. This is an additional reason for wishing that the Solesmes monks would soon bring out a new edition of their own in which they could give to the world the result of their investigations without any hindrance. In that edition it would be desirable, however, that a clear distinction should be made between indications founded on manuscript evidence and indications founded on theory. We take it that most of the signs in the present edition are of the former kind. Only occasionally, especially in syllabic pieces, we meet ictus signs evidently suggested by their singular theory of the relation of the tonic accent and the musical ictus. Take, for instance, the first *Pange lingua* in the Appendix, where the ictus run thus :

Sanguínisqué pretíosi.

Of this edition with rhythmical signs there are also two forms, one on ordinary paper, No. 696, costing, in paper covers, 4s. 5d. ; in cloth, 6s. ; back in sheepskin, 6s 10d. ; and the other on real India paper, No. 696A, costing 1s. 8d. more than No. 696.

There are almost numberless reprints of the *Ordinarium Missae*, *Missa pro Defunctis*, and *Toni communes Missae*. We can only mention one by Fustet, in 32°, in modern notation, containing all these three parts, in clear print and on good paper, and costing, in cloth, the sum of 6d.

H. B.



THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH AND SOCIALISM

THE eagerness with which the partisans of socialism endeavour to find support for their theories in the practices of the early Christians and in the writings of the Fathers of the Church is one of the most curious things in the development of modern ideas. And the most curious thing about it is that those who are loudest in their enunciation of the theory are those who care least about Christianity, and would not dream of accepting its teaching on any other point whatsoever. It was, I think, a French socialist, Villegardelle,¹ of the 1848 revolutionary period, who composed a stout volume of extracts from the writings of the Fathers to show that they were communists and socialists in the strictest sense. From that day to this there is scarcely a socialist stripling who appears on a public platform who does not tell Christians to study the annals of their Church and the spirit of their early apostles if they wish to know what was taught and what was done by those whom they are bound to imitate and revere. It has been admitted, however, that on all this aspect of the question there has been a great deal of blind writing and inaccurate statement. Hence it was but right that in a scientific age the matter should be taken up

¹ *Histoire des Idées Sociales avant la Revolution Française*, c. ii. pp. 61-83. See also Thonissen, *Le Communisme dans l'Eglise Primitive*. Louvain, 1861.

by scientific men and dealt with on a scientific basis. To this enlightened movement we are said to be indebted for the works of Labanca¹ and Nitti,² which we are asked to accept as containing the last word that science has to say on the matter. Now, of these two works that of the Neapolitan professor, Nitti, is the more complete and the more scientific. In answering him I shall have answered at the same time all that is worth answering in the vast mass of material that has been accumulated on the subject.

The scientific procedure of Professor Nitti will give us a very good idea of the methods adopted by other scientific inquirers in universities nearer home. Professor Nitti says :—

The early Fathers of the Church, faithful to the teachings of Christ, professed thoroughly communistic theories.³ . . . When, after Constantine, Christianity became the official religion, and was embraced by the rich and by members of the government, the ecclesiastical writers manifested quite different opinions on the subject of property.⁴ . . . According to the Fathers all was in common in the beginning, the distinctions, *mine* and *thine*—in other words individual property—came with the spirit of evil. . . . It was not until the thirteenth century, when the Church was already immensely rich, that ecclesiastical writers appeared openly maintaining the right of property. Thus we find St. Thomas Aquinas endeavouring to conciliate Aristotle's conservative doctrines on property with the communistic teachings of the Gospel and the Fathers of the Church of the second, third, and fourth centuries.⁵

Thus, then, according to this professor of the University of Naples, the Christian Church has been guilty of the meanest, most selfish, and most corrupt utilitarianism in her attitude towards this question of wealth and property. She was communistic when she had nothing. She blessed poverty in order to fill her own coffers. And when the

¹ *Cristianesimo Primitivo*. G. Labanca.

² *Socialismo Cattolico*. Francesco Nitti. (English translation was published by Macmillan in 1895.)

³ *Catholic Socialism*, p. 64.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 65.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 71.

coffers were full and she took rank amongst the owners of land and houses, she became zealous in the interests of property and proclaimed that its origin was divine.

A more blighting charge could not well be made against any institution, human or divine; made, too, by a gentleman who would willingly pass himself off as a liberal, a writer who finds open-mouthed admirers in the Catholic press, and is regarded as a prodigy of learning, and therefore a high authority, by many who are not capable of judging his work on its intrinsic merits.

I may take the arguments on which he relies to establish his charge in the order in which he gives them; it is not the chronological order, and, whilst supposed to be scientific, seems to have been adopted on no particular principle of any kind.

TERTULLIAN (160-240)

At the beginning of the third century, according to Professor Nitti, Tertullian, in his *Apology for the Christians*, assures the world that in the Church for which he pleaded 'all things were held in common except wives.'¹ Now, what is the meaning of that expression of Tertullian? Does it imply anything more than the extreme charity with which the Christians stood by one another in those days of stress and persecution? Does it indicate compulsion, legal obligation, a natural and strict right on the one side and an onus of justice on the other? Nothing of the kind. It indicated the law of charity, nothing more and nothing less. And this is clear as daylight from the text out of which the Neapolitan professor has extracted and isolated the phrase. How were things held in common amongst the Christians? Tertullian explains it in the very chapter from which the words are taken. A monthly meeting of the whole body was held, at which one of the elders presided. At this meeting, or at any other time he found convenient, each member made a contribution

¹ 'Omnia indiscreta sunt apud nos praeter uxores.'—Chap. xxxix.

to the common fund; but, mark the words, *vel quum vellet, et si modo vellet, et si modo possit*—‘or when he wished, and only if he wished, and if he could.’ Nobody was compelled. *Nemo compellitur, sed sponte confert*. It was a free gift, intended, not for feasting or banqueting, but for the poor, for orphan boys and girls, for the old and decrepit, for those who were in chains, or in exile, or in prison. These contributions were the voluntary offerings of piety—*deposita pietatis*—which opened the eyes of the pagans and made them exclaim, ‘How the Christians love one another.’¹ With this explanation of the ‘community of goods’ staring him in the face, it is surely nothing short of a piece of deception on the part of a scientific professor to cull out a phrase in the fashion here adopted and make it represent almost the direct opposite of the full sense and drift of the chapter from which it is taken.

ST. JUSTIN MARTYR (101-167)

From Tertullian Professor Nitti springs back to Justin Martyr, and quotes him as asserting that the Christians of his day held all things in common. The words are taken from his first apology addressed to Antoninus Pius. St. Justin is speaking of the change wrought in the hearts of Christians by their faith and their mode of life. They who

¹ ‘Coimus in coetum et congregationem ut ad Deum, quasi manufacta, precationibus ambiamus. Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministeris eorum ac potestatibus, pro statu saeculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis. Cogimur ad literarum divinarum commemorationem, si quid praesentium temporum qualitas aut praemonere cogit aut recognoscere. Certe fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, disciplinam praeceptorum nihilominus in compulsationibus densamus. . . . Praesident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio sed testimonio adepti: neque enim pretio ulla res Dei constat. Etiam si quod arcae genus est, non de honoraria summa quasi redemptae religionis congregatur. Modicum unusquisque stipem menstrua die, *vel quum vellet, et si modo velit, et si modo possit*, apponit. Nam nemo compellitur sed sponte confert. Haec quasi deposita pietatis sunt. Nam inde non epulis nec potaculis nec ingratis voratrinis dispensatur, sed egenis alendis humandisque et pueris ac puellis re ac parentibus destitutis, jamque domesticis sensibus item naufragis et si qui in metallis, et si qui in insulis vel in custodiis dumtaxat ex causa Dei sectae alumni confessionis suae sunt. Sed ejusmodi vel maximae dilectionis operatio notam nobis inseret penes quosdam. Vide inquit ut invicem se diligant.’—Tertullian, *Apologeticus adversus Gentes pro Christianis*, chap. xxxix.

formerly led a worldly and sensual life were now modest and chaste; they who believed in magic or practised the art believed now in the only Son of God, 'they who put money and possessions before everything now turn even what they possess to the common use and share it with the poor.'¹ Therefore the Christians of St. Justin's time were communists.

But they were not communists. They were merely Christians, practising the law of charity, which is the same to-day and will be the same to the end. Further on in the same apology, St. Justin, like Tertullian, explains what he meant by saying that they gave what they possessed (not all they possessed) to the common use. Having described the gatherings of the Christians much in the same terms as Tertullian, he says ²:—

Those who are rich contribute at their discretion, what each one wishes, and what is collected is placed at the disposal of him who presides. He comes to the assistance of orphans and widows and those who are in want owing to disease or some other cause, then, also, to those who are in chains, or to those who have come to us, through many dangers, as guests. In a word, he undertakes the care of all who are in need.

What is the difference between that and what we do? Is it not exactly the same practice? See how clearly he insists on the voluntary character of these offerings.³ *Qui abundant et volunt*.—Those who have and those who will. And still further, *suo arbitrio*—at the discretion of the giver; and further still, *quod quisque vult*—what each one

¹ Χρημάτων δὲ καὶ κτημάτων πόρους παντὸς μᾶλλον στέργοντες, νῦν καὶ ἂ ἔχομεν εἰς κοινὸν φέροντες καὶ παιτὶ δεωμένῳ κοινωνοῦντες.—*Apologia Prima*, 51. Nitti, although he gives the reference, does not quote the passage correctly. The Latin translation is, 'Qui pecuniarum et possessionum vias omnibus antiquiores habebamus, nunc etiam ea quae possidemus in commune conferimus et cum indigentibus quibusque communicamus.'

² 'Qui abundant et volunt, suo arbitrio, quod quisque vult, largiuntur. Et quod colligitur apud eum qui praest deponitur; ac ipse subvenit pupillis et viduis et iis qui vel ob morbum, vel aliam ob causam egent; tum etiam iis qui in vinculis sunt et advenientibus peregre hospitibus. Uno verbo omnium indigentium curam suscipit.'—*Apologia Prima pro Christianis*, chap. 84; Migne's *Patrology*, p. 430.

³ The Greek text says: 'Οἱ εὐποροῦντες δὲ καὶ βουλόμενοι, κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ὅ βουλεται δίδωσι.'

wishes. Now, what sort of reliance can be placed on socialist writers who maintain that the Fathers of the Church are on their side, when their proofs are manufactured for them by scientific sympathisers of this character? If a Catholic writer dared to misrepresent things in this fashion, what a storm of vituperation and obloquy he would have to face? And quite justly. For there is nothing damns and destroys a cause, however just it may be, like misrepresentation of facts. Any man may make a mistake, and I hope Professor Nitti does no more: but the object he has in view and the persistent use of shady arguments makes one somewhat sceptical.

ST. CLEMENT OF ROME (30-100)

From St. Justin Martyr Professor Nitti goes still farther back towards the days of the Apostles, and makes a great flourish over a passage which he quotes from St. Clement of Rome, the first Pope of that name, who ruled the Church from the year 90 to 100. But here the scientific historian comes to grief more seriously than in either of the two preceding cases. The passage is certainly forcible; of that there can be no doubt. And if one seeks for any mitigation of it in the epistle from which it is quoted he will be greatly disappointed; for almost every word of the context emphasizes and punctuates the sense of the passage quoted.¹ 'It was by iniquity that at the origin one man appropriated one thing, another claimed another, and thus division was introduced.' Common life is the ideal plan, and departure from it is the mark of evil, the work of the serpent. Now all this would be very conclusive indeed, as far as St. Clement of Rome was concerned, if the epistle from which it is quoted were genuine. But when it bears upon its very face the marks of concoction it is not very creditable

¹ The passage runs: '*Communis vita, fratres, omnibus necessaria est et maxime his qui irreprehensibiliter militare cupiunt, et vitam apostolorum, eorumque discipulorum, imitari volunt. Communis enim usus omnium quae sunt in hoc mundo omnibus esse hominibus debuit; sed per iniquitatem alius hoc suum esse dixit et alius illud, et sic inter mortales facta divisio est.*'

to a scientific philosopher of this enlightened age either to be duped by a spurious production of this kind, or, without being duped, to make use of the document as if it were genuine. The epistle is supposed to have been addressed to St. James and the Christians of Jerusalem by St. Clement when he succeeded St. Peter (whether directly or after the death of Linus and Anaclet, we cannot say). Now, St. James was dead years before St. Peter, as all historians testify. How, then, could St. Peter's successor have written him a letter? This is not the only letter attributed to St. Clement, and supposed to have been written to St. James. It has the same authority as the others, and that is none at all. But, then, Professor Nitti quotes it not from the works of St. Clement directly, but from the *Corpus Juris*,¹ as if to show that it was recognized by the Church, and regarded as authentic in the most authoritative collection of her laws that has ever been published. But no matter where a thing is published, if it is not genuine it is spurious. Every Catholic scholar knows how such documents made their way into the *Decretum Gratiani*. But he also knows that the *Decretum Gratiani* is not Scripture, and does not claim to be inspired. It is not even part of the *Corpus Juris*, though quoted as such by this scientific professor. It was never accepted by the Church as a collection of authentic Decretals. Had he read the commentary of his countryman Berardi² on 'Gratian's Decree' he would easily find out what parts of it were spurious and what parts authentic.

ST. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (150-217)

Very few of the Fathers of the early Church examined or contemplated the question of property from the purely theological point of view, or from the standpoint of strict natural justice. St. Clement of Alexandria goes nearer to

¹ Causa xii. 1049.

² *Gratiani Canones Genuini ab Apocaphis Discreti*. Opera et Studio Caroli Sebastiani Berardi. Venetiis, 1783. 'De Canonibus Clementi Adscriptis,' tom. i. pars ii. p. 20.

doing this than any of them in his treatise, *Quis Dives Salvetur*? and, as we might expect, lays down the doctrine which the Church has always taught whenever she has spoken on the subject with the voice of authority. For this also, as we might expect, he gets nothing but abuse from Professor Nitti, who insults him, and scoffs at him, and repudiates his right to speak:—

The interpretation given by Clement of Alexandria [he writes] is a specimen of perfect sophistry such as could only be conceived in the mind of an Alexandrian writer, and in open contradiction to all that had been written and taught by the Fathers of the Church. Certainly to all that has been represented as having been taught by them by this writer, who is incapable of sophistry.] Changing the meaning of the parable of Dives and Lazarus,¹ Clement says: 'Our Lord does not, as some suppose, command the rich man to throw away his possessions, but to cast from his heart the love of gold with all those cares and preoccupations that stifle the germ of life. . . . What new thing then does the Son of God teach us in this? Not an exterior act, such as many have performed, but something higher, more perfect, and more divine, the rooting out of passions from the soul itself and the renunciation of all that is alien to its nature. Man may rid himself of his earthly goods, and yet cupidity and the desire of wealth be none the less active within him. He will thus be exposed to double affliction, regretting at the same time his prodigality and his misery. . . . How could works of charity be performed among men, if no one possessed the means of giving alms? If the teaching of our Lord had this meaning it would be in evident contradiction to many of His glorious doctrines.'² Worldly goods should be considered as materials and instruments to be used for pious purposes, to be turned to good account by those who know how to employ them skilfully.

Nothing could be more in keeping with the teaching of our Lord, or more in harmony with the doctrine of St. Paul and the earlier Fathers, than these words. Yet they are made the basis of a vulgar charge of dishonesty and sophistry against their author. It is clear enough on what side the dishonesty and sophistry are to be found.

¹ *Catholic Socialism*, p. 70.

² St. Clement of Alexandria, *Quis Dives Salvetur*?

ST. BASIL (330-379)

Some of the strongest passages in favour of his theory are taken by Professor Nitti from the works of St. Basil. They are extracted chiefly from the Homilies of this great and good man *On Avarice, On Wealth, On Hunger*, subjects well calculated to stir to its depths a soul full of sympathy for the poor. There is the ring of genuine metal in these sermons, very different from the sound of much that we hear to-day. St. Basil was a man of strong temperament, of noble and brave words. He saw the poor around him starving, whilst the rich heaped luxury on luxury. Perhaps a more vivid and awful picture of a hungry man was never painted¹: The skin hangs round his bones like a spider's web. The flower of the cuticle is gone. The blush of health has departed, and the pallor of death has not yet come. The emaciated body turns dark and livid. The knees tremble. The limbs with difficulty support the trunk. The voice becomes faint and languid. The eyes are sunken and dim, and in vain are encased in husks or shells. *Venter vacuus, contractus, informis, sine mole, sine naturali viscerum distensione, ossibus dorsi adhaerescens*. One stroke of the sword, the impetuous onset of fire, the rage of wild beasts tearing the limbs to pieces bring death swift and brief: but here the pain is slow, the suffering long; the disease lingers and stays, death ever at hand, but ever waiting. Yes, death from hunger is the worst of tortures.

On the other side there is no sort of luxury suggested by the devil that is not sought after by the rich. They divide their money, putting half of it in use and half in reserve. Of the half in use one part goes to domestic magnificence, the other to external pomp. A part is devoted to travelling, another part to home festivals. They have innumerable carriages, some for

¹ ἡ σὰρξ ὡς ἀραιχθὲν τοῖς ὀστέοις περικείται. Ὁ χροῖς ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔχει. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐμῶν φεύγει, ἐκτεταγμένον τοῦ αἵματος. . . . πελιδνὸν δὲ τὸ σῶμα, ἀχρῶσθαι καὶ τῷ μελανι ἐλευσέως ἐκ τῶν παθῶν κινεῖται. Τοιαῦτα οὐ βαρύνοντα ἀλλὰ πρὸς βίαν ἐλκόμενα. Φοιτὴ λεπτὴ καὶ ἀσθενής, ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐνασθενεῖντες τοῖς κλοῦσθαι, ἐκὶ ταῖς θήκαις ἐναποκείμεναι ὡς ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐμψυγέτα τῶν ἀκροθίων. Γαστήρ κενὴ καὶ συμπεπτωκία, καὶ ἀμορφος, etc.—St. Basil, *Homilia in Tempore Famis et Siccitatis*.

luggage and some for men. They have no end of horses, of whose pedigree they boast as if they were human beings. Some of these are reserved by the voluptuous for driving about town, others for hunting, others for long journeys.¹ The reins, girdles, collars, are burnished with silver, plaited with gold. There are purple coverings for the horses, just as you have for newly-married couples. The multitude of mules of different colours is endless. The chariots drawn by these are preceded and followed by footmen. Add to this an infinite retinue of servants, stewards, store-keepers, gardeners, specialists in every art in the preparation not only of the necessities, but of the luxuries of life; cooks, bakers, butlers, confectioners, huntsmen, painters, and decorators, the creators of all sorts of voluptuous elegance. And then regular crowds of camels, some intended for burdens, others to be put to pasture; herds of oxen and horses, flocks of sheep and droves of swine, with shepherds for each kind; baths also—baths in town and baths in the country-houses shining with marble, some of it Phrygian stone, some Laconian or Thessalian shard, according as it is intended to heat in winter or to cool in summer. The pavement is adorned with variegated mosaic, the ceilings washed with gold. Where the walls are not inlaid with rich stone, they are decorated with frescoes.

Then if the rich man is married things are twice as bad. For the wife stimulates all inclinations to luxury, enkindling vain desires, and inventing new forms of display.

She must have jewels, diamonds, rubies, amethysts, emeralds. She must have painters and gold-workers, and fine weavers, and perfume makers, and embroiderers. No riches can satisfy women's desires, were they to flow like rivers. They must have sea-flowers, the most precious shells, the finest feathers. Stones held together by gold partly ornament their foreheads, partly their necks. Some shine on their girdles, others on their hands and feet. For women who love gold like to have their hands and feet bound, provided they are bound by gold. Who then can attend to the needs of his soul when he is involved in this feminine craze. As the storm and whirlwind overturn the unseaworthy ship so do these evil inclinations of women wreck the husband's soul.²

Such was the condition of things in St. Basil's day:

¹ Ὁχλήματά ἐστι μυρία, τὰ μὲν σκεναγωγῶντα, τὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς περιφέροντα, χαλῶ καὶ ἀργύρῳ κεκαλυμμένα. Ἱπποὶ παραπληθεῖς, etc.—*Homilia in Divites*.

² *In Divites*.

extreme poverty and hardship on the one hand, hunger, disease, death ; on the other the extreme of luxury, all the haughty pride and defiance of people who had behind them the bulwark of Roman law and the might of Roman power. Now, it has ever been recognized in the Christian Church that nothing is sacred to hunger, not even the loaves of proposition, not even the plate of the sanctuary, not even the first fruits of divine oblation. In a case of extreme necessity all things are common. The rich man is bound, not only in charity but in justice, to come to the aid of its victim, and should he not do so, the victim is at liberty to take as much, and as much only, as is needed to keep the wolf from the door. St. Basil having this in mind thundered against the rich, and made nothing of them and their pomp whilst they refused to discharge a strict duty to the poor. Nowhere does he say such a foolish thing as that a rich man cannot be saved, or that a poor man has a strict right to the property of the rich beyond what is needful for subsistence, and cannot be otherwise acquired. His text is *Divitiæ si affluent nolite cor apponere*. If you have wealth, do not fix your heart on it. Give what is superfluous to the poor. He does not deny that a man may lawfully have wealth, but that he should use it all for himself and give nothing to those in need. 'Nam putare debent qui prudenter judicant usum divitiarum ad dispensationem concessum esse, non ad voluptatem.' The superfluity of the rich is the patrimony of the poor. That is the reason why he calls the rich robbers and spoliators who see the poor hungry and in rags without being moved to pity for them.

This bread that thou keepest in reserve is the bread of the hungry. This coat that thou locket in thy press is the coat of the naked man. These shoes that get mouldy in thy store are the shoes of the barefoot. This money which thou dost amass is the money of the poor. Thou dost injure the neighbour in so far as thou dost withhold from him what is his due.¹

That is the doctrine of St. Basil, of St. John Chrysostom, of St. Ambrose. Whenever they speak of rights and strict

¹ *Homilia in Lucam xiii.* 'Destruam Horrea Mea.'

obligations of justice in this matter, it is to this duty to the poor in a case of extreme necessity they allude. There, indeed, if you will, all things may be regarded as belonging to the human race in common. 'To hand over one's superfluous goods to the poor is not a duty of strict justice,' says Leo XIII, 'except in a case of extreme necessity.'¹

It was the case of extreme necessity that called forth the extreme language of St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, St. Jerome, and St. Ambrose. It is there that *meum* and *tuum* cease. Their thunders were not intended for the rich who gave alms freely and modestly, and did their duty fairly by the poor.

ST. AMBROSE (333-395)

There is in the literature of almost every people and race some dim tradition of a golden age that flourished at the origin of the world,² when all things were common amongst men, as the air is to the birds and the primeval forests to the great beasts that inhabit them. Labour there was none. The earth gave forth its fruit without being tilled. Honey was distilled from the trees. Man was in the fullest sense the lord of creation, and asserted his prerogative by indulging his whims. These traditions are in reality but fragments of the story which is the

¹ *Rerum Novarum*.

² The 'Hy Brassil,' and 'Tir-na-nOg' in Irish legend.

'Ante Jovem nulli subigebant arva coloni,
Nec signare quidem aut partiri limite campum
Fas erat. In medium quaerebant; ipsaque tellus
Omnia liberius, nullo poscente, ferebat.'

—Virgil, *Georgics* I. 125.

'Quam bene saturno vivebant rege priusquam
Tellus in longas est patefacta vias!
Nondum caeruleas pinus contempserat undas
Effusum ventis, prae bueratque sinum.

Non domus fores ullas habuit, non fixus in agris
Qui regeret certis finibus arva lapis.'

—Tibullus, I. Eleg. 3.

'Communemque prius, ceu lumina solis et auras
Cautus humum longo signavit limite mensor.'
Nec tantum segetes alimentaque debita dives.
Poscebatur humus.'

—Ovid, *Metam.*, lib. i. fab. iv. 23.

tragedy of the human race; of the innocence of the Garden of Eden; of the donation made to mankind in the person of Adam of dominion over all the things of earth; of the temptation of the serpent; of the fall and of the ruin and chaos that followed it. Had the state of innocence been maintained man would have enjoyed the things of earth in peace and happiness. All would have been held in common. The race would have been a great family, regulated by justice and truth. The labour needed to till the soil, instead of being a penalty and a hardship, would have been a joy and a pastime. But with sin came confusion, anarchy, idleness, contention. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that sin was at the root of private property, in the sense that but for sin the alternative plan of Providence would have prevailed, that men would have enjoyed the fruits of the earth in peace and in common, and that authority would be obeyed as if by instinct and inclination. But sin upset and shattered that primal felicity. Hatred, contention, rivalry, envy, the battle of selfishness, the struggle for life succeeded. It was to restore something like order in the midst of the ruins that private property was introduced. It came with the sanction of Heaven and the seal of Sinäi. It was a necessity. It was called for by nature in its ruin.¹ The Fathers of the Church have never forgotten this fact; but they were fond of reminding the rich people of their day of the original purpose of the Creator. They reminded them, too, in language of awful solemnity, of the right of all men to live, and of the conditions under which private property was admissible. When men are dying of hunger at the door, the property of the rich is in a sense, and in as far as the poor need it to maintain existence, more truly theirs than that of the people who hold it by a legal title. Those who withhold from their brethren in extreme necessity the superfluities of their wealth sin not only against charity but against justice. They are flying in the face of the Creator, and are little better than robbers and plunderers of the poor.

¹ *Propter istius possessionem non est contra jus naturale, sed juri naturali superadditum per adiunctionem rationis humanæ.* — St. Thomas, *Summa theol.*, iii^a 2^æ lxvi.

St. Ambrose, like St. Basil, indulges in fierce invectives against the rich who seem indifferent to the sufferings of the poor : ' The earth was created for rich and poor alike. Wherefore, O ye rich ! do ye unjustly claim it for yourselves alone ? ' ¹ And elsewhere : ' God *ordered all things to be made* for the common use of all and that the earth should be a common possession. Nature, therefore, gave common rights, usurpation created private right. ' ²

Yes, in the original plan, as God had ordered it [*jussit generari*], things were to have been in common, or rather all things were given in common to the race : but that plan was modified. Instead of possessing the earth's surface in common each man occupied a part of it. That was the *usurpatio*. That was what gave birth to private property. This *usurpatio*, however, was never admitted as having power to frustrate the main purpose of the Creator. Private property must therefore be held consistently with that purpose. Men have a right to live, and anyone who deprives them of that right by retaining, even though supported by the civil law, superfluous possessions are undoubtedly denounced by St. Basil, ³ St. Chrysostom, ⁴ and St. Ambrose ⁵ as murderers, robbers, and thieves. That is language which every Christian minister has still a right to use in similar circumstances. He should be sure, however, that the circumstances are similar before he uses it.

Whilst St. Ambrose in this general way reminded the rich of their duties, when he comes to cases of particular possession there is no doubt as to what he thinks of the rights of property. He has a whole treatise on ' Naboth's Vineyard,' and highly commends the plucky farmer who

¹ ' In commune omnibus divitibus atque pauperibus terra fundata est ; cur vobis jus proprium soli, divites, arrogatis. Nescit natura divites quae omnes pauperes generat. '—*De Nabathe Jezraelita*, lib. i. chap. i.

² ' Sic enim Deus generari jussit omnia ut pastus omnibus communis esset, et terra foret omnium quaedam communis possessio. Natura igitur jus commune generavit, usurpatio fecit jus privatum. '—*De Officiis Ministrorum*, lib. i. chap. xxviii.

Professor Nitti does not translate these passages correctly.

³ St. Basil, *De Divitiis*.

⁴ St. John Chrysostom, *De Lazaro* ; *In Epist. i. ad Tim.* ; *In Verba David*.

⁵ St. Ambrose, *De Nabathe Jezraelita De Officiis*. See St. Thomas, *Summa*, lxvi.

stuck to his rights with such determined energy. Naboth had a small holding in the immediate neighbourhood of the palace of King Achab,¹ the husband of Jezabel. Achab coveted the little property, which he wished to turn into a herb-garden. He offered Naboth either another vineyard of greater value, or a sum of money for the place. Naboth, like the 'Miller of Sans Souci,' was attached to his little home. He answered: 'I will not give you my vineyard and the inheritance of my fathers.' Achab reported the refusal to Jezabel, who suborned the sons of Belial to make false and wicked charges against poor Naboth and get him stoned to death.

The project was carried out: but if it was, Elias, the prophet of heaven, was soon on the scene, telling Achab: 'In the place where the dogs have licked the blood of Naboth they shall lick thy blood also.'² A similar fate was promised to Jezabel.

Now there could be no more solemn recognition of the right of private property, and private property in land, than that which is implied in this story; and it is fully acknowledged and supported by St. Ambrose in the very treatise from which Professor Nitti extracts an isolated sentence which he tries to turn to the benefit of socialism or communism; a sentence which, rightly understood, and not twisted away from its author's meaning, is, as might be expected, in perfect harmony with the drift of the rest of the treatise.

Like St. Paul, St. Ambrose had no sympathy with men who will not work. He did his best to put down reckless charity to the undeserving:—

It is clear [he says] that if liberality is not to degenerate into useless prodigality, it must be practised with some kind of measure. Strong men who have no reason for leading vagabond lives may often be seen coming to ask for the whole treasure of the poor; and if you give them a little they ask for more. . . . If you believe them too readily they will soon consume all you have to give. Measure, therefore, your gifts in such manner

¹ 3 Kings xxi.

² 3 Kings xxi. 19.

that men like these are not sent away altogether empty-handed, but that the real poor be not fraudulently despoiled of all they have to live upon. . . . Above all, you ought to seek out those who do not thrust themselves into view, but rather blush to show themselves.¹

In several other places, St. Ambrose admits and proclaims the rights of the rich.²

If the rich man will only give freely to the poor, be liberal with his alms, modest in his bearing, and moderate in his desires, he will accomplish the thing which is impossible with men, but not impossible with God. So says our Lord Himself, and so after Him says St. Ambrose.

ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM (345-407)

In interpreting certain vehement expressions of St. John Chrysostom in his denunciations of luxury, and the utopian tendency of some theories which he seemed to favour, it is well to bear in mind the framework in which they were set, and the immediate object at which he aimed. St. John Chrysostom was undoubtedly one of the greatest and noblest advocates of the poor that has ever arisen in the Church. His life was spent almost entirely at Antioch, where he was born, and at Constantinople, of which he became Bishop and Patriarch. From contemporary writers we have a fairly accurate idea of the social condition of these two cities. In the first rank of the rich families of Antioch there was a municipal aristocracy whose wealth had become colossal. Syria was then one of the provinces in which trade and industry were most active.³ Syrian merchants traversed the world, and were found even in Gaul. St. Jerome calls them 'the most covetous of men.'⁴ The trade in silk⁵ and linen was carried on in the East entirely

¹ See *Vie de Saint Ambroise*, par M. le Duc de Broglie, chap. i. §. 44.

'In nomine Domini Dei nostri et pauper est tutus et dives.'—*Ennaratio in Psalmum xl.*

'Domus Dei diviti est communis ac pauperi.'—*Hexameron*, chap. viii.

² *Expositio Evang.* See Luc., lib. viii.

³ Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 465.

⁴ *Ep. to Demetrias*, 130.

⁵ *St. Jean Chrysostome*, by Aimé Puech, p. 57.

through them. They made enormous fortunes, and brought back to Antioch with them the luxurious habits of almost every country in which they had lived.¹ The very rich constituted about a tenth of the population; the very poor another tenth. The intermediary classes had incomes which, though varying in magnitude, were in all cases sufficient for their support.

Anyone who wishes to view a striking picture of the luxury of the great families must read the works of St. John Chrysostom himself. There he will see what extravagant habits had grown up in public and private life; what loose practices were common in the theatres, the circuses, the baths; what selfishness and pride reigned in the great houses with the rich porticoes and walls of marble and floors of porphyry that abounded in the main thoroughfare of the city; what pomp and display, what refinements of elegance, what devices for material comfort were visible in these palaces.

'By what means have all such men grown rich?' says St. John Chrysostom. 'By small cheating in business,'² by monopoly in the years of bad crops,³ by usury,⁴ by fraud.⁵ These people are merciless and heartless. They give nothing to anyone. They are worse than wild beasts, relentless in despoiling widows and orphans, pitiless towards the weak and the poor. On the other hand, go with him to the slums and the congested quarters, where the poor have neither air nor light; follow him amongst the shoemakers, the smiths, the tailors; listen to the burning words with which he scorches those who deprive their servants of a living wage, and exact the last farthing from small holders of land:—

They work uninterruptedly all their lives, condemned to labour as arduous as that of asses and mules. Their employers take no more care of their bodies than they would of stones. They get no breathing-time, and whether their fields are productive or not they are ground down without mercy. At the end of winter, which they have spent in the hardest work,

¹ Libanius, πρὸς τὴν Βουλὴν. ² In Ep. i. ad Thess. x. ³ In Ep. i. ad Cor. xxxix. ⁴ In Matt. lvi. ⁵ In Ep. ad Tim. xii.

exhausted by cold, rain, and want of sleep, they return to their houses empty-handed and in debt. They tremble before the threats, the punishments, and exactions of the overseers.¹

See him, again, amongst the beggars and the slaves ! Is it any wonder that he should call back to mind the primitive intention of the Creator ? ‘ All our evils,’ he says, ‘ come from these cold words [*frigida illa verba*] mine, and thine.’ Had humanity not lapsed these words would have been useless. ‘ People do not quarrel about what is common to all, the sun, the water, the air. The world ought to be like the house of a man where all the slaves receive equal rations. All men are indeed equal, since they are brothers.’² Like Bourdaloue, St. John Chrysostom says there is always some iniquity at the origin of great fortunes. ‘ *Omnis dives iniquus aut heres iniqui.*’ All this is evidently meant to induce or to compel the rich to do their duty. It recalls, no doubt, the primitive *utopia*, which would have been the ideal, but has now become impossible. There is not a trace of a suggestion to the poor to rise up and assert so-called rights. Even slaves were exhorted to obey, although St. John Chrysostom hated slavery with all his soul. Property, understood as these rich people understood it, is iniquitous and doomed to fall. If it will not discharge its duties, it must forfeit its rights. All he wants for the poor is that they should have enough to subsist upon. All he demands of the rich is that they should be generous, charitable, hospitable, detached from the wealth which is a danger and a snare. No one gave more detailed and definite advice. He recommends all forms of alms-giving. People should give to the beggars in the streets, distribute the remains of a meal, give away old clothes, have a money-box in the house, where the means for future charities will accumulate ; give gratuitous attendance if one is a doctor, service if one is a lawyer, intervene obligingly between debtor and creditor ;³ have at least one room in which a poor person may get shelter. No doubt the poor were often

¹ In *Matt.* lvi., lxi.

² In *Ep. ad Cor.* xxxiv.

³ In *Act. Ap.* xxv.

turbulent and criminal, and gave frequent excuses to the rich to say they deserved their fate; that they were lazy, dishonest, and wicked; that they simulated infirmities to win the pity of the passers-by; that many who were getting alms were in reality lending money at a usurious rate. St. John Chrysostom knew that there was a certain amount of truth in these accusations; but he did not abandon his poor clients for all that. Charity ought to shut her eyes, and open her hands. God does not say: 'Because you do not work I will no longer give you sunshine: because you do nothing useful I will put out the light of the moon: I will close up the bosom of the earth: I will shut up lakes and springs, and keep back the yearly rains.'¹ No, He bestows His gifts ever with the same liberality. He showers them not only on the idle, but even on the wicked. The corrective for excessive egotism is boundless charity. He did his best, indeed, both at Antioch and Constantinople to suppress the begging tramps and drones that swarmed around him; but he never turned his back on the poor as a class, nor they on him.

At Constantinople things were even worse than at Antioch, for here was the seat of empire and government, the centre of fashion and frivolity as well as of power. The Empress Eudoxia was, as Mr. Bury² reminds us, the champion and example of the pride of life and of the pomps and vanities of the world. She was not even above the suspicion of criminal intrigues. She gave the tone not only to the ladies of her court, but to the gentlemen also. For the first time Christian ladies, instead of wearing the veil, did up their hair in fringes like courtesans. There was a 'fast set,' of which Marsa, Castricia, and Eugraphia, three rich widows, were the leaders. Rouge and white lead began to be used for the complexion, so that people who were not young in reality were made young in appearance. We can imagine how revolting such a court was to the austere and earnest spirit of St. John Chrysostom. He did

¹ In Matt. xxxv.

² *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, vol. i. p. 92.

not mince his words in denouncing it, and, in spite of his reverence for authority, one day publicly compared Eudoxia to Jezabel. Through all the difficulties and complications that followed, the poor of Constantinople stood by him through thick and thin. But the rich and powerful were his enemies, and were strong enough to compass his ruin. At last they drove him into exile, and hastened his death. But his spirit was never broken. He was a man of democratic fibre and strong purpose. If socialists were not so absurd and so irreligious as they are, they might find many things in common between him and them ; but between their methods and his, their general attitude towards wealth, the proletariat, the world, and his, there is an abyss.

ST. AUGUSTINE (354-430)

Professor Nitti has the hardihood even to quote St. Augustine¹ in his favour, although in several of his works St. Augustine professedly refuted the theory with which it is sought to associate him, notably in his treatise against Adimantus the Manichæan,² and in his letters against the Pelagians.³ What does he say in his letter to Adimantus ? He reminds him of the words of the law : 'I am he who give riches to my friends, and poverty to my enemies.' He reminds him of the words of the Covenant :—

If you walk in my precepts and keep my commandments, and do them, I will give you rain in due seasons.

And the ground shall bring forth its increase, and the trees shall be filled with fruit.

The threshing of your harvest shall reach unto the vintage : and the vintage shall reach unto the sowing time : and you shall eat your bread to the full, and dwell in your land without fear.

But if you will not hear me nor do all my commandments ; if you despise my laws and condemn my judgments so as not

¹ *Catholic Socialism*, p. 67.

² *Contra Admantum Manichæi Discipulum*, lib. i. 20-24.

³ St. Augustine, *Epi. Epistolarum Classis*, iii. 26.

to do those things that are appointed by me, and to make void my covenant,

I also will do these things to you. I will quickly visit you with poverty, and burning heat which shall waste your eyes and consume your lives . . . I will make to you the heaven above as iron and the earth as brass.

Your labour shall be spent in vain: the ground shall not bring forth her increase nor the trees their fruit. And I will send in upon you the beasts of the field to destroy you and your cattle and make you few in number and that your highways may be desolate.¹

And of these others²:—

Now if thou wilt hear the Lord thy God, to do and keep all his commandments, which I command thee this day, the Lord thy God will make thee higher than all the nations that are on the earth.

And all these blessings shall come upon thee and overtake thee: yet so if thou hear his precepts. Blessed shalt thou be in the city, and blessed in the field.

Blessed shall be the fruit of thy womb, and the fruit of thy ground, and the fruit of thy cattle, the droves of thy herds and the folds of thy sheep.

Blessed shall be thy barns and blessed thy stores.

Blessed shalt thou be coming in and going out.

The Lord shall send forth a blessing on thy storehouses and upon all the works of thy hands: and will bless thee in the land thou shalt receive.

With all this the teaching of the Gospel is quite consistent. Temporal blessings are promised one hundred-fold by our Lord to those who make sacrifices for Him, and in addition life everlasting.³ But these temporal blessings are of a lower order than the spiritual. They are intended for use by the left hand, the others for the right.

He reminds him of the words of David, who spoke under the rule of Jehovah, which recognized the property even of those whose hands were in the hands of iniquity⁴:—

Whose sons are as new plants in their youth; their daughters decked out, adorned round about after the similitude of a temple.

Their storehouses full, flowing out of this into that: their sheep fruitful in young, abounding in their goings forth.

¹ Leviticus xxvi. 3-22.

² Deut. xxviii. 1-9.

³ Matt. xix. 29.

⁴ Psalm cxliii.

Their oxen fat : there is no breach of wall nor passage, nor crying out in the streets.

They have called the people happy that hath these things : but happy is that people whose God is the Lord.

These, St. Augustine says, were the gifts of God, not the most precious kind of gifts, but still His gifts.

He recalls the words of the Sermon on the Mount : 'Blessed are the meek, for they shall possess the land.' He reminds Adimantus also of the words of St. Paul to Timothy :—

Charge the rich of this world not to be high-minded, not to trust to the uncertainty of riches, but in the living God, who giveth us abundantly all things to enjoy.

To do good, to be rich in good works, to give easily, to communicate to others.

To lay up a store for themselves, a good foundation against the time to come that they may lay hold on the true life.¹

Who, then, does not understand, he adds, that it is no fault to have such riches, but to set one's heart on them, to put them in the scale with truth, justice, wisdom, faith, a good conscience, charity towards God, and the neighbour, in all of which things the soul of a pious rich man stands with its own secrets before the eyes of God.²

Elsewhere he says that if worldly goods are deficient they should not be acquired or sought through evil deeds ; if they abound on the other hand, they should be turned to use for heaven. A strong and manly Christian they ought not to take off his feet when they come, nor break when they depart. 'Where thy treasure is there let thy heart be.'

Speaking of the parable of Dives and Lazarus, St. Augustine says that if our Lord condemned wealth absolutely, and not the abuse of it and the hardness of heart of many of those who possess it, there could not well be anything more strange than that He should send Lazarus

¹ 1 Tim. vi. 17-19.

² 'Quis hic non intelligat non esse culpabile habere ista, sed amare et spem in eis ponere, et ea praeferre aut etiam conferre veritati, justitiae, sapientiae, fidei, bonae conscientiae, charitati Dei et proximi, quibus omnibus anima pia dives est in secretis suis coram oculis Dei ?'—*Contra Admantum Manichaei Discipulum*, lib. i. c. 20.

to abide for ever in the bosom of Abraham, who was indeed a very rich man. A great deal is sought to be made out of an assertion of his that possession is based on human law, and the concession of emperors, that the same power that made the law can change it. He explains, however, what he means by saying that God, the owner of all things,¹ distributed to emperors and states the power to regulate possession by just laws. That is what we all say; but emperors and states must construct their laws on a basis of natural right and justice. 'Rich men,' he says elsewhere, 'who build monasteries and help the Church are like the cedars of Lebanon,² whilst the monks who dwell in them are the sparrows of the psalm.'

St. Augustine, in a word, far from being a socialist or a communist, refuted the theory whenever it came in his way. The Pelagians and Manichaeans were socialists in principle wherever they touched on the social and economic side of life. St. Augustine challenges them on that, as on all other phases of their doctrine. Indeed, all through the history of Christianity, from the present day back to the days of the Essenians and Ebionites, socialism and communism have, in one shape or another, been associated with heresy. They are so associated to-day, and must find other props to fall back upon besides St. Augustine and the Fathers of the Church.

ST. GREGORY THE GREAT (540-604)

Professor Nitti's last effort to capture one of the Fathers for his theories is made in the case of St. Gregory the Great,³ who says in one of his works :—

It is no great thing not to rob others of their belongings :

¹ 'Unde quisque possidet quod possidet? Nonne jure humano?'

'Tolle jura imperatorum et quis audeat dicere :—Mea est illa villa, aut meus est ille servus, aut domus mea hæc est.'—*Tractatus in Johannis Evangelium* vi. 25.

'Quia ipsa jura humana per imperatores et reges sæculi Deus distribuit generi humano.'—*Ibid.* vi. 25.

As St. Thomas says: 'Homo habet naturale rerum dominium quantum ad potestatem utendi ipsis.'—*Summa*, lxvi.

² 'Nobiles sæculi; excoli genere, opibus, honoribus.'—*Explanatio in Psalmum* ciii.

³ *Catholic Socialism*, p. 66.

but in vain do they think themselves innocent who appropriate to their own use alone those goods which God gave in common. By not giving to others that which they themselves received, they become homicides and murderers, inasmuch as in keeping for themselves those things which would have alleviated the sufferings of the poor we may say that they every day caused the death of as many persons as they might have fed and did not. When, therefore, we offer the means of living to the indigent we do not give them anything of ours, but that which of right belongs to them. It is less a work of mercy we perform than the payment of a debt.¹

Now, it is clear here again that St. Gregory had in view the case of extreme necessity, when people were dying of hunger. Then, indeed, it is not lawful for anyone to appropriate and keep for oneself, beyond what one needs, the *commune Dei munus*, the common gifts of God to all mankind. These are the *subsidia morientium pauperum*, the *necessaria indigentibus*. The giving of these he would not call mercy, but justice. It is the case of extreme necessity marked out and defined by Leo XIII, where charity, in the technical sense, ends and justice begins. There are on the other hand, he tells us in the very same chapter, people who give too lavishly, and through a desire for a great name have recourse to dishonest means of making money. 'Occasio ergo rapiendi subtrahitur si bene prius jus possidendi disponatur.' There is no doubt here as to the *jus possidendi*. Dives, he says in the same chapter, who feasted splendidly every day, but allowed Lazarus to die of hunger, is sent to avenging hell, not because he was rich but because he made a selfish and immoderate use of his riches.²

¹ S. Greg., *Magni Opera*. Paris, 1605. *Regulae Pastoralis* iii., ch. xxi. The above is taken from the English translation of Professor Nitti's book. It is not a correct translation of the passage in St. Gregory's work, though I have no doubt it is a correct translation of the version of it given by Professor Nitti, seeing that the author, who knows English well, is said by Professor Ritchie, in his Introduction, to have read the proofs himself.

² 'Non quia aliquid illicitum gessit, sed quia immoderato usu totum se licitis tradidit.'—*op. cit.* iii. 22. Also in another place: 'Habere hic enim possunt et justi bona.'—*lib.* ii. hom. xl.

THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS

The socialists point with triumph to the religious Orders of the Catholic Church, in which all things are held in common and nobody has anything he can call his own. That is the perfect state, according to Catholics. Why, then, should Catholics object to the extension of this perfection to the nation and to the world at large? But the Catholic Church attaches no particular importance to mere community of goods in religious establishments. If there was nothing else but the community of goods in such places, the Church would have nothing to say to them. Besides community of goods, or rather the renunciation of goods, there must be the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. Will the socialists take these vows? They are essential in our religious Orders. They go together and supplement one another. People with worldly ties have no business drawing parallels between themselves and those who have sold their goods to feed the poor, taken up their cross, and bound themselves by the most sacred bonds to the service of the Redeemer. The members of these Orders sacrifice their natural rights for a supernatural end. They do so voluntarily. Not only do they not seek to impose this sacrifice upon others, but they will not accept others as members of their body unless the sacrifice is freely made; for its merit is in its freedom. The socialists will not leave people the same liberty. They must impose their yoke on other people's necks, deprive them of their natural rights, make of the State a huge machine to bruise and crush everything that comes in its way; to secularize education; to extirpate those religious Orders who have served their purpose when they have supplied them, as they fancy, with an argument; to make of the citizen an automaton and an item; to root out and put aside for ever those rights and liberties which sweeten existence, and give dignity and strength to the State as well as to the individual.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

M. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE AND THE IRISH MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE—II

I HAVE said that the *Leabhar Gabhála* is a transcript from the chronicle originally compiled under the title of *Cin Droma Sneachta*. It shows, once again, the competency of M. de Jubainville to deal with ancient Irish writings, when he looks upon this latter work, perhaps the most important of our ancient historic books, as the product of the eleventh century—'the *Cin Droma Sneachta*, an eleventh-century manuscript which is now lost' (page 38)—when we have the *Leabhar na hUidre*, an eleventh-century manuscript, quote it as an ancient authority in those days, and when we have a writer like Keating, who had such an abundance of historical works to draw upon, say: 'It was before the coming of Patrick to Ireland the writer of that book existed'¹; and when we have O'Curry to testify² that 'he had the most absolute certainty (from one of the most remarkable discoveries of modern times of the compiler's name in the *Book of Leinster*), 'that it was written by Ernín, son of Duach, and brother of the King of Connaeth at the end of the fourth century, probably A.D. 397.' M. de Jubainville has not told us the reasons that induced him to ignore these proofs of the antiquity and authorship of a book, which proofs, if valid, would overturn his whole preconceived theory concerning the Mythological cycle of Irish literature? And what are we to think of his euhemeristic theories concerning 'the monastic writers of the Middle Ages,' who, he alleges, 'transformed the gods and goddesses of the ancient Irish pantheon into mere mortals, who, for centuries contended for the possession of ancient Erin;' when, if O'Curry and Keating be correct, and if the *Leabhar na hUidre* references are of value, we have those invaders spoken of, not as im-

¹ Halliday's *Keating*, p. 215.

² *Manners and Customs*, etc., pp. 14, 15.

mortals, but as plain men and women, by a pagan writer of the fourth century when Ireland was still a pagan country.

When a writer blunders so badly over the age and authorship of books so related, on the one of which he tells us his whole essay is a commentary, it is little wonder that he discovers a like ignorance concerning the age and authorship of other books containing matter with which he has to deal. One of those works frequently cited by M. de Jubainville is the *Chronicon Scotorum*. This work, like the *Leabhar Gabhála*, he treats as an original compilation, by an unknown author of the twelfth century. At page 38 he writes: 'This explains why it was that the unknown writer who compiled the Irish annals called the *Chronicon Scotorum*, about the middle of the twelfth century,' etc. And, again (page 39): 'At the end of the twelfth century the critical scepticism displayed by the author of the *Chronicon Scotorum* had gone out of fashion,' etc.; and, again (page 100), when he styles the *Chronicon Scotorum* 'a series of annals compiled in the twelfth century'—what are we to think of the learned writer, when we have the very autograph copy of the compilation preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, the compiler being no other than the celebrated Duaid Mac Firbis? It is an abridgment from a much more important work, the *Annals of Tighernach* (✠1088) made, as O'Curry and MacCarthy have shown, probably about the year 1650. The former writer conjectures that the work was compiled at the dictation of the Anglo-Irish writer, Sir James Ware, who himself was not acquainted with the Irish language; and for a consideration, when the compiler himself was ruined as a result of the disastrous conquest of our country by Cromwell.

Once again, the English writer, Nennius, whom he frequently quotes, as one of his favourite authorities on early Irish affairs, he looks on as an original writer of the tenth, or, as he afterwards confesses, probably of the ninth century, when we have the high authority of the Hon. Algernon Herbert, in his preface to the edition of Nennius by Rev. Dr. Todd, T.C.D., to say that Nennius was a mere tran-

scribe into Irish of a work written at an earlier date by a credulous English writer, of a work so corrupted and interpolated that he compares it to a commons 'on which every man's goose may graze.'

The *Historia Britonum* had two or more publishers in succession: That is to say, transcribers of it made more or less of change and addition, and sometimes took no pains to inform the world that they were mere transcribers, and not the authors. The edition rendered into Irish is that by Nennius, styling himself a disciple of St. Elboa or Elbodus, and styling the priest Beulan his master.¹

These repeated blunders of the learned writer concerning the age and authorship of books with which he has to deal recall the bitter complaint of O'Curry made over sixty years ago concerning certain writers of his day.

There are pretended Irish scholars of the present day who never saw the most ancient writings, nor ever even heard of them but casually, and who, nevertheless, affect a familiarity with them; nay, actually pretend to translate them with a confidence in the public credulity which only ceases to surprise us because we know how often it has been successful in imposing on the ignorant.²

But it is not in the matter of authorship alone, and of the age of the works with which he has to deal, that M. de Jubainville is found at fault. He is found unacquainted also with the age, and authorship, and purport of statements found in them. Take, for instance, the famous passage from the *Annals of Tighernach* relative to the reliability of the Irish records antecedent to the reign of Cimbeith, son of Fintann, the founder of Emania. He treats this (page 125) as an original statement by the Venerable Tighernach. When it has been shown by Rev. Dr. MacCarthy to be but a quotation by the learned Abbot of Clonmacnois from one of the Synchronic historians who in turn quotes from a work written not later than the end of the sixth century.³

¹ Preface, p. 2, etc.

² *Manners and Customs*, etc., vol. ii. p. 10.

³ See *Proceedings* of the R.I.A., Todd Lectures, vol. iii. p. 244 et seq.

Nor is it with works by Irish writers alone that M. de Jubainville shows himself unacquainted. At page 128 he cites the learned Englishman, Alcuin, as favouring the tradition concerning the Egyptian extraction, on the maternal side, of the founder of the Gaels; though this fact would militate strongly against his theory, which represents the Gaels as having assumed to themselves a pedigree going back to Fennius Farsaidh, ancestor of Gaedelus, only in the tenth century. His words are:—

It is possible that Scota, the daughter of Pharo, was already invented at the close of the eighth century, and that Clement, the Irish Grammarian at the court of Charlemagne, had made mention of the Egyptian, the fantastic mother of the Irish people. When the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin had gone into retirement in his old age, he complains to Charlemagne of the daily increasing influence of the Irish at the school of the palace, and refers to them as Egyptians. 'When I went away from you,' said he, 'it was Latins I left behind me, I know not who has replaced them by Egyptians.'¹

If the learned writer had only taken the trouble of consulting Migne, and had not taken his information at second hand, he would have seen that the Venerable Alcuin makes no reference whatever to the alleged Egyptian origin of the Milesians. The letter in question, No. 82, is a reply of the learned Englishman to one by Charlemagne asking his advice concerning the celebration of the Easter. To make my readers acquainted with the purport of the letter let me say that several countries of Western Europe, notably England, France, and Ireland, were greatly exercised in the eighth and preceding centuries over the question of the celebration of the Easter. The Irish monks, who evangelized the whole North of England, carried with them from Ireland the tradition of celebrating the Easter according to the Alexandrian computation; whereas the South of England, evangelized by St. Augustine and his companions, adopted the Roman computation and custom. This state of things lasted very many years to the great scandal of pious Christians.

¹ Alcuin, l. 82; Migne, Lat. vol. c., c. 266-7.

Alcuin had returned from the court of Charlemagne to his own country, England, in the year 797. In the following year, 798, the Emperor wrote to him letter No. 81, on the question of the celebration of the Easter; a question which was evidently agitated at the time on his court school, chiefly through the agency of the Irishman, Clement, who had lately arrived there.

To this letter Alcuin replied in the same year, by the letter No. 82, in which he employed the words quoted by M. de Jubainville. 'When I went away from you it was Latins I left behind me. I know not who has replaced them by Egyptians.' If M. de Jubainville had only read the sentences preceding and following the complaint, he would have seen its purport, and would have been saved from falling into this sad blunder, and would have seen that the passage treated only of the different computations of the Roman and of the Alexandrian schools. The whole passage is as follows: 'Ego imperitus, ego ignarus nesciens Aegyptiacam Scholam in palatio Davidica versari gloria. Ego abiens Latinos ibi demissi. Nescio quis subintroduxit Aegyptiacos. Nec tam indoctus fui Memphisticae supputationis quam benevolus Romanae consuetudinis' (page 266). Nor could he have read the letter without seeing the following luminous note quoted from the learned Mabillon:—

Quinam fuerunt Aegyptiaci illi praeceptores conficere mihi videor ex carmine Theodulphi, Aurlanensis episcopi, ad Angilbertum quo in carmine Scotorum quemdam in aula degentem ac docentem falsis amarulentisque dicteriis impevit. Nam, Scotti ex Hibernia orti, olim sequebantur paschalem circulum Alexandrinorum, qui paschae lunae quartadecima die, si quando in Dominicam incidisset, celebrabant. Et forsitan is erat Clemens Scottus quem in Gallia ad docendum fuisse relictum a Carolo, tradit monachus San-Gallensis initio libri primi.¹

Who were these Egyptian teachers I seem to perceive from a poem of Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans, written to Angilbert in which poem he charges with false and pernicious teaching a

¹ Mabillon, *Act. SS.*, saec. iv. part i. pref. p. cxxxi.

certain Scot residing in and teaching in (the court) school. For the Scots coming from Ireland, formerly adopted the paschal cycle of the Alexandrians, who were wont to celebrate Easter on the fourteenth day of the paschal moon, even though it happened to fall on Sunday. And, perhaps, he was Clement the Scot, whom a monk of Saint-Gall's tells us in the beginning of the first book was left by Charles to teach in Gaul.

Nor is it likely that the Venerable Alcuin would have spoken in implied contempt of the Irish monks, for whom he cherished a warm esteem and friendship from his school-days in Clonmacnois, and to whose Abbot, St. Colchu, his old master, he was accustomed to send presents of money together with wine and oil from the court of Charlemagne.

It is easy to see that when a writer makes mistakes like the preceding concerning books and authors with whom he has to deal, his criticisms concerning matters contained in those books are of little value, and that these mistakes must have far-reaching effects as regards his theories.

Thus, for instance, when treating of the traditions relating to the coming of Cesair, he says (page 38) : '*The earliest writer who makes mention of the coming of Cesair to Ireland is Eodhaidh Ua Flainn, whom he (Eochaidh) identifies rightly with Banbha spoken of in the eleventh-century manuscript of the lost "Cin Droma Sneachta."*' Now, the *Cin Droma Sneachta* happens to be, as I have said, not an eleventh-century manuscript at all, but a fourth-century one : so that the earliest writer who makes mention of the coming of Cesair, or Banbha, to Ireland, is not the euhemering Christian writer of the tenth century, Eoghaidh O Flainn, but Ernin son of Duach who wrote in the fourth century, i.e., only six centuries earlier.

At page 57, he writes : '*Nennius, who had never heard of the legends of either Cesair or Fintainn, begins his history with the legend of Partholon.*' We reply : If this is so, that Nennius (or Gildas ? or Mark ? the reputed author) had never heard of the legends of Cesair or Fintann, we must attribute his ignorance, in part, to his being a foreigner, and hence only imperfectly acquainted with our ancient books and traditions. We, for our part, give him the

credit of possessing the instinct of the historian, and he hence rejected what in his eyes were manifest fables.

Though M. de Jubainville looks upon the traditions regarding the occurrence of two battles of Magh Tuireadh as the work of the euhemerizing Christian writers of the eleventh century—'*Flan Mainistrech . . . is the earliest writer in which we find mention of two battles of Magh Tuireadh*' (page 85); '*Flan Mainistrech's theory, that there were two battles of Magh Tuireadh is adopted by the Book of Invasions, which mentions them both*' (page 86); '*The most ancient traditions, that which we find established in the two earliest catalogues of Irish epic literature, . . . knows of only one battle of Magh Tuireadh*' (page 85)—yet he is forced to admit that the fragment of the tale, 'The Battle of Magh Tuireadh' (Magh Tured Na Bh Fomorach), which Cormac inserted in his Glossary about the year 900, belongs to the tale of the defeat of the Fomorians, so that so early as the ninth century it was looked upon by him as a very ancient historic composition of authority.

And if he tries to draw an argument in favour of his theory from the fact of the piece's not being mentioned in the first list of tales drawn up about the year 700, he should, first of all, show us that it was at any time looked upon as a *prime tale* be the filedhhs of Ireland, as only a list of such is there given. And on M. de Jubainville's own showing (page 2) all three ancient catalogues are only fragmentary. As to the valuable tract, 'The Battle of Magh Tuireadh' (the first battle), it is given in the first catalogue drawn up about the year 700; and according to the judgment of O'Curry it must have been written at least thirteen hundred years ago.¹

It were curious to note, were the task not an endless one, how M. de Jubainville's striking 'analogies,' put forward with such confidence in the beginning of his work, break down one after another in the working out. At page 63 he would make the great and progressive Ard-righ, Tighernmas, the counterpart of Crom Cruach, the god of

¹ MSS. *Materials*, etc. p. 246.

death; though on what grounds he does not condescend to tell us. According to the analogy sought to be worked out by him, Tighernmas, being a Milesian, should find his counterpart rather in one of the demi-gods who fought at Thebes and Troy, 'and who were afterwards transferred to the isles of the blest, beside the deep-eddying ocean' (page 6).

Again (page 64), he writes: '*The myth of Tighernmas, lord of death, and his destructive reign [sic] over the descendants of Miledh, is but a variant of the tale describing the tyranny exercised over the sons of Nemed by the Fomorians;*' that is to say, it is so in the imagination of M. de Jubainville. We know from the Annals that Tighernmas, after a long and successful reign, was struck dead with a number of his people, while worshipping the great national idol, Crom Cruach, at Meag Sleaght. Whether he was afterwards advanced to the doubtful dignity of god of death, spoken of in early Hindu mythology (not in Irish legend), we do not know. What we do know is, that the author in another passage (page 112) would make him the counterpart of one of the golden race who were transformed by Zeus 'into gods of light and life,' because, according to the eleventh-century poet, Gilla Coemhain, 'he was the first to practise the art of melting gold in Ireland.'

But Tighernmas is not the only Milesian who was advanced to the dignity of lord of death. He would have Miledh himself and his father, Bile, raised to the same honourable estate. Some of the proofs, too, advanced by the writer of this 'standard work on the subject of Irish mythology' (*adv.*) are peculiar. Here are one or two in relation to Miledh and to Bile, his father, the ancestors of the Gaels:—

Mile (genitive *Miled*) the mythic ancestor of the Irish race, formerly known as the Goidals or Scots, was not unknown to the Continental Celts. In that part of Hungary comprised under the Roman Empire in Lower Pannonia, an ancient dependency of the Gallic Empire, there has been found numerous inscriptions on *funeral monuments* belonging to men of Gallic origin. One of them was written in memory of Quartio, son of Miletu-Marus, by Derva, his widow. Derva is a Gaulish name signifying oak.

Miletu-Marus consists of two terms: *marus*, in Gaulish *maros*, means 'great,' while in *Miletu* we have the form which the Gaulish consonantal theme *milet* assumed when it was the first term of a compound, and the nominative of which *must have been Miles* for *Milets*; in Irish *mile*; and genitive *miletos*, in Irish *Miled*. *Miletu-Marus* means 'great as Mile.'

The mythic being who is the ancestor of the Celtic race in Ireland was thus [*sic*] known on the banks of the Danube as well as on the distant coasts of Ireland. Mile was the son of Bile; and Bile, like Balor, is one of the names of the god of death. The root *bel*, 'to die,' often changes its radical *e* into *a* when the ending contains an *a*, *atbalot*, for *ate-balant*, 'they die.' In *Balor*, for *Belar*, we have a like example. When, on the other hand, the ending contains an *i* the radical *e* of the root *Bel* is changed to *i*: *epil*, 'he dies,' for *ate-beli*. In *Bile* for *Belios* the same change has taken place.

Mile, the son of Bile, is, then, the son of the god of death, the Celtic god whom Cæsar calls '*Dis Pater*.' The Gauls, he says, affirm that they all descended from *Dis pater* (the god of death), '*ab Dite patre*.' This divine name was Celtic as well as Roman; *dith* is one of the old Irish names for death.

M. de Jubainville, we thus see, has a strong leaning for etymology.

In other passages he identifies the De Danaan chief, *Lug*, with another Gallic god spoken of by Cæsar, and proves this identity by like arguments. Thus (page 100):

Lug is none other than the Gaulish god whom Cæsar describes as the inventor of all the arts; *omnium inventorem artium*. Cæsar calls him Mercury conformably to the system which gave Latin names to all the Gaulish divinities. But the Celtic name of this god is found in two Roman inscriptions of the imperial period, one in Switzerland, the other in Spain; and in Gaul it is borne by several cities, the principal of them being Lyons, *Lugdunum*, contracted into *Lugdunum*.

And again (page 78): 'Lug has given his name to the Lugu-dunum of Gaul, whose name means *fortress of Lugus or Lug*.' And again (page 171): 'It is he (*Lug*) whom Cæsar considers the first of the Gaulish gods. He regards him as identical with Mercury. Already in Cæsar's time a great number of statues had been erected to him in Gaul' (*Deum Maxime Mercurium colunt; hujus sunt plurima simulacra*.)

The name of '*Lugudunum*, or *Fortress of Lugus*, in Irish *Lug*, was borne by four important towns in Gaul—now, Lyons, Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, Leyds, and Laon.'

Now to those statements I reply, first, that Cæsar nowhere speaks of the Gallic god *Lugus*. He speaks of a god, the 'inventor of all the arts,' *omnium inventorem artium*, whom he identifies with the Roman god, Mercury; and, secondly, that M. de Jubainville's etymology so crudely worked out is false. *Lugu-dunum*, or *Lugdunum*, does not mean '*fortress of Lug*' but '*tower-fortress*.' The old Celtic word, *Lug-us*, according to Mela, signified a tower, and we find the word *Lug*, still extant in the Cornish language, signifies the same thing. Hence Leyden, Lyons, etc., in Latin *Lugdunum*, means *tower-fortress*. Hence, also, the '*Turris Augusti*' of Mela is the same as the '*Lugo-Augiuti*' of the *Antonine Itinerary*, and *Lugo-Vallium* (Carlisle) in the fifth *Itinerary* means the '*tower in the wall*' (of Adrian), or '*the wall-tower*,' from *lug*, a tower, and *gwall* (Welsh), a wall. In the more ancient form of the compound an agglutinative vowel was inserted between the elements according to Celtic custom; thus *Lug-u-dunum* of Dio Cassius (46-50) and *Lug-o-Augusti*, and *Lug-o-Vallim* of the *Itinerary*.

In order to further identify the religion of the ancient Irish with the cognate race in Gaul, the author would have our ancestors, like their Gallic cousins, offer human sacrifice. And to this effect he quotes a passage from the *Dinnsenchus*, where it is said that 'the brave Gaels for it, without glory, slew their first-born, with much crying and much wailing for their dead, in the assembly around Crom Cruach,' and to further strengthen his argument he would insinuate, contrary to his custom of modernizing our ancient writings, that the passage was written in the sixth century; though this would tell against his theories in another way, since, in the same poem, there is reference to 'the rule of Heremon, the noble man of Grace,' the son of Miledh of Spain, and the first Milesian sovereign of Ireland.

Now in regard to the passage, it is remarkable that it is the only one in all ancient Irish literature, which is very

voluminous, where reference is made to the custom of human sacrifice among the ancient Irish. If such a practice existed, is it not surprising that no reference whatever is made to it in any of the tales, either of the mythological or of the Conorian cycle, or in any of the lives of St. Patrick where the idol Crom Cruach is treated of?

And as to the passage itself, Dr. Hyde takes 'the exquisite and complicated metre of the poem in the original as a proof that the lines are not very ancient.'¹ In this connexion he (Dr. Hyde) further remarks ² :—

From the details of this idol, and above all the connexion in which it stands to the mythic culture, King Teghernmas could not well have been invented by a Christian monk, but nothing is more likely, it appears to me, than that such a one, familiar with the idol rites of Judea from the Old Testament, may have added the embellishing trait of the sacrifice of '*the firstlings of every issue, and the chief scions of every clan,*' as is stated in the prose passage that accompanies the poem. Such unauthorized embellishments are met with even in the writings of our modern poets: as in Sir S. Ferguson's fine poem on the death of Cormac :—

‘*Anon to priests of Crom were brought,
Where, girded in their service dread,
They ministered in red Moy Slaughter,
Word of the word King Cormac said.*’

Now, there is no recorded evidence that any such priesthood ever existed, and there is no apparent or recorded connexion between this idol and the druids, nor do the druids appear to have fulfilled the functions of a public priesthood in Ireland.

The author tries further still to strengthen his contention as to the practice of human sacrifice amongst the ancient Irish by again invoking to his aid the science of etymology. 'The idol of the "plain of adoration," the "Bloody Head," "*Cenn Cruach*," as the legend of St. Patrick describes it, or the "Bloody Curb," the "Bloody Crescent," *Crom Cruach*, as it is called in other texts, was, at a distant epoch, the object of a terrible cult. Human

¹ *Literary History*, p. 86.

² *Ibid.* p. 87.

victims were immolated in its honour' (page 60). Here he would have the word *Cruach* cognate with the Latin *cru*, *cruor*, 'blood.' Rhys, however, according to Dr. Hyde,¹ connects it with *cruach*, 'a reek,' or 'mound,' as in Croagh-Patrick, *St. Patrick's Reek*. He thinks it got its name *Crom Cruach*, 'the stooped one of the mound,' from its bent attitude in the days of its decadence.

In furtherance of his favourite doctrine of the belief among the ancient Irish of their origin from the god of death, and of their migration from the land of death, he assails the Milesian tradition of their migration from Spain. At page 16 he writes: 'From the tenth century onwards, the time at which Nennius wrote, this name (Hispania), which was unknown to the geographical language of ancient Ireland, passed into the legend of Partholon, and then it was from Spain, and *not from the land of the dead*, that this mythic chief and his companions were made to arrive.' And again (page 127): 'Since the compilation of our first catalogue of Irish epic literature, the euhemerists made it appear that the sons of Mile came out of Spain, and not from the land of the dead.' And, again (page 129):—

We need not dwell any longer on these comparatively modern legends which in no way originated from the people, but are the offspring of a false erudition. We shall pass on to the antique tale which describes how the Celtic race came out of the land of the dead, and settled down in the country it now occupies.

To this I reply, first, that Nennius does not say that the Partholonians came from Spain, but the Scots rather. His words are: 'Novissime autem Scoti venerunt a partibus Hispanie in Hiberniam. Primus autem venit Partholonus.' etc.² Again, that Nennius, or Gildas, or Mark, the reputed writer of the *Historia Britonum* is not a tenth-century writer as the author thinks, but an early ninth-century one; and, thirdly, that the tale *Tochomrod Mac Miled a nEspain in nErinn*, which gives the account of the migration of the Milesians from Spain to Erin, is given in the first catalogue of Irish epic literature drawn up about the

¹ *Lit. Hist.*, p. 85.

² *Hist. Brit.*

year 700; fourthly, that Kinfaleadh, who gives the account of the wanderings of Mile from Scythia into Spain, and of the migration of the sons of Mile from Spain to Ireland, wrote in the seventh century; fifthly, that the *Book of Invasions*, amended and purified by the Four Masters, with the help of the sixth-century *Leabhar na hUidre*, and taken originally from the *Cin Broma Sneachta*, which was compiled 'before St. Patrick came to Ireland,'¹ gives Spain as the point of departure of the Milesian colony to Ireland.

Nor will it seem improbable that the Milesian colonists came from Spain rather than from Gaul or Britain, or from the 'land of the dead,' when we consider that the Spanish city, Cadex or Tartessus, was, in those early days, the great emporium of Western Europe. Tartessus, we know, was famous in the countries east of the Mediterranean as early as the days of Jonas and Solomon. Pliny, moreover, tells us, doubtless from the Phœnician annals which are quoted by Festus, that the Phœnician merchants of this city traded with the inhabitants of the British Isles in the days of Midacritus 1000 years B.C., and Guest considers this commerce to have been carried on chiefly with Ireland, whose ports, in the days of Tacitus, were 'better known to continental sailors than those of Britain.' And it was from those Tyrian seafarers that Ptolemy gained his information regarding the geography and inhabitants of Ireland.

The Ligurian Celts, moreover, according to the classical authors, entered Spain not by the eastern sea-board, or through the passes of the Pyrenees, which might seem the natural course for invasion, but by sea, past the columns of Hercules on the one hand, and from the Bay of Biscay on the other, and thence to the Ulisiponian harbour, whence they worked their way East and North over the entire peninsula. It was thus only in the natural order of things that an enterprising people, such as the Spanish Celts have shown themselves in all ages to be, should make a descent

¹ Keating.

on the ' noble isle ' which lay only a few days' sail westward, the riches and natural beauty of which were made known to them by their neighbours, the Phœnician traders of Tarsis or Cadez.

The task of following the author of *The Irish Mythological Cycle and Celtic Mythology* in his peculiar views and arguments would be an interminable one. We shall, therefore, take note of three or four of his statements and have done.

At page 85 he writes : ' Flain Mainistreach, an Irish monk, who recast the old legends of Ireland according to the ideas which prevailed in his time, is the earliest writer in which we find mention of two battles of Magh Tuireadh.

To this I reply, first, that Flain was not an Irish monk, or a monk at all. He was head master of the lay school attached to the monastery of Monasterboice, and one of most learned men of his time. He was, moreover, married and left issue, and he is never mentioned in the old writings as an ecclesiastic.

He [says O'Curry] compiled very extensive historical synchronisms which have been much respected by some of the most able modern writers on early Irish history, such as Usher, Ware, Lynch, O'Flaherty, etc. He also wrote many didactic poems, of great value, for the benefit of his pupils, some of which are still extant and much prized by antiquarians. He was in no sense an innovator. The spirit of revolution with regard to the old legends was not in the air in his time, but, rather, that of conservation and renewal after the disastrous Danish wars ; and it is not at all likely that, had he dared to recast the old legends of Ireland, which were handed down from immemorial tradition, he would long retain the sons of Irish chieftains in his famed school or acquire the reputation for learning and probity that he did.

As to the statement itself, I have shown that Cormac, in his Glossary, quotes the tract, ' The Battle of Magh Tuireadh of the Fomorians ' (the second battle) ' as a very ancient historic composition of authority so early as the ninth century ; and, second, that O'Curry judged the tract, ' The

Battle of Magh Tuireadh' (the first battle) to have been put in its present form nearly fifteen hundred years ago at least.

I pass over M. de Jubainville's topographical blunders : as, for instance, when he places Slieve Mish in the Co. Cork ; or, again, when he seeks to make a distinction between Sean Magh and Magh Brog, the ancient designation of the whole plain extending over the greater part of the Co. Dublin ; for, after all he can have but the tourist's knowledge of the geography of our country. I pass over his assumption, furthermore, that the tradition of the wanderings of the Milesians and their subsequent invasion of Ireland was the mythical creation of the tenth and eleventh centuries ; when we have still extant, among other early testimonies to the contrary, the poem of ' Connfaeladh the Learned,' who was wounded at the battle of Moyra, A.D. 643, relating the history of the migration of Milesius from Scythia into Spain, and the subsequent invasion of Erin by his sons—a history which he possibly listened to many a time recited by the pupils of St. Brierin's school at Tuaim Dreacain during the period of his convalescence—and when we have reference to two of the sons of Miledh, Heber and Heremon, in St. Fiach's hymn to St. Patrick, an admittedly genuine work of the fifth century.

But let us proceed. At page 124 the learned author writes : ' In all probability Gilla Caemhain is the author of the chronology relating to the de Danaan.' Here the author is on his own peculiar ground—probability, hypothesis. ' It originated in the doctrine pronounced a few years before by Flain Mainistrech who died 1056. He wrote a didactic poem in Irish in which the Danaans, who were previously immortal, died like other human beings.'

I thought the *Cin Droma Sneachta*, which was written close on seven hundred years previously, told how the Tuatha de Danaan died like other human beings, and that at the hands of the Firbolgs, the Fomorians, and the Milesians, their competitors for the sovereignty of Erin, and that the *Cath Magh Tured*, which O'Curry considers undoubtedly

written fourteen hundred years ago at least, told the same tale. At pages 124-5, M. de Jubainville writes :—

The earliest writer who appears to have invested them (the Tuatha de Danaan kings) each with a sovereignty for a time is Gilla Caemhain, who died sixteen years after Flain Mainistrech. It is Gilla Caemhain, then, who has laid the foundation of the chronological system which has ended in transforming Irish mythology into an historic narrative in accordance with the monastic methods of the Middle Ages.

In this passage M. de Jubainville has put his finger on the spot. He has tracked the man, Gilla Caemhain, who laid the foundation of the whole euhemerizing system which has recast the whole body of Irish tradition, changed gods into mortals, and done away with the whole mythological system of the ancient Irish. Here we are brought face to face with M. de Jubainville's initial mistake. In his endeavour to make historic fact fit in with preconceived theory he would have the famous book, *Cin Droma Sneachta*, in which nearly all these early wars, battles, slaughters, etc., of the Tuatha de Danaan, the Firbolgs, the Fomorians, the Milesians, are given as the euhemerizing product of the eleventh century, when, had he given due weight to the statements of Keating, O'Curry, and others, he would have learned that it was not so, but of the fourth century, 'before St. Patrick came to Ireland,' only seven hundred years previously when Ireland was still pagan. From all this we may learn how wise was the recommendation of Mr. O'Curry, given to his pupils of the Catholic University over sixty years ago :—

Let me caution my young friends to pursue their studies among the materials of the history of their country uninfluenced by the silly but often attractive speculations with which so many ignorant men of the last and of the present generation have deformed their literary and antiquarian researches, if researches they can be called.¹

After this, why trouble ourselves further with M. de

¹ *MSS. Materials*, pp. 436-7.

Jubainville, and his *Cycle Mythologique Irlandais*? which is a book worked up with a great show of learning and research, but is, in reality, the product of a theorist only imperfectly acquainted with our ancient documents; and who, from a consciousness of a certain knowledge of Celticism in general, thought himself competent to theorise on the delicate and complex subject of early Irish history, and to overturn the carefully-arrived-at conclusions of men like Petrie, O'Donovan, O'Curry, Reeves, MacCarthy, etc., who devoted a lifetime to the study of Irish antiquities. How much more prudent would it have been for him had he followed the line of conduct carried out by men like the late Mr. W. H. Sullivan, who writes¹ :—

At one time I purposed discussing in this Introduction the historic value of the traditions (relating to the early Irish races, personages, legends, events, etc.), and to discuss at some length the question of Irish mythology; but the better I became acquainted with the laws, institutions, and life of the ancient Irish, the more difficult the subject appeared to me. The traditions themselves have not been gathered together from all sources. Until they are brought together no attempt can be made to critically analyse them, and, consequently, any speculation founded upon them in their present chaotic state would be wholly profitless and might be injurious to science. . . . In any case the time has scarcely come for dissecting and analysing the curious tissue of legends of Umorians, Fomorians, Nemedians, Firbolgs, Tuatha de Danaans, Milesians, and others, which constitute the mythological part of Irish history.

A. M. SKELLY, O.P.

¹ Introduction to *Manners and Customs*, etc., p. 71.

THE QUADRAGESIMAL FAST

ANCIENT traditions are regarded with so much sacredness that it amounts almost to a sacrilege to gainsay their truth. There is implanted in us an innate reverence for the belief that has so long maintained its ground as to come to be identified with the first beginnings of Christianity, and it is hard to break with it without giving a wrench to rational instincts. Of such a sort is the belief that has hitherto prevailed about the early origin of our modern Lent. Faith in its Apostolic institution has remained unshaken for many centuries. But in recent times critical investigation has turned its search-light upon this theory, and revealed its flaws. The opinion that forty days of fasting and penance before Easter were instituted by the Apostles themselves in commemoration of our Lord's fast on the mountain,¹ is held by most critics at the present day to be either false or not proved. To see how far such a conclusion is warranted by the facts, and, also, to trace the vicissitudes of our modern Lent in attaining its present duration and in departing from the path of primitive rigour and severity may be of some interest.

It is now taken as established that no evidence for the Quadragesimal fast is supplied in any document anterior to the fourth century. A passage from St. Irenæus, quoted by Eusebius² is relied upon by those who favour the traditional view. But it is asserted that this ancient Father refers in the given context not to a fast of forty *days*, but to an uninterrupted fast of forty *hours*.³ The authority of Origen is also invoked in behalf of the opinion hitherto common. In his tenth Homily on Leviticus, he speaks of the usage prevalent in Alexandria at the end of the third century in these words: *Habemus quadragesimæ dies Jejuniis*

¹ Matt. iv. 2.

² *Hist. Eccl.*, v. 24.

³ Duchesne, *Origins of Christian Worship*, p. 231.

consecratos. Here, again, critical examination has disclosed the fact that this passage is an interpolation of the Redactor Rufinus, who attributed to the early centuries what was true only in his own time.¹ The undoubted usage of Alexandria at this date is described in a letter of St. Dionysius to Basilides where it is merely stated that there was a fast of one week before Easter. Pope Leo (440-461), St. Jerome, and some of the Fathers are also cited as witnesses for the Apostolic origin.² It is replied to these arguments that, while these writers are entitled to be heard with respect when they speak of the practices of their own day, their testimony becomes suspect in regard to practical matters of a past age about which contemporaneous history is silent. Now, in the great liturgical sources of the first three centuries there is no mention of *Quadragesima*. The *Doctrina Apostolorum*³ refers to a six-days' fast before Easter as followed in Syria, but has no allusion to any longer period. So, too, neither the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*,⁴ nor the *Constitutio Apostolica Egyptiaca*, nor the *Testamentum D.N.J.C.*,⁵ contains any reference to a Quadragesimal observance. In the *Canones Hippolyti*—which some ascribe to the third and others to the fifth century—there is allusion to a forty-days' fast,⁶ but those who maintain the Ante-Nicene origin of this document say that this must be an interpolation. From an investigation, therefore, of all the available sources of the first three centuries the conclusion seems to be that there is no proof of the existence of a Lenten fast, such as we are familiar with, and that the Ante-Paschal fasts recorded were short uninterrupted intervals of one day, two days, or forty hours as mentioned by St. Irenæus, or a longer period of six days, as described by St. Dionysius.

The first authentic mention of a Quadragesimal fast⁷

¹ Cf. Vacandard, *Dict. de Theol. Cath.*, v. Careme.

² Cf. Thomassin, *Traité de Jeunes de l'Eglise*, i. p. 16.

³ About A.D. 250.

⁴ End of fourth century.

⁵ Third or fifth century.

⁶ N. 154, apud Duchesne, p. 535.

⁷ Cf. *Liber Pontificalis*, i. p. 164.

occurs in the fifth Canon of the Council of Nice (325). From this date on to the seventh century, a rather lengthened period was set apart in preparation for Easter, during which the Catechumens were instructed and Penitents reconciled. In the exercises of these days fasting played everywhere a prominent part. There was, however, no rigid uniformity either as to the regime prescribed, or its duration. Different Churches adopted different usages, and even in the same places customs altered within short spaces of time. One feature of the observances common to almost all was the distinction maintained between the Lenten and the Ante-Paschal fasts. In the Churches of the East, which followed the lead of Antioch and Constantinople, there was a seven-weeks' fast, from which the Sundays and the Saturdays—except Holy Saturday—were excluded. So that in reality it amounted to only thirty-six days.¹ At Jerusalem there was a fast of eight weeks, of five days each, with the Ante-Paschal fast held on Holy Saturday.² From the letters of Athanasius we gather how the usage at Alexandria in his day was gradually developed into a term of six weeks. About the Roman custom in the fifth and sixth centuries there are, curious to say, very conflicting testimonies. Socrates, the historian, speaks of an observance of only three weeks, Pope Leo of one of forty days, and Athanasius of one of six weeks, as prevailing in the fourth century. Vacandard³ adheres to the correctness of the last-mentioned view, and reconciles with it Socrates and Leo by saying that the former refers to three *alternate* weeks of strict fasting out of a total of six, and that the latter expresses himself in round numbers and by approximation. However this may be, there is explicit evidence of the Roman usage in the very beginning of the seventh century. Gregory the Great (†604) thus describes it: 'A praesenti die usque ad Paschalis festivitatis gaudia sex hebdomadae veniunt quorum videlicet dies quadraginta et duo sint. Ex quibus dum sex dies domenici ab abstinencia subtrahuntur non plus in

¹ Cf. Sozomen, *Eccl. Hist.*, vii. 19; St. John Chrysostom, P.G., t. xli.

² Cf. *Peregrinatio Etheriae*, apud Duchesne, p. 243.

³ Loc. cit.

abstinentia quam dies sex et triginta manent.’¹ The duration of the Lenten fast has now become definitely circumscribed. The thirty-six days, with the prolongation of Holy Saturday into the dawn of Easter Sunday, constituted exactly a tenth part or a tithe of the entire year. This was regarded as an appropriate measure of service to render to God in conformity with the Old Testament ideals.² But a more perfect number was soon sought. Within a short time the symbolical span of forty years was instituted and thus were realized the examples of our Divine Lord, Moses and Elias.

When precisely Ash Wednesday was made the starting-point of Quadragesima is not known. The first authentic notice of the change occurs in the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, which dates from the commencement of the eighth century. With the exception of Milan—where Lent proper still begins on the Sunday after Ash Wednesday—this arrangement was adopted, after a little while, throughout the whole of the West, and by the eleventh century had become almost universal among the Churches of the Latin rite. There was just one vicissitude more. In the ninth century it was attempted to make the clergy begin the fast on the Sunday before Ash Wednesday or *Quinquagesima* Sunday. The effort was sustained by an appeal to a decretal falsely attributed to Pope Telesphorus, and succeeded for a few hundred years.

It has been seen the Lenten interval suffered considerable fluctuations before it became definitely fixed, consisting in some places of six, in others of seven, in others of eight, and in others, in fine, of nine weeks. These differences of duration were due to the fact that the number of fasting-days in each week varied. Some Churches, in addition to Sunday, which was exempt everywhere from fasting, also excluded Saturday, while others, again, excluded Thursday, thus making it necessary to commence the Lent nine weeks before Easter in order to maintain the (approximately) Quadragesimal number.³ With this circumstance kept in

¹ HOR., xvi. in Evangelia, 5.

² Cf. Gen. xiv., Lev. xxvii., etc.

³ Cf. Lerosey, *Manuel Liturgique*, iv. p. 407.

memory, the peculiarly severe and even penitential character of the liturgy of the three Sundays before Lent will become easily understood. On the same hypothesis, too, can be explained their apparently anomalous names. *Septuagesima* Sunday is not the seventieth, nor *Sexagesima* the sixtieth, day before Easter. The names of *Quadragesima* and *Quinquagesima* Sundays are appropriate, the former as practically initiating the season of penance,¹ and the latter as being the fiftieth day before Easter. Now, the nomenclature of these two being thus fixed, when the fasting was lengthened to eight weeks and nine weeks the Sundays at the beginning of these periods were by analogy called respectively *Sexagesima* and *Septuagesima* Sunday.²

Of scarcely inferior interest to the evolution of the Quadragesimal cycle is the history of the gradual mitigation of the early severity of the Lenten observance to the comparative laxity of modern days. The essence of the primitive fast consisted in a solitary meal of meagre fare which should not be taken before a certain hour—attention to the latter detail was not of less consequence than due regard for the former. This seems to have been the universal rule. But cases are recorded where individuals practised austerities to a degree that borders on the heroic. The pilgrim, Etheria, in recounting her experiences at Jerusalem in the fourth century, states that there was a class of penitents there who ‘subsisted for the eight weeks preceding Easter upon two meals only in each week, taken on the Saturday and Sunday.’³ The regular Canonical hour for breaking the fast was, in the beginning, after the Vespereal Office and, for those who did not attend this function, about the time when it usually began. In the eleventh century the author of the well-known work, entitled the *Micrologus*, says: ‘Nec juxta Canones quadragesimaliter jejunare censemur, si ante vesperem reficimur.’⁴ Similarly, a Council held in Rouen, in 1072, enacts: ‘Nullus in quadragesima

¹ Being fortieth day before Good Friday.

² Others say *Septuagesima* and *Sexagesima* Sundays are so called because they are first within the intervals of seventy and sixty days: hence *Dom. in Sept.*, etc.

³ Cf. Thurston, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁴ P. L., cli., c. 1013.

prandeat antequam, hora nona peracta, vespertina incipiat. Non enim jejumat qui ante manducat.'¹ From this general rule and Canonical regulation departures were indulged in even at an early date. The *Doctrina Apostolorum* and the *Constitutiones Apostolicae* mention exceptions where the meal was taken at the hour of *None*, and the Emperor Charlemagne, in the ninth century, is said to have introduced the custom of anticipating Vespers so that, this Office being over, his Court might dine at a more convenient hour. The strings of rigid discipline being thus relaxed, what was an innovation at first soon came to have the sanction and approval necessary to establish it as the universal law. And so it was. For we have St. Thomas, in the thirteenth century, defending as lawful the practice of those who, from motives of convenience, took the solitary meal *circa horam nonam*.² And since this hour came to mean either three or one in the afternoon, and was, moreover, to be determined, not mathematically, but rather according to common estimation, it will cause no surprise to find it, after a little, still further advanced. The celebrated Franciscan Doctor, Richard of Middleton, accordingly taught, in the thirteenth century, that the fast might be broken at noon since the hour was really not of the essence of the thing. This doctrine was carried into practice in the subsequent centuries, and we find it adopted by Cardinal Cajetan and St. Charles Borromeo.

This same teaching St. Liguori approved. He even went further and asserted that, though the meal could be taken at midday with a safe conscience, even this hour might be anticipated, but not *notabiliter sine causa*.³ It was during the progress of this relaxation that the custom of saying Vespers at noon was introduced, the idea being that by this device the old traditional rule about the hour of the refectio might still be preserved intact, at least in the letter if not in the spirit. The advancement of the meal from evening to noon paved the way for more relaxa-

¹ Apud Vacandard, loc. cit.

² *Sum. Theol.*, 2^{nda}, 2^{ndae}; § 147, a. 7.

³ *Theol. Mor.*, lib. iii. n. 1016.

tions. It was soon felt that it was too severe a test of human endurance to subsist without food for the rest of the day. To relieve the strain various expedients were tried. At first drinks of water, which were not permitted in the ancient regime, were taken, then wine, and finally liquid food. Traces of this habit are referred to in a Council of Aix-la-Chapelle (817), and in the Regulations of Religious Orders. St. Thomas established the thesis that *potus non frangit ieiunium*,¹ and Benedict XIV recognized this teaching. But since the usual evening *haustus* consisted, as a rule, of wine, and since a liquid of this kind has often an injurious effect upon an empty stomach, so theologians introduced another principle to justify the taking of something in the shape of solid food, *ne potus noccat*. This was the beginning of the *collation*, so called because, during the evening drink, now supplemented with a little bread, the monks were accustomed to read a *collatio* from the works of Cassian. 'Statuimus quod hora potationis serotinae quae apud eos collatio nuncupatur ad quam horam omnes convenire praecipimus.'²

¹ The quantity of solid food taken at the collation must have been at first very small. It seems to have increased rapidly, for in the Rules of the Theatines, approved by Clement VII, it is dignified with the appellation *coenula serotina*. At the present day its dimensions are such as were sanctioned in the time of St. Alphonsus. To the principles of theological casuistry by which, on the one hand, liquids were held not to break the fast, and, on the other, the necessity was recognized of something substantial to make them agreeable to the palate, is to be attributed the custom of taking a *frustulum Theologicum* before the main repast. The lawfulness of this practice was recognized by the Sacred Penitentiary in 1843 (November 21), provided that the amount of nutritious food does not exceed two ounces. In most countries the dinner, or chief meal, was before the collation. The question was debated as to the liceity of inverting the order.

¹ Op. cit., q. 147, a. 4.

² Ex Stat. Ord. Clun., apud Vacandard, loc. cit.

St. Liguori and his school held that it might be done without detriment to the fasting, and this opinion has been approved by the Congregation above mentioned, on January 19, 1834.

The quantity of food permitted by the law of the Church has, we have seen, undergone great changes. The quality, also, has been subject to similar modifications. Flesh meat has been ever, as it is at the present day, excluded by the common ecclesiastical law from the dietary of Lent, including Sundays, which were always days of abstinence. As an article of fasting-fare fish was rare, and it is not certain that it was sanctioned in the primitive regime. Its use must have appeared early in the West. A Council held in Toledo, in the year 633, approves of fish and vegetables as fasting food. Eggs and milk-products (*lacticinia*) were longer and more rigorously banned. Their use was exceptional, even in the time of St. Thomas, and this severe discipline prevailed long after the Middle Ages. In the fourteenth century traces appear of relaxations which took the shape of dispensations granted by the Popes. Gregory XI accorded the indulgence of this kind to Charles V of France, while the famous *tour de beurre* of the Rouen Cathedral owes its name to the fact that it was built out of the contributions which were given in lieu of the dispensation for the use of butter during Lent. In the reign of Benedict XIV the leave for eggs and milk-products was commonly granted, but the Pontiff declared in the Bull *Non Ambigimus* that this privilege was not to extend to the collation, and that meat and fish were not permitted on any day during Quadragesima at the same meal. Apart from a special favour the collation consisted of bread, vegetables, fruits and 'electuaries' (comfits and spices), that is, of the primitive fasting dietary. But by degrees, butter-products and fish entered into this refection, the proportions of which had grown to eight ounces, as an ordinary thing, in the days of St. Liguori.¹ The *petit dejeuner* or *frustulum*, was similarly developed from the original drink of water, or wine, into its present form.

¹ *Theol. Moralis*, L. iii. n. 1024.

The foregoing brief retrospect gives some idea, however inadequate, of the evolution of the cycle of Quadragesima, and of the mitigations introduced by the changed conditions of succeeding ages into the severity of primitive observance. It shows, too, how much we have in this matter of fasting degenerated from the rigorous practice of those early Christians who subsisted each day of Lent on a single meal, using neither meat, eggs, nor milk-products, during the entire penitential season, and often denying themselves the cup of water that would allay the pangs of the craving palate.

P. MORRISROE.

A NORTHUMBRIAN MONASTERY

KING EDWIN ascended the throne of Northumbria in the year 617, a pagan, and the ruler of a pagan nation.

He married the daughter of the Catholic King Ethelbert of Kent, and thus came under the influence of St. Paulinus, who had accompanied the young Queen to her new home in the north. For many years neither the arguments of the Saint nor the entreaties of the Queen could induce Edwin to adopt the Christian faith. He would listen to the preacher, he would discuss the new doctrines with his friends and nobles, but was not persuaded to take the final step until the year 627, when he was baptized at York. Many of his subjects soon followed his example, and paganism began to steadily lose ground until the disastrous battle at Hatfield Chase, in 633. Edwin was slain ; the pagan Penda and the apostate Cadwalla were the victors ; the result was the destruction of the infant Church and the departure of St. Paulinus with the widowed Queen under his protection.

Cadwalla tyrannised over the land until his power was broken by the good King Oswald. Brought up in the Catholic Faith by the monks of Iona, Oswald naturally turned to that home of his early years, to those saintly men who had been his guides and instructors, and besought them to send some one to re-establish Christianity in his kingdom. One was sent, but very soon returned home 'meeting with no success, and being unregarded by the English people,' whom he spoke of as 'uncivilized men, and of a stubborn and barbarous disposition.'¹ The monk Aidan was then chosen for the work, chiefly because of his wise criticism of the other's failure to whom he had said 'I am of opinion, brother, that you were more severe to your unlearned hearers than you ought to have been, and did not at first, conformably to the apostolic rule, give them

¹ Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, Bk. iii, chap v.

the milk of more easy doctrine, till being by degrees nourished by the word of God, they should be capable of greater perfection.' Aidan was immediately consecrated a bishop, and sent to Northumbria. He arrived in the summer of 635, and chose for his home the lonely isle of Lindisfarne, where he gathered round him a number of earnest monks, whom he sent forth to evangelize the country. Among these were four brothers—Cedd, Cynebil, Celin, and Ceadda or Chad.

Cedd's first missionary labours were undertaken amongst the Mercians to whom he was sent by Finan, St. Aidan's successor. His work there was successful, and he returned to Lindisfarne for more priests. At the time of this journey, Sigbercht, King of the East Saxons, had been converted to Christianity when on a visit to Oswy, King of Northumbria. Cedd returned with Sigbercht, and was appointed Bishop of the East Saxons, having his episcopal see at London. His labours in the south were as successful as those amongst the Mercians; churches were built, priests and deacons ordained, and two monasteries established—one at a place called Ythancester, now Froshwell, the other at Tillaburg, the modern Tilbury. During these years he occasionally returned for short periods to Lindisfarne; on one of these occasions he founded his third monastery at Lastingham.¹

The site, as described by St. Bede, was 'among craggy and distant mountains, which looked more like lurking-places for robbers and retreats for wild beasts than habitations for men.' Though such a description may have been true and suitable in those far-off days, one prefers to think of it as

standing on the slopes of a long hill that looks to the north, and the heather creeps up towards the foot as if it were envious of the bright green turf that lies in the hollow below the church. Solitary is the village now, and solitary it must have been at all times. In that little shrine are resting the bones of the

¹ Lastingham is in the North Riding of Yorkshire, 7 miles N.W. of Pickering.

evangeliser of the East Saxons and to the cell which once stood near it came the Venerable Bede to learn from the brethren of the house how their two first abbots, Cedd and his brother Chad, had lived and died.

The land was the gift of King Ethelwald—a place to ‘which the King himself might frequently resort to offer his prayers and hear the word and be buried in it when he died.’

Cedd called to his assistance his brother Cynebil, and the monastery, with its church, a simple wooden structure, was built in the year 660. The name of the place, as the Venerable Bede has it, was Lœstingaen; others have called it Lestingaig, Lestingahen, Lastyngaeu. In *Doomsday Book* it is Lestingeham; while Fleury has Lestington. Etymologically the word Lavingham is taken to mean ‘the home of the sons of Laest.’

Before proceeding further, what proofs are there to identify the modern village of Lavingham with the Lœstingaen of Bede? The identity has been denied, and some have tried to prove that Kirkdale, a place six miles from Lavingham, is the site spoken of by Bede. There is no space here to enter into the reasons for and against the Kirkdale theory; it must suffice to say that the claims of Lavingham have a long and strong tradition in their favour. When Abbot Stephen of Whitby took refuge there in the time of the Conqueror, he speaks of the place to which he went as being the ruined home of a once celebrated community of monks. This could not have been Kirkdale, which at that time must have been a comparatively new church; it was rebuilt by Orm, as an inscription at Kirkdale tells us, ‘in Edward’s days King, and in Tosti’s days Earl.’ Once admit that Stephen’s Lestingeham was the Lœstingaen of Bede, then also it is the Lavingham of to-day, for the latter was indisputably Stephen’s place of refuge.

Cedd did not remain at Lavingham to personally rule over the monastery. Cynebil, his younger brother, was left in charge while the Bishop attended to the affairs of his southern diocese. His life was a very busy one, in-

volving many journeys from south to north and back again, making all the more welcome the short periods of rest and quiet he sometimes enjoyed at Lastingham. He was called upon to take a very prominent part in the affairs of the whole English Church, when the Celtic and Roman traditions came into contact. Christianity had reached Northumbria through the monks of Iona, and consequently, in the North, the customs and traditions of the followers of St. Columba had obtained a strong hold; Kent and the South had been evangelized more directly from Rome and were opposed to many of the Celtic practices. In the year 664 it was arranged that the various differences should be discussed at the monastery of Whitby. Cedd, though trained and ordained according to the rites of Lindisfarne, which were those of Iona, kept an open mind; his well-known moderation induced both parties to use him as the interpreter between SS. Colman and Wilfrid. The latter won the day, and while, on the one hand, Colman and his followers departed from Lindisfarne to return to Iona, Cedd 'forsook the practices of the Scots and returned to his bishopric, having submitted to the Catholic observance of Easter.'¹

This same year the holy abbot and bishop died. He was at Lastingham when the terrible epidemic, the yellow plague, was decimating the country. It broke out in his community, and seems to have carried off a great number of the monks. Cedd himself fell sick and died, as also his brother and co-adjutor, Cynebil. The saint was laid to rest in the open graveyard of the monastery—'the abbot among his brethren, the father among his children, in a spot of his native country.' When, in later years, a stone church replaced the original one of wood, the body was removed within its walls, and laid at the right hand of the altar.

The pestilence of the year 664 left its mark all over the land. Tuda, the Bishop of Lindisfarne, was another of its victims, and also Wini of the West Saxons, the only bishop

¹ Bede, Book iii. chap. xxvi.

whom St. Wilfrid recognized as canonically ordained. It left so many vacant places at Lastingham as to make it necessary to recruit the ranks of that community from other monasteries. Thirty of the monks from St. Cedd's southern monasteries went to Lastingham, 'either to live near the body of their father, if it should please God, or to die there and be buried.' The fatal disease, however, attacked these also, and one only of their number was spared—'a little boy who was delivered from death by his father's prayers.'

Ceadda, or Chad, succeeded his brother Cedd as abbot—the youngest of the four brothers, all priests and two of them bishops. He is, perhaps, more widely known than Cedd, and many visiting Lastingham fail to connect it with the memory of Cedd, whose shrine Lastingham really is. The confusion of the two brothers by some of the old monastic chroniclers led Fuller to quaintly observe :—

A brace of brothers, both bishops, both eminent for learning and religion, now appeared in the Church ; so like in name, they are often mistaken in authors one for another. Now, though it be pleasant for brethren to live together in unity, yet it is not fit by error they should be jumbled together in confusion.

The Council of Whitby, in its results, had much to do with the future years of the new abbot. St. Wilfrid's triumph was shortly afterwards followed by his nomination to the See of York. He refused to receive consecration from any of the then existing bishops in England, and begged to be allowed to receive canonical consecration from the hands of a bishop in Gaul. He crossed over to France ; but his prolonged stay there, allowed time for King Oswy's dispositions to change, and from being favourable to Wilfrid and his cause, he returned to his former partiality to the Scottish traditions. The cause of this change may have been that he looked upon Wilfrid's absence as a slight upon himself and his people ; or perhaps, he was jealous of the growing influence of Alcfrid, with whom he was sharing the government of Northumbria, and who had been the chief promoter of Wilfrid's nomination. No

matter what the cause was, the fact is the King sent for Chad, and had him consecrated Bishop of York ; and this fact points to the abbot of Lastingham being looked upon as the leader of the Scottish party in the Church.

Lastingham once more had to lose the personal supervision of its superior. Gentle, retiring, and quiet in disposition, the lonely moor and silent solitude were far more acceptable to him than the busy life of a bishop journeying to and fro through his large diocese always on foot, as was his custom. A few days here and there would no doubt be spent at Lastingham, but of this there is no record. He ruled the diocese for three years, nobly doing his work, winning the admiration and esteem of all. Then the time of his trial and humiliation came ; he was ready to meet it and to bear its burden as only the saints can. Archbishop Theodore plainly told him what he thought about the irregularity of his consecration, and he was requested to resign his bishopric in favour of Wilfrid. He obeyed without a murmur, quietly saying : ‘ If you know I have not duly received episcopal consecration, I willingly resign the office, for I never thought myself worthy of it ; but, though unworthy, in obedience submitted to take it.’¹

He retired to Lastingham, but remained there only a short time. The Archbishop had learned to appreciate his worth, and soon ‘ completed his ordination after the Catholic manner,’ appointing him to be bishop over the Mercians. Wulfhere was King of the Mercians at this time, and there is an interesting legend regarding his connexion with the Bishop. The King had two sons, Wulfade and Rufine. Wulfade, a keen hunter, was one day pursuing a stag which led him to the cell where Chad was living a hermit’s life. This chance meeting brought about the conversion of Wulfade, then of Rufine, and finally of the contrite father who, in a fit of anger, had murdered his two children. The whole legend may be read in Warner’s *Life and Legends of St. Chad*, but is too long for insertion here. The story was told in nine of the old cloister windows

¹ Bede, *Ecc. Hist.*, Book iv. chap. ii.

of Peterborough, and the explanatory couplets there chosen were as follows :—

The hart brought Wulfade to a well
That was beside Seynt Chaddy's cell.

Wulfade asked of Seynt Chad,
Where is the hart that me hath lad ?

The hart that hither thee hath brought
Is sent by Christ that thee hath bought.

Wulfade prayed Chad, that ghostly leech,
The feyth of Christ him for to teach.

Seynt Chad teacheth Wulfade the feyth
And words of baptism over him seyth.

Seynt Chad devoutly to mass him dight.
And hoseled Wulfade Christy's knight.

The contrition and conversion of the King is thus told :—

Wulfere contrite hyed him to Chad,
As Ermenyld him counselled had.

Chad bade Wulfere for his sin,
Abbeys to build his realm within.

Wulfere endued, with high devotion,
The Abbey of Brough with great possession.

Like most legends this may contain a grain of truth, but history makes no mention of Chad ever living a hermit's life among the Mercians. Wulphere, however, was a good friend to him, giving him land on which to build a monastery at a place called by Bede, 'Etbearwe' or 'the Wood.' He ruled the diocese for nearly three years, still remaining Abbot of Lavingham, and died at Lichfield on March 2, 672. His death, the coming of the choir of angels, the humility of the saint in forbidding his disciple to make known the wonderful privilege with which he had been favoured, are all beautifully told by the Venerable Bede. Many years after his death, St. Egbert spoke of a holy man in Ireland,

who, at the time of St. Chad's death, saw the soul of the sainted Cedd descend with the angels to bear his brother's soul away.

Information about Lastingham after the death of St. Chad is very scanty. The names of two other monks are known to history, Trumhere and St. Ovin—the former a man of no mean intellectual ability, whom Bede speaks of as 'one of the brothers who instructed me in divinity;' the latter a saintly man who came to the monastery carrying an axe in his hand, to denote that he did not come to lead an idle life, but one of toil and labour. He had been the major-domo of Queen Etheldreda's household, but retired from court, dressed himself as a poor peasant and journeyed on foot to the monastery to become the least of the brethren. He was Chad's favourite disciple, following him to Lichfield when he became bishop of the Mercians, and was present when his master died. Near Streatham, in the Isle of Ely, a curious stone cross has been found with the inscription, 'Lucem tuam Ovino da Deus et requiem. Amen.' It is said to be of seventh-century workmanship, so there cannot be much doubt but that it is a memorial of Chad's humble disciple who, after the death of the saint, probably entered the monastery at Ely founded by his former patroness, St. Etheldreda.

Practically nothing is known of Lastingham from the death of St. Chad until the eleventh century other than the fact that a stone church replaced the original wooden structure some time before the death of St. Bede in 735. A century later the Danes swept across Northumbria; their work of devastation was well done, and most of the religious houses totally disappeared whilst others were to be recognized only by charred beams and tottering walls. It was the death-blow to monasticism in the North, and for nigh upon 200 years it was practically extinct in this part of England. But to think that there was not a single monk to be found in those parts can hardly be true; the faithful and careworn bearers of St. Cuthbert's body must not be forgotten. Nevertheless, monasticism, as a system, had certainly died out there; it was carefully maintained in

the South, whence it found its way back again after many years of exile.

The story of its return is a beautiful one. A simple monk, Aldwin, in the Benedictine monastery of Winchcombe, happened to read the Venerable Bede's account of the evangelization of the North. It pained him to think that the light of faith, which once shone so brightly at Lindisfarne, Ripon, Whitby, and Lastingham, was now extinguished. He felt called to go and kindle it once again—to follow in the footsteps of Cedd and Chad, of Paulinus and Wilfrid. Elfwy and Reinfrid, two monks of Evesham, joined him, and on foot they journeyed to the North, leading an ass which bore everything necessary for the celebration of Mass. They passed through York, on to Monkschester, now Newcastle-on-Tyne, where they knew they would be near to Jarrow, once the home of Bede. There they settled. Walcher, Bishop of Durham, gave them the ruined church of Jarrow; they set to work to patch and mend, built for their shelter a rude log hut, and began their regular monastic life. The whole monastic system of the North owed its restoration to these three monks, for when Jarrow became too small to shelter the numbers who gathered there, Aldwin removed to Wearmouth with one community, and Reinfrid to Whitby with another.

Reinfrid had once been a soldier, *miles strenuissimus*, in the Conqueror's army. He had marched with William through Yorkshire, in 1069, laying waste the country with fire and sword. Turning aside to visit his old commander in arms, William de Percy, then in possession of Whitby, he was deeply moved, soldier though he was, by the sight of the ruined monastery; and so we find him, after he had exchanged the sword for the cowl, going back to Whitby to end his days in peace.

Among those who came to join him at Whitby was one named Stephen, a man of great ability, with a wonderful power of organization. Energetic and active, he differed much from the simple quiet Reinfrid, who was only too glad to hand over to him the reins of office. This change was not for the peace of the community, nor did it meet

with the approval of William de Percy, Reinfrid's benefactor. There are two narratives of this difference still extant. One, attributed to Stephen himself, shows that opposition from their founder, and attacks from pirates, compelled all the monks to leave Whitby; that a number of them returned after a time, but that Stephen, with the remainder, obtained the grant of Lastingham from the King, and settled there.¹ The other explanation is that Reinfrid ruled Whitby till his death; that then there was a strong party in favour of Stephen's succession, but that the Percy family wished for one of themselves to fill the vacant post, viz., Serlo, William de Percy's brother. A peaceful settlement could not be agreed upon, so Stephen, with his supporters, went to Lastingham.

This was in the year 1078. Stephen was consecrated Abbot of Lastingham by Thomas Bayeux, Archbishop of York, and immediately began to build the church, and all that was needful for his community. The present church is the one which he built, but there are no signs now of any conventual buildings; had the monastery been built as substantially as the church, there would surely be something left to indicate its site. That nothing now remains above ground is indicative of the intention of only a temporary residence. In fact, they remained there only ten years and then removed to York. Conventual life may have gone on into the thirteenth century—there are indications of this—but in 1230 the Abbot and convent of St. Mary's, York, appointed the first vicar there; his name was De Septon.

The church of Lastingham, as it now stands, is only the choir of the one built by Stephen; nothing remains of the buildings which were there in the days of the sainted brothers Cedd and Chad. Some would have us think that the crypt dates back to Saxon times. It is entered by a flight of steps descending from the middle of the present nave; massive in construction, divided into three bays with aisles and an apse at the east end, it is lighted by

¹ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i. 387.

three deeply-splayed windows; four pillars support the roof, all differently decorated by a simple but bold design. Raine, the antiquarian, has claimed a very high antiquity for it, and was induced to believe that 'if not the original building of Cedd [it] is at least the most ancient ecclesiastical building in the country.'

G. E. HIND, O.S.B.

ROGER BACON AND MODERN STUDIES

THE Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has received so much attention in popular hand-books of History and Literature that the brilliant scholars of the thirteenth century have not been appraised in accordance with their merits. Albert of Cologne, rightly called the great; his more illustrious pupil, Thomas of Aquin, the dumb ox, whose bellowing has resounded throughout the world; Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln, scholar, churchman, social reformer; Alexander of Hales, with a following of thousands of students at Oxford and at Paris—surely these men are alone sufficient to illuminate the age in which they lived with the halo of intellectual distinction? And yet a greater name is behind. For though Roger Bacon was not a metaphysician or divine of the calibre of Aquinas, withal in the many-sided character of his knowledge, in unparalleled feats of literary labour, above all in his appreciation of the true scientific method, he is, in Humboldt's judgment, and in the estimation of many able critics, if not the greatest scholar, at any rate the greatest teacher of medieval times. How comes it, then, that his extraordinary ability has received so scant a measure of recognition? A short review of his life and work, and of the times in which he lived, will help us to answer this question.

Roger Bacon was born at Ilchester, in Somersetshire, in the early years of the thirteenth century—the date 1214 is usually assigned—and as his last and fifth great work was finished in 1292, his death and the close of the century were probably almost coincident. Concerning the intellectual promise of his youth and his early education, we know nothing up to his sixteenth year; about that age he went to Oxford University, and came in due course under the stimulating influence of two great Oxford teachers, Robert Grosseteste and Adam Marsh. Grosseteste was a

born teacher of divine and human things. I use the word 'teacher' rather than the more high-sounding title of 'professor': the latter word is apt to remind us of the not unfrequent experience that profession is not achievement. Grosseteste's reading had been wide and deep. As a linguist he knew Latin, French, Hebrew, and Greek. He was a theologian and canonist. He was a working bishop, conscientious in the discharge of the heavy duties of visitation, confirmation, etc. He was an earnest student of physics, and has left us some treatises on scientific subjects highly creditable to his powers of research. He grasped the essential idea of the unity of knowledge—the interconnexion and interdependence of all that relates to nature and to man. Adam Marsh's correspondence bears ample witness to his own ability, and to the high educational ideals which he, in conjunction with Grosseteste, cherished. But the greatest merit of these two men, from the standpoint of education, was the power they possessed of arousing the enthusiasm of their pupils, and of directing their energies into intellectual fields where an abundant harvest might in due course be reaped.

The social and political struggles of the times need not detain us. The sympathies of Bacon's family, and of Bacon himself, were on the side of the King in the protracted struggle against Simon de Montfort and the barons. Grosseteste, on the other hand, was a doughty champion of liberty and constitutional government; but political differences of view did not disturb the mutual appreciation which bound together teacher and pupil—an appreciation sealed by the death of the great bishop in 1253.

As far as can be determined from scanty records, Bacon remained at Oxford for five years, after which, as he intended to become a priest, he desired to go to the renowned University of Paris (the rival in fame of Salerno and Bologna), in order to obtain his degree in divinity. Alexander of Hales—an Englishman and a Franciscan—occupied at that time in Paris the chair of theology, and in philosophy Albert of Cologne and William of Auvergne lectured to crowded schools. The Sentences of Peter Lombard con-

stituted the standard text-book of theology. Dialectics were much in fashion. Indeed, the method of philosophizing, in Bacon's estimation, tended to make the student look to the soundness of the syllogism rather than to the truth of the premises. With the exception of one or possibly two short intervals Bacon, at this period of his life, remained in Paris for fifteen years.

To understand the curriculum of a medieval University, it should be remembered that the study of Natural Science, as we now understand it, was practically unknown. Logic, Metaphysics, Law, Divinity, were the subjects which appealed to and attracted the students of the time. The study of Law was especially esteemed, because skill in jurisprudence was an essential condition to promotion, whether in Church or State. The character of the problems which occupied students of Physical Science reveal at once that nature study was in its elementary stage. It was gravely discussed, for example, if the application of goat's blood was not the best means of splitting adamant, and if hot water did not freeze sooner than cold. But whilst the study of Natural Science left much to be desired, it should be borne in mind that the principles of the true scientific method were, if not practically, at least theoretically understood. In modern text-books the assertion is frequently made that the method of discovery by aid of Induction was an achievement of the seventeenth century; that the high priest of Induction was Francis Lord Bacon. The statement is false. The Scholastic philosophy emphasized in medieval times, as it does now, that the inductive stage as well as the deductive has a necessary place in scientific research, and that the combination of Induction and Deduction is essential for the attainment of results. Roger Bacon's greatest distinction was, as we shall see, not to originate, but to *develop* the practical application of induction, to guide his own physical studies, and to illuminate the work of others by the two-fold light of Observation and Experiment. 'There is a wisdom,' said he, '*exterius expectata*, to be looked for in the world round about.' The import of this phrase deserves attention.

One of the best illustrations showing the importance of the words '*sapientia exterius expectata*,' the wisdom which comes from observation, is found four centuries later. When Kepler, in the seventeenth century, laboured at the problem of planetary orbits, he began with a series of observations on the planet Mars. By numerous records of the positions of the planet and its daily movements, he assumed that Mars travelled round the sun in a circular orbit of certain dimensions. Thus the first step—the marking of the daily variations in the position of the planet—lead the way to the second step, the hypothesis of a circular orbit. To form hypotheses on a basis of fact (purely arbitrary hypotheses have, of course, no scientific value) is not only legitimate but quite essential to the inductive method. The patience and perseverance of the astronomer can be well imagined, scrutinizing his nightly records and endeavouring to educe therefrom the simple law which explains the facts. It was a typical example of the quest of the *sapientia exterius expectata*, the wisdom to be gleaned from Nature. And when he had formed his working hypothesis, Kepler, in order to test its validity, calculated the position of the planet at a future date on the assumption that it moved in the supposed orbit. When the time arrived he found again and again that there was *not* agreement between the calculated and the actual positions, and he was thrown back once more upon the inductive process until by repeated and more accurate observations he was led on to the discovery that the orbit was elliptical and not circular. Finally, after much labour, unwearied observation, unwearied calculation, the desired agreement between theory and fact was obtained; and the true scientific method was thus shown to involve the combination of Observation and Experiment, of Induction and Deduction. The initial step of the process—the careful observation of the phenomena—was precisely the feature which Roger Bacon emphatically dwelt upon and strenuously advocated, so as to postulate the need of a solid basis of observed facts, upon which alone the edifice of science may be securely raised.

To have called attention in the thirteenth century to the paramount importance of Observation and Experiment was opportune, because of the disproportionate attention given in those days to syllogistic reasoning. Psychology and Metaphysics were much in vogue. They constituted what we may name in contradistinction to Bacon's phrase, the '*sapientia interior expectata*, 'the wisdom sought from within.' When Bacon journeyed to Paris in 1235, Thomas of Aquin was only nineteen years of age. He had not as yet written the *Summa contra Gentiles* nor the *Summa Theologica*—works which stand out to-day as the highest achievement of the human mind in Philosophy and Divinity. Bacon unfortunately allowed his bent for physical science to impair his judgment in regard to the value of other branches of learning. He spoke depreciatingly of Albert of Cologne as of a useful, plodding man, and sums up, by anticipation as it were, Thomas Aquinas, the Angel of the Schools, as *vir erroneus et famosus*—a man famous indeed, but with the fame of the subtle dialectician rather than that of a truly creative mind. It must be confessed that Bacon was sometimes wanting in tact and temper. The verdict of time, differing from that of Bacon, judges Thomas of Aquin as the philosopher and divine whose works, though written in the thirteenth century, anticipated the errors of the German Idealists and Pantheists, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel; anticipated the errors of the French school of Condillac and Descartes; opposed successfully the English phenomenologists, Locke and Stuart Mill; and in the twentieth century give the most effective answer to sceptical tendencies which would not only rob us of the consolations of divine faith, but would destroy the foundations of all knowledge and paralyse the energy of the human mind and will.

A few years before Bacon had gone to Paris, an ecclesiastical event of some importance had taken place in England. 'In the year of the Lord 1224, in the time of Lord Pope Honorius, and in the eighth year of Lord King Henry, son of John, on the Tuesday after the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, the Friars Minor first arrived in England,

landing at Dover. There were 4 clerics and 5 lay brethren.' So writes Thomas of Eccleston in his chronicle. The founder of the Franciscans was then alive. The Papal approbation for the new Order had been given to him by Innocent III, in 1209, and ten years later, at a chapter held at Assisi, more than 5,000 brethren attended. Within thirty years of their coming to England, the number of members had increased from nine to twelve hundred. The secret of the success of the new Order was due, humanly speaking, to the gentle, sweet, attractive character of the founder himself, whose life and work, then and ever since, have won the enthusiastic admiration of the world; and the influence of the saint was helped by the peculiar rule of the friars whereby they were dispensed from living in monasteries, and were commissioned to make the world their cloister, and, like their Divine Master, to seek out the stricken Samaritan, and to pour into his wounds the balm of healing and of consolation. Grosseteste gave divinity lectures to the first friars who came to Oxford, and his labours were rewarded by the renown of later Franciscan teachers—Alexander of Hales, for instance, and Occam, and Duns Scotus. Was it due to Grosseteste's influence that Bacon elected to become a Franciscan, or was he caught by the enthusiasm of the time which drew hundreds to the religious life, or did he hope for the leisure and protection which a religious Order could secure to him, so that he might prosecute his studies in peace? It is well known that Francis of Assisi was suspicious of and antagonistic to the learning of that age. He did not wish his brethren to become mere students of books. 'Many brethren there be,' said he, 'who set all their study and care upon acquiring knowledge, letting go their holy calling by wandering forth both in mind and body beyond the way of humility and poverty.' The author of the *Speculum* adds that Francis preferred the brethren to be proficient in charity rather than smatterers in the curiosities of knowledge. If Franciscans of later times occupied professorial chairs, the indulgence was permitted so that the simplicity of the Franciscan spirit might direct attention to the broad, essential, and practical

problems of Ethics and Divinity, and discourage dialectical subtlety, which perplexed and confused without profitable issue.

Why (it may be asked) did not Bacon associate himself with the Dominicans, studious and cultured as they were, rather than with the followers of Francis, who exchanged book-learning for the knowledge of human needs and woes, and whose world was to be where there were souls to be saved and hearts to be comforted? Possibly association with the poor, and the knowledge of disease which that association entails, had an attraction for Bacon. The spiritual sons of Francis did not shrink from nursing cancerous and leperous patients, and acquired, it is said, from that work a good knowledge of the natural remedies which alleviate disease. The practical aspect of such a ministry—its combination of spirituality and philanthropy—would, no doubt, appeal to a sympathetic nature. At any rate, whatever the human reasons which helped the decision, Bacon, probably during his first stay in Paris, entered the Order of St. Francis, won with applause the doctor's degree, and returned to Oxford in the year 1250.

A stay of seven years at Oxford (1250-57) was devoted to the study of Physics in conjunction with Thomas Bungey. A popular story-book, *The Wonderfull Historie of Friar Bacon*, written towards the end of the sixteenth century, gives an amusing account of a Brazen Head which Bacon and Bungey were supposed to have invented, and which possessed the power of speech to the extent of saying: 'Time is! Time was! Time is past!' The legendary accretion contains a kernel of truth, inasmuch as Bacon's application to scientific research resulted in many discoveries and suggestive hints which, had they been followed up, would have anticipated by centuries some of the recent advances in Physical Science. During this period, in the year 1253, his great friend and former tutor, Grosseteste of Lincoln, died. 'Few have attained to consummate wisdom,' wrote Bacon in his *Opus Tertium*; 'Solomon attained to it, and Aristotle in relation to his times, and, in a later age, Avicenna, and, in our own days, the

recently deceased Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, and Adam Marsh.'

Bacon returned to Paris in 1257. He was now known as the *Doctor Mirabilis*. The fame of his scientific work had gone abroad, and had come to the knowledge of one Guy le Gros, who had been soldier, lawyer, secretary to Louis of France, and who, on the death of his wife, had entered the Church, had become Archbishop of Narbonne, and later Cardinal-Bishop of Sabina. As Bishop of Sabina he had heard, through one Raymond of Laon, of Bacon's devotion to science, and Raymond was sent to Paris to request from Bacon some written account of the much-discussed discoveries. Meanwhile, Guy le Gros had been promoted, under the title of Clement IV, to the Chair of Peter. Bacon despatched William of Bonecor to the Pope to say that the writing of books was impossible to him without a special mandate, and Raymond, armed with the necessary dispensation, was sent a second time to Bacon; whereupon, during the year 1267 and portion of 1268, Bacon, by the exercise of amazing physical and mental concentration, wrote three of his great works—the *Opus Majus*, the *Opus Minus*, and the *Opus Tertium*.

The *Opus Majus* (accessible in the edition of Dr. Jebb, published 1733) consists of seven parts. The consideration of the obstacles (*offendicula*) to knowledge comes first; they are (a) authority, (b) custom, (c) popular opinion, (d) false knowledge. Bacon recognized fully the force of authority in its own legitimate sphere. But in inductive science the assertion of every man should be tested by observation and experiment. Conventional ideas, unwarranted opinions, false knowledge—all these tares in the garden of science must be ruthlessly plucked up and thrown away before the good seed of accurate observation can be expected to grow and to bear fruit. The reader is startled at the resemblance between Roger Bacon's 'obstacles' and the four idols of his namesake of the seventeenth century—the 'idols' of the cave, of the tribe, of the market-place, of the theatre. The best critics agree that Lord Bacon derived from the *Opus Majus* the general outline of this portion of his work.

The second part of the *Opus Majus* is devoted to Sacred Scripture. Bacon makes a strong appeal for a critical revision of the Paris Vulgate. Alluding to the love of accuracy displayed by the original compiler of that version, he tells us that St. Jerome filed his teeth so that he might be able to give the proper breathing sound to certain Oriental words.

The third part treats of Grammar, i.e., the comparative grammar of languages; for Bacon claimed that grammar cannot be properly understood without comparison of words and constructions in several languages. No writer of ancient times approached so nearly to the principles of modern philological science. He attributes to ignorance of this subject the worthlessness of the translations from Aristotle and the Greek philosophers, of the translations from Avicenna and the Arabian commentators.

The fourth part discourses on Mathematics, the importance of which (according to Bacon) it is difficult to over-rate. The science of numbers is obviously necessary in human things; necessary also in the more sacred questions of ecclesiastical chronology and ecclesiastical chant. The correction of the calendar must be guided by mathematical considerations, and even in political matters data in regard to climate and in regard to the surveyor's art must be sifted by the principles of this science.

The fifth part of the *Opus Majus* is perhaps the most characteristic. It is a treatise on Optics, or, as it was then called, Perspective. He passes in review not only the laws of reflexion and refraction, but enters into a detailed account of the anatomy of the eye, the optic nerve, its seat in the brain, and the medium of light.

The general principles which govern experimental methods are grouped together in a sixth part, and in a seventh Bacon advances to the discussion of metaphysical and ethical problems, with which he completes the work.

The MS. of the *Opus Majus* runs to 474 folio pages. The mere mechanical labour of careful transcription was enormous. The author ranged over the whole field of knowledge as then understood—theology, grammar, mathe-

matics, geography, chronology, music, correction of the calendar, optics, and ethics. The *Opus Majus*, in Dr. Whewell's words, is 'a treasure of the most solid knowledge and soundest speculation of the time, the encyclopædia and *Novum Organon* of the thirteenth century.'

Lest the *Opus Majus* should be lost on the way to Rome, Bacon wrote during the same year the *Opus Minus*—a compendium of the former work—with some additional observations on the state of Latin literature and its prevalent defects; and also the *Opus Tertium*, intended to be a preamble to the two former works, giving in addition some twenty chapters of personal history, and pursuing the thread of scientific exposition, with amplifications. The rapid composition and transcription of these three treatises is justly regarded as a feat quite unparalleled in the annals of literature: they were composed and transcribed in fifteen months.

Before an attempt is made to appraise Bacon's contributions to Literature and Science, it will be well to chronicle the few remaining known events of his life. He returned to Oxford in 1267. Clement IV, his friend and patron, died the next year. The pontificates of Gregory X, Innocent V, Adrian V, John XX, have seemingly no association with Bacon or his writings. The year following Pope Gregory's death (1272) Bacon completed the *Compendium studii Philosophiae*, in which he once more endeavours to give a proper direction to studies, and which was intended to be a vast methodical and encyclopædic treatise, embracing the whole circle of philosophical science. Only eleven chapters are preserved. The *Opus Tertium*, the *Opus Minus*, and the *Compendium* were published in the Rolls Series in 1859, with a prefatory essay of great critical value by Mr. Brewer. At least seven MSS. are still unpublished, awaiting the zeal of some future scholar.

In the year 1278 a Franciscan Synod was held in Paris, and Bacon was summoned thereto. It is quite possible that his recondite studies, or rather an exaggerated account of them, laid him open to the charge of using magic. We

do not know any details of the trial, if trial there was. There is a sort of tradition that he was imprisoned for fourteen years, but it is really doubtful whether the vague statement means more than that censorship was exercised over his writings. The Franciscan General, Jerome of Ascoli, became Pope in 1288, under the title of Nicholas IV, but we do not know if his pontificate affected Bacon's career in any way. It is quite certain that *four* years afterwards, in the year 1292, Bacon, being then about eighty years of age, completed (seemingly with the approbation of his superiors) his fifth and last great work, the *Compendium studii Theologiae* (still unfortunately in manuscript), and shortly afterwards he died at Oxford, and was buried in the Convent of St. Ebbe, where he had prayed and worked, where he had studied and taught, where he had laboured to light the torch of experimental science, to find therewith the wisdom hidden in God's creation, and to make audible the earthly echo of God's sacred message to man.

The salient features of Roger Bacon's teaching may be grouped under two heads: (1) the method of investigation in the natural sciences; (2) contributions to scientific knowledge. Bacon's views on method were quite original. Hitherto it had been the custom in the discussion of problems, physical and metaphysical, to represent the arguments *pro* and *con*, without assuming the responsibility of definite conclusions. Bacon did something more than syllogize; he endeavoured to find out the evidential value of proof. What is the binding force of such an argument? he asks. Is the statement of Averroes, or even of Aristotle, conclusive on a question of science? Certainly not; unless the conclusion is an induction from observation, and has been tested by experiment. Though he disavowed arbitrary authority, he could not emancipate himself wholly from the custom of the times. He aimed at, rather than fully realized, a new Methodology, of which the fuller exposition is the glory of his namesake of the seventeenth century. There is a story gravely related by the Friar of a snake, the body of which had been cut in several places

and suddenly healed again by the curative properties of a certain plant—‘a plant,’ he writes, ‘of an admirable greenness.’ It has been well remarked that the greenness most to be admired was not that of the plant. But Bacon respected authority when exercised within its legitimate sphere. ‘I revere,’ said he, ‘the solid and true authority which is granted to the Church by the will of God, and the authority which is naturally engendered in the sacred philosophers and prophets through their merit and dignity.’

The fact that Bacon was several centuries ahead of the age in which he lived accounts for the want of appreciation of his work on the part of contemporaries and followers. His mind was more lofty than theirs ; his scholarship wider. He insisted on the *accurate* knowledge of languages ; grammar in his scheme was the ‘*prima porta sapientiae*.’ He insisted upon an *accurate* knowledge of mathematics, which in these days included geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music. Bacon’s clear mind and grasp of facts enabled him to suggest the principle by which the Calendar might be corrected, and Clement IV, had he adopted Bacon’s suggestion, would have anticipated the reform of four centuries later—a reform now associated with the name of Gregory XIII.

Bacon had misgivings, too, about the correctness of the geocentric theory, with its cumbrous machinery of eccentrics and epicycles. He recognized the moon’s influence on tides ; he opened up shrewd physiological speculations in botany ; he transformed alchemy into a true science of chemistry ; he gives us sensible advice even in matters of hygiene and medicine. He anticipates the invention of machinery which will enable men to navigate without the aid of oars, to dive into the depths of the sea, to span rivers by bridges. These anticipations have been realized, and more than realized, by the discoveries of subsequent centuries, and especially of the nineteenth ; and looking back from our present standpoint of high scientific achievement, shall we not willingly stretch out the hand of good-fellowship to the Friar of the thirteenth century, who taught the true principles of discovery, who himself gathered some of the fruits of the method he proposed,

who in originality and power and prescience was so far ahead of his age, so original in speculation, so persevering in observation, so generous in the communication of knowledge as to merit the high praise of being the greatest teacher of medieval times?

My object in writing a paper on Roger Bacon is not solely to bring before the notice of the reader a scholar of great but unappreciated merit—I have another, more practical aim: to summon him as a witness in favour of the adoption of a syllabus of study that shall not be too narrow, nor too utilitarian. The following words occur in the *Opus Tertium*: ‘When students are told in these days that they ought to apply themselves to Optics or to Geometry, or to Languages, they ask, with a smile, what is the use of these things?’ It is surely indicative of the ability of the man that in this short extract he not only exposes the utilitarian fallacy, but he mentions three out of the four generic divisions which are proved by the experience of modern schools to constitute the best training for our boys and girls. May we not say that now at long last there is practical unanimity in regard to the choice of subjects, literary and scientific, which a liberal education demands? From Bacon’s writings we infer that there are four broad laws of Pedagogy:—(1) Train the senses of the pupil to habits of accurate observation, and help out observation by experiment. Bring to your aid the advantage of an observational science such as botany, and an experimental science such as chemistry. (2) Develop the pupil’s faculty of deductive reasoning by the study of mathematics. (3) Secure for him intercommunication of thought by language-study—an intercommunication which extends beyond the boundaries of country and present time. (4) Teach him something of the relationship of man with man as set forth in history and social science. It is by the observance of these laws that the efficiency of the Secondary School is secured. The knowledge of at least two branches of Natural Science, of the general principles of mathematics, of one ancient and one modern language in addition to the native tongue, some-

thing, too, of history and social science—such is the programme which Bacon would approve

Was he an unpractical theorist? Is his standard too high? Not too high nor too difficult, provided that teachers are worthy of the name. And it is precisely because Bacon held that reform in Education must begin at the top that he takes rank to-day amongst the greatest educators of modern times. We gladly forgive him certain faults of tact and temper ('infirmities of noble minds') in deference to the emphatic message coming to us across the centuries—the message that Education in its full and adequate meaning implies the training of the physical, the mental, and the moral faculties of man, and that Education in its narrower signification of mental development requires the cultivation of the *external* as well as the internal sense. The essential import of Bacon's educational message was indicated long ago by the greatest of teachers: 'What God has joined together, let no man put asunder.'

T. J. WALSH.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

OLD AGE PENSIONS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly give your opinion in the next number of the I. E. RECORD on the following questions:—

1. If a person fraudulently obtains an old age pension, what are his obligations?

2. If a person *bona fide* obtains an old age pension when the statutory conditions are not fulfilled in his case, what are his obligations?

3. Does the overtaxation of this country enable a poor person, who has not fulfilled the statutory conditions, to take an old age pension?

4. Can the law imposing the statutory conditions, and demanding restitution if the conditions are not fulfilled, be looked on as a mere penal law?

5. If a clergyman *bona fide* gives a wrong certificate, or *bona fide* states that he is satisfied that the statutory age has been reached when in fact it has not been reached, is he bound in justice to correct his mistake or to withdraw his letter?

6. Are members of Pension Committees bound to make known any mistakes of a serious nature, regarding the statutory conditions, of which the applicants have been guilty?

A CLERGYMAN.

1. Whoever obtains an old age pension fraudulently is guilty of injustice inasmuch as by unjust means he takes the property of another. He consequently is bound to make restitution of his ill-gotten goods. This is true whether he has the money in his possession or has spent it without saving his own; as the agent of an unjust action the duty devolves on him of repairing the injury even out of his own pocket.

Of course it can easily happen that, owing to impossibility, the fraudulent pensioner may be excused from this

obligation ; that, however, is accidental ; *per se* the obligation of making restitution to the Treasury remains.

The fraudulent pensioner is bound also to abstain from taking the pension in future ; to continue taking the pension would be to continue his fraud.

2. People who *bona fide* obtain a pension when the necessary conditions are not fulfilled are bound to abstain from taking the pension in future until the conditions are fulfilled ; they are also bound to restore the money already received in so far as they have been enriched. That these obligations exist is clear from the fact that if the necessary conditions are not fulfilled there is no title to the pension. When the Government gives a pension, it has a perfect right to indicate the conditions on which people have a claim, and the Government has, as a matter of fact, indicated certain conditions in regard to age, residence, property, etc., the fulfilment of which alone entitles a person the pension. Hence, no matter how much a person might be in good faith, he has no title to a pension unless he has fulfilled the necessary conditions.

3. According to the General Report of the Royal Commission on the Financial Relations between Great Britain and Ireland, signed by eleven of the thirteen members, Ireland is grossly overtaxed. Not having observed the norms of distributive justice, the Government has acted *ultra vires* in imposing this intolerable burden, and has consequently been guilty of a crime against commutative justice. It is, therefore, perfectly lawful for the Irish people to make occult compensation when and how they can.

All this admitted, the question still remains whether it is just for people to make this occult compensation by taking old age pensions when the conditions are not fulfilled. It would be difficult to deny this right if there were question merely of overtaxation which the individual concerned or his family paid and of compensation to be made from British, as distinct from Irish, sources. But old age pensions seem to be far more than the amount of injury which individual families have suffered

from overtaxation ; and Irish as well as British moneys go to pay the pensions, though for various reasons the greater portion, relatively to the number of pensioners, comes from British funds. Now, however strongly people might protest against the gross injustice of overtaxation, and however willing they might be to allow vicarious compensation which does not impose new burdens on themselves, they are not willing to resign, even to the poor, their own claims to compensation when that means additional taxation on themselves. Hence I conclude that the overtaxation of Ireland does not give a title whereby people can take old age pensions when the necessary conditions are not fulfilled.

4. The law imposing conditions for the reception of old age pensions cannot be regarded as a mere penal law ; the Act of Parliament plainly implies that people have no claim in whose case the statutory conditions are not fulfilled :—

Every person in whose case the conditions laid down by this Act for the receipt of an old age pension (in this Act referred to as statutory conditions) are fulfilled, shall be entitled to receive such a pension under this Act so long as those conditions continue to be fulfilled, and so long as he is not disqualified under this Act for receipt of the pension.

The law demanding restitution of a pension already obtained cannot be looked on as merely penal, because a law commanding a person to give up what is not his is merely an expression of the natural law which commands us to give to each what is his own.

5. There is a principle of ethics that if a person performs an action, even inculpably, which results in injury, he is bound in justice to prevent that action from having its injurious effect, if he can do so without relatively grave loss or inconvenience. Applying this principle to the case of a clergyman, who unwittingly grants a wrong certificate or who *bona fide* declares that he is satisfied that the applicant has reached the statutory age though as a matter of fact he has not reached that age, we can see that he is bound in justice to correct the mistake or to withdraw his

letter. In this regard there is no substantial difference between a certificate of age and a letter stating that the clergyman is satisfied that the applicant has reached the statutory age; both documents cause injury to the ratepayers when the necessary age has not been reached, and as causing injury come equally under the universally admitted principle of theology. Even though the pension officer can at his own discretion refuse to admit the applicant to the pension, still he is led to grant the pension by the letter of the clergyman; the letter is the main cause which urges him to acknowledge the statutory age of the applicant.

6. The members of Pension Committees are bound *ex officio* faithfully to administer the Pension Act. Hence not merely positive co-operation, but also negative co-operation on their part with any injury to the ratepayers is unjust. Consequently, they are bound to correct any substantial mistakes of which, culpably or inculpably, applicants are guilty.

HONORARIUM FOR SECOND MASS ON SUNDAYS AND HOLIDAYS

REV. DEAR SIR,—On reading your reply to ‘Sacerdos’ in the I. E. RECORD of December, your statement in the concluding paragraph (*d*) struck me as strange, viz.: ‘The general permission once given indefinitely does not cease with the death of the Bishop . . . it does not cease till it is withdrawn by the next Bishop.’ I really thought that these faculties for allowing priests to accept a second honorarium were limited to a certain number of years, and when that term expired the Bishop had to apply for them again.

I was led to this view from the following reasons amongst others. In the Appendix to our diocesan statutes there are laws inserted as drawn up by the general body of the Munster Bishops, assembled in Cork, and which were made diocesan laws for us. This meeting was held in May, 1877, two years after the Synod of Maynooth. It could hardly be called a Provincial Synod, as, I take it, that it was never recognized by Rome. But that is nothing against my point. And in one of the statutes there, No. 6, page 35, it is stated: ‘Sacerdotibus . . . stipendium accipue liceat . . .’; after which follows: ‘Haec

facultas conceditur *in triennium* a promulgatione,' etc., plainly showing, to my mind, that the Bishops *thought* they had no power to extend the permission further. It would seem that the faculties were given at Maynooth Synod, held two years before (in 1875), for five years, and that two of these having elapsed, the Bishops had power only to give permission for the three remaining years of the term.

Besides, in some back number of the I. E. RECORD I read, in a question from a priest on the same subject, some such words as these: 'That the Bishop of his diocese had withdrawn the faculties, *because he had the power only for five years which were then up.*' And, if I recollect aright, the professor who had charge of the Theological queries at the time, held that if the term had expired the Bishop had no further power to permit his priests to accept a second honorarium until he got the faculties renewed and exercised them.

But, still, your view may be the correct one, I merely throw out these few observations to stir you to further enquiry on the point.

A CONSTANT SUBSCRIBER.

My respected correspondent is entirely mistaken in his view that the faculty which our Irish Bishops have obtained from the Holy See, whereby they are enabled to grant a dispensation from the law forbidding a honorarium to be taken for a second Mass on Sundays or Holidays, is a quinquennial or decennial faculty. In the circular letter of the Propaganda, dated October 15, 1863, the faculty has been given indefinitely without any limitation as to time, so that it needs, and *de facto* receives, no renewal.

In proof of this, I need only point to the Statutes of Maynooth:—

110. Quando vero, ob peculiares casus et necessitatis causa ab ipso examinata. Episcopus alicui sacerdoti facultatem secundam Missam eadem die celebrandi concedit, eum admoneat ne eleemosynam aut stipendium a quovis vel quocunque praetextu pro ea percipiat, juxta Decreta alias edita a S. Congregatione. (S.C.C. 25 Sept., 1858, et Litteras Circulares de Prop. Fide, 15 Oct., 1863.)

111. Habita tamen ratione circumstantiarum quarundam Missionum, Summus Pontifex earundem Ordinariis benigne

indulſit 'ut juſta et gravi cauſa intercedente, ſacerdotes ſibi ſubditi huiusmodi ſtipendium poſſint ac valeant percipere.' Haec permiſſio ad Hiberniae Praeſules extenditur.

We have here an expreſs ſtatement that the faculty has been extended to the Irish Biſhops, and there is not the ſlighteſt intimation that there is any limitation of the conceſſion in regard to time. Moreover, the Synod quotes the words of the circular letter of October 15, 1863, and turning to this letter we find that the permiſſion has been conceeded indefinitely, no limitation as to time having been inſerted :—

SSmus. D. N. Papa benigne decernere dignatus eſt, ut Ordinariis Miſſionum facultas impertiatur, quemadmodum per praeſentes litteras eis tribuitur, indulgendi ut, juſta et gravi cauſa intercedente, ſacerdotes ſibi ſubditi etiam pro ſecunda Miſſa in eadem die celebranda ſtipendium percipere poſſint et valeant.

The prieſt to whom my correſpondent refers was, then, in error when he ſtated that the permiſſion was withdrawn by his Biſhop becauſe the faculty granted by the Propaganda had ceaſed. As for the quaſi-provincial Synod of Munſter, there is abſolutely no indication in its regulations that it conſidered the faculty quinquennial ; it granted the conceſſion for three years, but gave no hint that the permiſſion could not be renewed at the end of that period without ſpecial reference to Rome.

DISSOLUTION OF BETROTHALS

REV. DEAR SIR,—You would greatly oblige by answering in the I. E. RECORD the following query : Are the ſame formalities required for diſſolving as for contracting *sponsalia* ?

PAROCHUS.

There ſeems to be no neceſſity for any written document for the diſſolution of *sponsalia*. The Decree *Ne Temere* does not ſpeak of the neceſſity of any ſuch formality ; nor can any general principle of Canon Law be quoted which would prove it. There is a rule of jurisprudence : 'Omnis res per quas cauſas nascitur, per eaſdem et diſ-

solvitur.' But this rule refers to causes rather than to formalities.

Of course, if there is question of the *forum externum*, judicial proof of dissolution must be forthcoming; but this can be had in many ways apart from a formal written agreement.

At the same time, authorities will admit that in case of dissolution of betrothals by mutual consent it is very desirable to have documentary evidence. Doubts and difficulties would thereby be overcome, which often perplex the scrupulous and puzzle the judicious.

THE NATURAL FAST

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I ask your opinion in the next number of the I. E. RECORD, as to whether the fast before Holy Communion is broken or not in the following case:—

It is well known that menthol is helpful in bronchial catarrh, relieving greatly the dry obstinate cough. A flake of menthol if placed on the tongue, speedily dissolves into pungent fumes, which soothe the air-passages and excite a flow of saliva. Would it be allowed to use menthol in this way, after midnight, to secure a night's rest?

If it be permissible to chew tobacco, although the juice, mixed with saliva, may be swallowed, would there be the same justification in the use of the menthol? Again, would it make all the difference if the saliva thus excited by the fumes be *not* swallowed, and the fumes alone be allowed to do their work?

An answer upon this point would greatly oblige.—Yours,

E.

There seems to be no serious reason against the view that the use of menthol in the manner described by my correspondent does not break the natural fast. So long as the menthol is not swallowed and so long as merely its fumes are inhaled, there is nothing consumed *per modum cibi vel potus*. Even if a slight portion of the dissolving menthol is accidentally mixed with saliva and unintentionally swallowed there is no taking of food or drink in the sense of the law which requires the observance of the natural fast before reception of Holy Communion. Just as

a little water only partially mixed with saliva in washing the teeth and accidentally swallowed does not break the natural fast, so, too, in regard to menthol, a similar action demands a similar reply.¹

J. M. HARTY.

CANON LAW

WOMEN SINGING IN CHURCH

REV. DEAR SIR,—Allow me to ask you what is the Church law and discipline as to the vexed subject of woman's singing in church? About this topic we have had plenty of animated discussions of late, and read many articles in several reviews; but it is very hard to come to any definite conclusion and well-defined theory, so various and divergent are the views advocated on this subject. Nearly all who attempt to say or write anything about it allege in corroboration of their contention Decrees of the Roman Congregations and pronouncements of the Holy See. If you briefly state what is the letter and spirit of the law of the Church on this matter you will confer a great favour on
A PRIEST.

Since the present Holy Father, who is well versed in Church music, published his well-known *Motu Proprio* of 1903, laying down definite and wise rules for the revival of classical and ancient Church music and singing, as well as for the abolition of all profane and foreign elements which were, in process of time, abusively mixed with it, this topic has been a matter of much lively controversy amongst experts; so that the Roman authorities have been called upon, several times, to issue supplementary Decrees and occasional responses to dissipate doubts and regulate this point of ecclesiastical discipline.

Unfortunately, these Decrees have been made capital of by nearly all writers on the subject, and of all shades of opinion to corroborate their contention by skilful manipulation of the words of the Decrees in some cases, or by

¹ Cf. Lehmkuhl, vol. ii. n. 160, 2, 1), b).

unscrupulous contortions of their plain meaning in others. There are many theories advanced and advocated on the subject, and one can almost say, *Tot capita tot sententiae*; but, as far as we can learn, there are two main opinions put forward, the others being slight modifications of the two leading theories. These two principal theories are extreme in character, while the Church, as it might be expected, insists on following and inculcating the course where virtue lies, that is, the middle one.

In fact, some state, dogmatically in some cases and hesitatingly in others, that women are absolutely debarred from singing in church, a statement which is confined by a few to singing in strict liturgical services. They substantiate their contention by asserting that, according to the general spirit of ecclesiastical discipline, the female element of church congregations must keep silent, and, moreover, the Holy Father has solemnly declared in his *Motu Proprio* of 1903, that singing in church, without any distinction, is a liturgical office of which ladies are wholly incapable.¹ At least, they tell us, women are prevented from taking part and singing in strict liturgical functions, as the Sacred Congregation of Rites replied in the Decree *De Truxillo*, September 19, 1897.²

On the other hand, there are others who advocate the exactly opposite view, and go so far as to say that not only ladies and girls can sing in church even the liturgical text of strict liturgical functions, and form, if need be, a select choir of their own, but also they can form part of mixed select choirs composed of chanters of both sexes, as is the custom in English-speaking countries. The principal argument on which this theory is grounded is afforded by the Decree of the Congregation of Rites, of January 17, 1908, to the Bishop of Los Angeles, Mexico, where it is stated that, as

¹ 'Quum cantoribus in Ecclesia munus vere liturgicum sit, consequitur mulieres talis officii expertes ad chori partem agendam, aut ullo modo in musicum chorum admitti non posse.'—*Motu Proprio*, 22 Nov., 1903.

² It was prohibited in this Decree that 'mulieres ac puellae intra vel extra ambitum chori canant in Missis solemnibus.'

far as it is possible, men and boys must take part in the celebration of divine praises, without excluding ladies and girls, especially in case that male voices cannot be procured. And this is true, some add, especially if the male or the female element of choirs be prevalent, then, *maior pars trahit ad se minorem*.¹

Between these two extreme views the Church follows the middle course, in the sense that while women can sing in church, even the liturgical text in ecclesiastical ceremonies, not only congregationally but even separately, they can never take part in select mixed choirs as commonly understood and used in English-speaking countries.

In the first place, it need scarcely be stated that the Church never prohibited woman's singing in church, especially in functions not strictly liturgical, and the futility of the argument drawn from the *Mulieres in Ecclesia taceant*, and applied to this place and matter, is self-evident. On the contrary, this kind of singing was approved of by the Church in several enactments, and lately in the aforesaid Decree to the Bishop of Los Angeles, where an affirmative reply was given to the question whether women can sing hymns and chants in vernacular in functions not strictly liturgical.²

Again, that woman's singing of liturgical parts in church festivities is not forbidden, is proved by the old use and discipline of the Church, when all the faithful assisting at the ecclesiastical functions in church took part in the singing of strict liturgical services; a discipline and use which the present Holy Father is anxious to restore, as he

¹ 'Mens est, ut intra christifideles viri et pueri, quantum fieri potest, suam partem divinis Laudibus concelebrandis conferant, haud exclusis tamen, maxime ipsorum defectu, mulieribus et puellis.'—S.R.C., 17 Jan., 1908; 18 Dec., 1908; also *Amer. Eccl. Review*, Dec., 1908, p. 701; *Cecilia*, Oct., 1908, p. 79.

² The same approbation and affirmative answer applies, says Father Mancini, C.M., in his remarks, *ex officio*, before the Decree *Angelopolitana*, above quoted, was issued, to the question put by the Bishop of Ardagh to the Congregation of Rites. He, in saying what the question was, writes: 'Episcopus Ardachadensis [*sic*] in Hibernia inquit utrum durante Missa lecta et in Benedictione SSmi. vocibus mulierum et praesertim puellarum uti valeat.'—*Ephem. Litur.*, an. 22, p. 144.

himself plainly states in his *Motu Proprio* of 1903.¹ This doctrine, moreover, has been recently confirmed by several Decrees of the Congregation of Rites.²

When, therefore, the Holy Father says in his document on Church music, that singing in church is a liturgical office, and that women, being incapable of exercising it, cannot take part in any musical choir, he means to say either that ladies cannot be professional singers in a select church choir because then alone, and not when they sing in church occasionally, or through necessity, they exercise an office which is liturgical; or that women cannot stay in the sanctuary together with ecclesiastics, who, when singing there, perform a liturgical office. Choir here is meant the noblest part of the church near the altar, where the clergy used to stay when celebrating ecclesiastical functions.³ Moreover, Mgr. Piacenza says that liturgical office here is not to be understood in its rigorous meaning, else not even men not yet initiated to sacred orders could discharge it, to say nothing of the fact that, at present, women, especially nuns, either by use, necessity, or toleration, can perform some acts which are in some sense liturgical, such as serving of Mass, preparing of vestments, and sacred vessels for the Holy Sacrifice, etc., so that, he concludes, the Papal pronouncement referred to simply means that women are interdicted from taking part in and forming mixed select church choirs.⁴

Lastly, it is also allowed that women alone could render the singing of liturgical parts in sacred functions. This is done all over the world, and even in Rome, by nuns and girls in colleges; and the Congregation of the Holy Office approved of this practice in a Decree dated January 24, 1906, where, besides granting that nuns and girls confided

¹ 'Cantus Gregorianus in populi usu restituendus curetur, *quoad divinas Laudes Mysteriorum celebranda magis agentium partem*, antiquorum more, fideles conferant.'

² S.R.C., 24 Jan., 1906; 17 Jan., 1908; 17 Dec., 1908.

³ *Amer. Eccl. Review*, l.c.; *Ephem. Liturg.*, l.c.

⁴ 'Sensus est citatae Instructionis quod in choro seu in tribuna cantorum—qui licet laici, tamen clericali veste et superpelliceo induuntur—natas est omnino mulieres admitti.'—*Anal. Eccl.*, an. 15, p. 266; also Wermceersh, *De Relig.*, tom. 4, p. 163.

to their care in the college, could sing the liturgical parts already referred to, it conceded, under special circumstances, that even non-Catholic girls could take part in their choir. And, finally, the Congregation of Rites replied in the affirmative to the Bishop of Los Angeles, who asked whether it were lawful to permit that women and girls, accommodated in special benches prepared for them in the church and separated from men, render the singing of the invariable parts of solemn Masses.

It seems to us, moreover, that women can avail of that concession either by singing congregationally or in select choirs. This appears to be suggested by the question put to the Congregation by the said Bishop, and seems confirmed by the fact that no restriction in their affirmative reply was expressed by the Roman authorities. Besides, it seems also immaterial whether women while singing in church are accommodated in special benches set apart for them amongst the body of the congregation, or assembled, for convenience' sake, in organ galleries and raised platforms, as is the custom of girls in colleges and nuns in religious communities; provided ordinary precautions are taken to avoid inconveniences, and especially if the prescription of Benedict XIV is observed to the effect that female singers are to be protected from the gaze of the public, a prescription which, in Rome, is to be followed also for male singers, according to the rule made by Pius IX, November 18, 1856.

No doubt, the Sacred Congregation of Rites in the Decree *De Truxillo* forbade ladies and girls to sing the liturgical text in liturgical functions, but this happened either because in that particular case there was some kind of communication between the clergy and the ladies, as Mancini tells us,¹ or because, according to Piacenza, the use or the abuse of that special cathedral was to be condemned, where females were employed to chant what priests and canons were bound and able to sing themselves;

¹ "Videlicet," he says, 'ex expositione dubiorum resultat quaedam plus minusve communicatio inter ecclesiasticos et mulieres cantantes, quod tolerari non potest.'—*Ephem. Liturg.*, l.c.

and where both clerics and ladies formed one and the same choir.¹

So far about the discipline of the Church on woman's singing in church, and about the inaccuracy of the opinion of those who want to exclude female voices from the church, either altogether or in a modified form in special cases. But what is to be said of the opposite contention of those who advocate the intervention of female singers in all Church functions, where they can form part of mixed choirs as understood and in use, up to the present, in English-speaking countries? This second opinion is as untenable as the first, being the opposite extreme, and therefore equally vicious and mistaken. It is not warranted by any Papal pronouncement or response of Roman Congregations, as it would perpetuate or restore, with regard to church choirs, what the Holy Father since the beginning of his Pontificate endeavoured to eliminate or avoid. The only Decree which seems to give countenance to the contention of the patrons of this second opinion, is the one sent by the Sacred Congregation of Rites to the Bishop of Los Angeles, and which is of the following tenor:—

Licebitne permittere ut puellae ac mulieres in scamnis sedentes, ipsis in Ecclesia assignatis separatim a viris, partes invariabiles Missae cantent; vel extra functiones stricte liturgicas, hymnos aut cantilenas vernaculas concinant?

S.R.C., die 17 Jan., 1908, *Resp.*: Affirmative ad utrumque et ad mentem. Mens est: 1° Ut intra christifideles viri et pueri, quantum fieri potest, suam partem divinis Laudibus concelebrandis conferant, haud exclusis tamen, maxime ipsorum defectu, mulieribus et puellis et: 2° Ut ubi officiatura choralis habetur cantus exclusivus mulierum praesertim in cathedralibus Ecclesiis non admittitur, nisi ex gravi causa ab Ordinario agnoscenda et cauto semper ut quaevis inordinatio vitetur.

In the 'mens' of this Decree, it seems as if mixed choirs of men and women were approved of by the Congregation,

¹ He writes 'Hoc tamen decreto non proscribitur cantus mulierum utcumque, sed usus illius Cathedralis in qua non deest clerus non desunt Canonici qui ad eantum tenentur; ideoque prorsus incongruum visum est in casu quod . . . mulieres . . . intra ambitum chori admitterentur vel, si extra, unum cum Choralibus clericis efficerent.'

especially in case that a sufficient number of male voices could not be procured. However, this Decree and its clause are to be explained in the sense either that the Congregation wants congregational singing to any other sort of chant; or that, by this response, only a concession is made in favour of exclusive female singing and choirs, especially in case of necessity; and this is the interpretation of the Decree given by nearly all commentators we are acquainted with.¹

This appears, first, from the fact that the 'mens' of the Decree is only an explanation of the affirmative answer to the question about the lawfulness of exclusive woman's singing in church, and it was added in order to say that such a kind of singing is to be resorted to *especially* when men's voices cannot be procured; and, again, it seems evident from the second sentence of the same clause where that singing is spoken of as a concession already made in a previous clause, pointing out, moreover, that in places and churches where priests and canons are addicted to the choir for the reading and singing of Divine Office, that sort of woman's singing cannot be admitted unless a grave and plausible cause exists, and is approved of by the Ordinary; as, in these circumstances, the ecclesiastics in the choir are presumed and expected to render the sacred chant themselves; and there is, as a rule, no necessity for female voices.

But whatever be the interpretation of the Decree under consideration, one thing seems beyond any doubt, that it never sanctioned the establishment or the maintenance of mixed select choirs of men and women. It is manifest from a correspondence which took place between the Bishop of Pittsburg and the Cardinal Secretary of State; and also from a recent Decree of the Congregation of Rites in response to a question sent from New York.

¹ Wermeersh writes: 'S. C. respondit in primis quod satis perspiciebatur datis decretis hunc solum cantum mulieribus vetari quem canant ut *pars selecti chori* ita ut *fidelium cantu* feminae minime excludantur.'—Tom. 4, p. 165, *De Relig. Mission.*; and the *Act. S. Sedis*, vol. xli., p. 116, n. 1, explains the Decree by saying: 'Generatim loquendo admittitur etiam cantus exclusivus mulierum, praesertim cum non extent pueri vel viri ad canendum apti.'

On the 14th of November, 1908, the said Bishop wrote to His Eminence, the Secretary of State, in the following terms :—

It would please me very much if you would have the kindness to advise me if it is true that women may sing in the choir of churches, not only when they sing together with the other male members of the Congregation in the body of the Church, but also when they are separated and form, either alone or with men and boys, a special choir on an elevated platform or choir loft in the rear of the churches, as is the custom in the United States.

Because of the diversity of opinion and the many newspaper reports, there is great obscurity and much controversy concerning this matter ; and it would be of a great advantage not only to this diocese, but also to the other dioceses of the United States if we could have some final word from the Holy Father for the purpose of definitely putting an end to the question.

In the hope that you will have the goodness to communicate to me the decision of the Holy Father as soon as possible,

I beg to remain,

With the expression of my very high
consideration.

The Cardinal Secretary of State replied as follows :—

SEGRETERIA DI STATO DI SUA SANTITÀ
DAL VATICANO,
November 29, 1908.

MY LORD BISHOP,—In reply to your letter of the 14th of November, I hasten to inform you that the Holy Father has not given permission for women to form part of the church choirs in the United States, and that the statement that such permission has been granted by His Holiness is devoid of foundation. His Holiness's wish is, that the Decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites in regard to church choirs should be faithfully observed in the United States, as elsewhere.

R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL.

In this letter of the Secretary of State, the authoritative repudiation of the statement that the Pope has granted permission to have mixed choirs in the United States, coupled with the wish of His Holiness that the regulations

made by the Congregation of Rites should be carried out, shows the meaning of the Papal *Motu Proprio* of 1903, and subsequent Decrees of the Roman Congregations with regard to this subject of woman's singing in church.

Again, very recently the same question about mixed choirs was submitted to the Congregation of Rites. It was sent from New York, but the exposition of the case is couched in general terms, and applies to all English-speaking countries, where choirs of that description are in use. It was asked whether in view of the Decree *Angelopolitana*, January 17, 1908, where it is stated that men have to take part in the celebration of divine praises, women not excluded, it would not be lawful to maintain mixed choirs as existing at present in churches in the United States. The reply was: 'Prout exponitur negative, et ad mentem. Mens est ut viri a mulieribus et puellis omnino sint separati, vitato quolibet inconvenienti; et onerata super his Ordinariorum conscientia.'¹

From this response it is manifest that the Decree of January 17, 1908, did not mean to introduce or allow the maintenance of mixed choirs as commonly understood in the United States; that they are not as yet permissible, and that in church choirs male singers must be in all cases separated from female members of the choir.

Since the issue of this last Decree in explanation of the 'mens' attached to it, it has been suggested that the only mixing which the congregation condemned in church choirs is that of different sexes, and that it has nothing to say as to the mixing of male and female voices; so that, provided men and women are separated and ordinary precautions are taken to avoid or eliminate other inconveniences which may arise from local circumstances and special cases, they may form one and the same mixed choir in that sense.

We should not be at all surprised if that be the case seeing that, in principle, the Church does not condemn the mixing of male and female voices in sacred chant, and that the only thing the Roman authorities invariably insist on,

¹ S.R.C., Dec. 18, 1908.

or approve of, is the complete separation of the sexes in church choirs. We venture to add, moreover, that choirs of that description, namely, composed of male and female voices can be resorted to, *not only* but *especially* in case of dearth of men's voices, provided male singers be separated from females; for the last Decree of the Congregation of Rites seems a confirmation and an explanation of the other Decree, *Angelopolitana*, and the 'mens' clause of this last-mentioned Decree, when stating that men have to take part in divine services, women not excluded, uses the expression, '*maxime ipsorum, i.e., virorum et puerorum defectu.*'

TITLE OF ORDINATION IN PLACES WHICH CEASED TO BE MISSIONARY COUNTRIES

REV. DEAR SIR,—Considering that Ireland, according to the new reform of the Roman Curia, ceased to be under the exceptional rule of Propaganda, and is not any longer considered as a Missionary country, does the title of Mission—*titulus Missionis*—cease to be the title of Ordination for priests in this country?

If it does, what will henceforth be the title of Ordination, seeing that we have no benefices or, in the majority of cases, private means as title for Ordination? And if it does not, is it not strange to ordain priests as Missioners in a land which is no longer a Missionary country?

P. B.

It looks strange, indeed, that the title of Mission should be allowed to be continued as the ordinary title of Ordination in this country, which is already placed under the common law of the Church, and freed from the denomination and special rule of Missionary countries. Hence we believe that, in future, the title of Ordination in this country will be that of the services lent to the Church—*titulus servitii Ecclesiae*.

The Ordinary title of Ordination, recognized by the common ecclesiastical law for secular priests outside Missionary countries, is the title of benefice—*titulus beneficii*. In process of time, however, on account of an erroneous interpretation of a canon of the Lateran Council of 1179,

the titles of a private patrimony and that of a pension—*titulus patrimonii, titulus pensionis*—were introduced and approved of by the Church as titles available for Ordination and established as extraordinary and subsidiary titles, to be resorted to in default of the ordinary title of benefice, and in case that priests were needed for the spiritual welfare of the people.

But in some countries it was found impossible to have either benefices or private means as title of Ordination, and, on the other hand, the necessity of having ecclesiastics to look after and provide for the spiritual needs of the people was pressing; so in Missionary countries the Indult of ordaining priests with the title of Mission¹ was conceded, and in other countries, labouring under the same difficulties as Missionary nations, a practice was introduced of ordaining priests with the title of their services to the church to which they were incardinated. In former times this incorporation was made to a special church, now, as a rule, it is made to a diocese where priests, under the guidance of the diocesan authority, exercise their ministry, and receive from the people the temporal means necessary for their maintenance.

This practice was in existence in Mexico from time immemorial and approved of afterwards by the Congregation of the Council, and is likewise the usage in the Latin American Church and in France up to the present time.²

The Fathers of the Vatican Council, taking into consideration the altered conditions of times and the state of the Church in various countries, sought to have a law enacted by which the title of Ordination—*servitium Ecclesiae*—was to be recognized by ecclesiastical legislation as a legal though auxiliary title for Ordination, and to be used in case that other titles were not available. The suspension

¹ The title of Mission for Ordination was first granted to the students of the Irish College in Rome by Urban VIII, Const. *Sacrosanctae*, an. 1631; and extended afterwards to the students of other colleges who were ordained for Missionary Countries.—*Coll. Lac.*, vol. ult. p. 669; De Marinis, I. i. 128.

² Cf. *Act. Conc. Amer. Lat.*, n. 582; Many, *De S. Ord.*, p. 357; S.C.C., Junii 21, 1879.

of the Council prevented the enactment of this law, but we believe it will be made and embodied in the forthcoming code of ecclesiastical legislation.

As yet, however, it is an extraordinary title of Ordination, beyond the common law and somewhat derogatory of it, and it can be used only by special concession and acquired by Indult of the Holy See, being, in that respect, on the same footing as the title of Mission.

What we have hitherto expounded finds confirmation in a recent Decree of the Consistorial Congregation in response to some questions asked by Propaganda with regard to the limits of its competency in some matters concerning the places which ceased to be regarded as Missionary countries. Among the other questions, we read the following :—

XI. Utrum Cardinalis Praefectus Congregationis de Propaganda poterit adhuc concedere litteras dimissoriales ad sacros Ordines alumni Collegiorum Americae Septentrionalis, Hiberniae et Scotiae; et an ac quomodo mutare oporteat titulum *missionis*.

XII. Utrum et qua ratione immutandus sit titulus *missionis* quoad alumnos Collegii Urbani de Propaganda qui pertinent ad provincias ecclesiasticas et dioeceses a Congregatione de Propaganda avulsas.

Ad XI. Concessio litterarum dimissorialium ad sacros Ordines pertinebit ad hanc S. Congregationem, quae, cum necessarium fuerit, immutabit titulum *missionis* in titulum *servitii ecclesiae*.

Ad XII. Emus. Cardinalis Praefectus Congregationis de Propaganda mutabit pro memoratis alumni *titulum missionis* in *titulum servitii ecclesiae*.¹

Finally, we note that the Congregation in its reply says that the title of Mission will be changed into that of *servitium Ecclesiae* only if that be necessary, because this latter title will be a subsidiary one, to be conceded and used when other titles for Ordination cannot be procured.

DAILY MASS IN CHAPELS WHERE THE BLESSED SACRAMENT IS KEPT

REV. DEAR SIR,—A certain religious Congregation has obtained from the Holy See the Indult of keeping the Blessed

¹ S. Cong. Congr. die 7 Januarii, 1909.

Sacrament in the chapels of its houses. A diocesan superior limited to once a week the celebration of Mass in the chapel of a house of that Congregation, on the ground that he could not afford to send a priest to say Mass there every day, and that a Mass a week was sufficient for the renewal of the Sacred Species.

Am I right in saying that the course adopted in the case by this diocesan superior is correct, seeing especially that some Canonists seem to approve of it ?

B. B.

As far as we can see, our correspondent is not right in holding that the course followed by the diocesan superior in the case is correct. For, according to a Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, dated May 14, 1889, Mass must be celebrated every day in churches or oratories where the Blessed Sacrament is preserved ; and if circumstances do not permit the daily celebration of the Holy Sacrifice, a dispensation must be obtained from the Congregation of Rites, a dispensation which is accorded usually on condition that at least once a week Mass must be said in these churches to renew the Sacred Species.

We are aware that some Canonists find no fault with the action of diocesan superiors who, on their own authority, restrict to once a week the celebration of Mass in places where the Blessed Sacrament is kept, maintaining that daily Mass is not necessary in those churches ; but they only speak of the discipline of the Church prevailing before the issue of the Decree mentioned above. So much so, that Cardinal Gennari, to mention one of those Canonists who held that doctrine, tells us that in the second edition of his work he will take into consideration the Decree referred to, and correct his doctrine accordingly.¹ The Decree of the Congregation of Rites reads thus :—

I. Num permitti possit ut Sanctissimum Sacramentum asservetur in prae-fatis Oratoriis (Congregationum), quamvis nec semel in hebdomada ibi Missa celebretur. Et quatenus negative.

II. Quoties in hebdomada celebrari debeat Missa : an semel tantum sufficiat : et an interdici debeat asservatio si bis per hebdomadam Missa celebrari nequeat ?

¹ *Monit. Eccl.*, vol. xiii. p. 519 ; Gennari, *Consult.*, p. 598.

Ad I. Negative.

Ad II. Si in iis Oratoriis Missa quotidie celebrari nequit, *ab Apostolica Sede* indultum petendum est, quae semel saltem in quavis hebdomada illam praecipere solet.¹

S. LUZIO

LITURGY

PRAYER AFTER LITANY OF BLESSED VIRGIN.—USE OF COPE AT PRIVATE EXPOSITION OF BLESSED SACRAMENT

REV. DEAR SIR,—The following two Liturgical questions are submitted for solution in I. E. RECORD :—

(1) Is the prayer *Concede nos* to be sung all the year round after the Litany of the Blessed Virgin at Benediction? At the present season of the year a different prayer is prescribed, but the Rubric prescribing it does not seem to apply to the case in question, viz., Benediction.

(2) When the ciborium is used in giving Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, may or must the cope be dispensed with? When the monstrance is used either in a procession or Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, the cope must be used. On the other hand, when the Blessed Sacrament is carried processionally in the ciborium, the cope is not used; does it follow from this that similarly it is not to be used in Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament given with the ciborium?

An early answer will oblige.—Yours, etc.,

SACERDOS.

1°. The Litany of the Blessed Virgin should be terminated by the recital, immediately after the *Agnus Dei* and without the *Christe audi, nos*, etc., of the *Ora pro nobis*, etc., and the prayer *Concede nos*, or of the prayer that is proper to the season preceded by its own Versicle and Response. 'Litaniae Lauretanae concludendae sunt ut in Appendice Ritualis Romani, omissis *Christe, audi nos*, etc.; versiculus autem, responsorium et oratio post diebus Litaniae mutari possunt pro temporis diversitate.'²

There is just one point which is not very clear. It is said that the prayer of the Blessed Virgin proper to the season may be used instead of the *Concede*. Now what is

¹ S.R.C., Maii 14, 1889.

² S.R.C., 7 Dec., 1900.

this prayer? Is it the Common Commemoration of the Blessed Virgin which is made on semi-doubles, and which is found at the Votive Masses of Our Lady prescribed for certain periods of the year, or is it rather the prayer that is proper to the Greater Antiphons of the Blessed Virgin which is recited after Compline and varies with the time? These two sets of prayers, it will be found, are not always identical. The mention of the Versicle and Response would suggest that the latter prayers are meant, but if the former are employed by those who do not agree with this opinion, care should be taken to use the proper Versicle and Response. Thus, at present, after the Litany the prayer *Concede* with the *Ora pro nobis*, etc., or the *Concede, Misericors Deus, fragilitati*, etc., with the *Dignare me laudare*, etc.

2°. In giving Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament with the pyx, or *modo privato*, there is no obligation of wearing the cope,—the surplice, stole, and humeral veil (which is assumed for the blessing), being all the vestments that are prescribed. The cope may, however, be used on the occasion and it is more in conformity with the Roman practice to wear it when the use of incense is customary.¹ The cope, therefore, may be employed according to custom. What is said in regard to dispensing with the cope when the Blessed Sacrament is carried in procession to the sick is not strictly accurate. When it is desirable to have the procession with all due solemnity the cope should be worn. The words of the Roman Ritual imply this: ‘Ubi vero convenerint qui E. comaturi sunt, sacerdos indutus superpellicio et stola et, si haberi potest, pluviali albi coloris,’² etc. But it is true to say that this vestment should always be used whenever Benediction is given with the Blessed Sacrament exposed in the monstrance.³

COMMUNION OF THE SICK IN HOSPITAL WARDS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly favour with an answer to the following questions with regard to the administration of the

¹ Cf. De Amicis, *Exposizione del SS. Sacr.*; Vavasseur, *Ceremonial*, i. p. 612.

² *Rit. Rom.*, tit. iv. cap. iv. n. 9.

³ Decr. S.R.C., n.n. 3333, 3697.

Blessed Sacrament in the hospitals and infirm wards of work-houses, on a morning after a general Confession Station of the institution has been held:—

(1) Is it necessary for the officiating priest to have the *Confiteor* said; to recite the *Misereatur vestri*, etc., before, and the *O Sacram Convivium*, etc., after, the administration; and give the blessing in each ward he visits?

(2) In what manner is the Blessed Sacrament to be carried from ward to ward?

(3) What vestments are to be used?

C.C.

1°. When Communion is given to a number of persons who are all in the same room and within the observation of the priest, it is sufficient to say all the prayers once for all, using the plural number, and repeating only the form for each individual. Should it happen that two or more rooms, or wards, in an infirmary are so situated that a person, by taking his position at a point of vantage, can command a simultaneous view of all the patients, then a priest, in this hypothesis, might proceed as in the foregoing case. For the same principle applies, since the communicants are all morally present before him. Rubricists would also maintain that the same might be lawfully done in administering the Viaticum to a group of sick people who are in the same place and labouring under some contagious disease.¹

2°. If the wards are quite distinct and separated, one from the other, so that there is no unity, morally speaking, between them, then the prayers should be repeated in each apartment. In this case the Blessed Sacrament should be carried from one place to the other by the priest vested in surplice, stole, and humeral veil, and preceded by two torch-bearers, one of whom carries a bell with which he will give notice of the approach of the Blessed Sacrament. In order that this ceremony may be thus carried out in detail, it is assumed that there is no obstacle of any kind placed to this procedure. But, if it is impossible to have the torch-bearers they may be dispensed with; further, if

¹ Cf. *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 1893, p. 554.

there is no humeral veil, and if the Blessed Sacrament has been carried in a small pyx and not in a ciborium, then when the distribution of Communion is completed in one ward, the pyx might be carried to the next place just as it was originally conveyed from the tabernacle, that is in the receptacle, or burse, used for the purpose, which is fastened at the breast pocket, the cords being secured around the neck. At the next halting place the same ceremonies are gone through as in the first instance.

CEREMONIES FOR GIVING THE SIMPLE BLESSINGS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly say what, if any, are the ceremonies to be used in blessing various objects of piety, such as medals, crucifixes, rosaries, etc.—Yours, etc.,

SACERDOS JUNIOR.

There is question here, it is assumed, of the simple blessings and not of the solemn ones, such as are associated with functions prescribed for certain days of the year, as Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, etc. The ceremonies for these will be found fully described in the Roman Missal. Now, in regard to the ordinary blessings, sometimes on special formula is prescribed. This is the case in giving the Apostolic Indulgences to rosaries, blessing crosses, medals, etc., and exercising those powers which Missionary priests obtain through their Bishops from the Holy See. In applying these Indulgences all that is necessary is to make the sign of the cross over the object with the intention of indulgencing it. For the *valid* exercise of them a priest must be approved to hear Confessions, and for the *lawful*, he must have the consent of the Ordinary of the place, if possible *expressly*, and if not, at least, *implicitly*. A priest, however, may even in the case of these Indulgences use holy water, and even the surplice, stole, and Ritual.

There are other blessings for which a certain formula is necessary. In investing with the scapulars, for instance, and in giving the Dominican Indulgences to rosaries, a special form must be used, unless by those who are dis-

pensed. The following ceremonies, described in the Roman Ritual,¹ are to be observed :—

1°. The priest should be vested as the Rubric directs, or if there is no direction, then as a rule in surplice and stole of the colour suitable to the object or the office of the day.

2°. The book, Holy Water, and aspersory should be in readiness, and if convenient a clerk should be in attendance.

3°. The objects being placed either on the Altar, or beside it at the Epistle side, or in some other suitable place, the priest stands before them with head uncovered and holding the book, unless it is borne by a clerk, and reads the formula.

4°. He begins with *Adjutorium nostrum*, etc. (signing himself at these words, according to most Rubricists), *Dominus Vobiscum*, etc., and *Oremus*. During the prayer he makes the necessary inclinations at mention of the Holy Name, etc., and makes the sign of the cross over the objects as directed, the left hand being on the Altar or on his breast, unless engaged.

5°. Having finished the prayer, he takes the aspergil, and sprinkles the objects three times in the form of a cross (a) towards the centre, (b) towards his left, and (c) towards his right.

WHEN AN ALB LOSES ITS BLESSING

REV. DEAR SIR,—A vestment is said to lose its blessing when it loses the form under which it was blessed. When lace Albs are about to be washed, the lace is detached from the body of the Alb, as it is of frail texture, and could not stand the rougher treatment to which the linen portion is subjected. Does the separation of the parts cause such a change of form as to require that, when reunited, the Alb should be again blessed?

ENQUIRER.

The detaching of the lace does not materially alter the form of the Alb, and therefore does not deprive the vest-

¹ Tit. viii. cap. i.

ment of its blessing. The lace is added by way of ornament only, even though it sometimes appears to constitute the greater part of the Alb, extending, as it does, almost from the girdle to the ground. The Congregation of Rites was asked: 'Nunc Canonici Missam celebrantibus, diebus solemnioribus . . . liceat uti Alba ornata fimbriis seu reticulo a cingulo deorsum?' The answer was: 'Tolerari posse.'¹ The toleration of which there is question in this reply, extends, not to the employment of a slender border of lace which was previously recognized as lawful, but to the great depth of it mentioned in the query. Since the material of the Alb should be of pure linen, so care ought to be taken, when lace is used by way of ornamentation, that it is the real article made by hand of linen threads, and not the counterfeit machine-made vulgarity in which there is often not a particle of pure linen.

UNITY OF PRAYER IN PRIVATE 'REQUIEM' MASS

A correspondent writes to say that a sentence in the reply to a query on above subject in last issue of the I. E. RECORD (p. 181) is not quite clear, and appears contradictory. His letter has only come to hand, and there is time only for a word of explanation. What was said is that Private *Requiem* Masses are not privileged as regards their celebration on certain days on which Solemn *Requiem* Masses are privileged, but if they are celebrated in virtue of the general law regarding Votive Masses on any of these latter days—because it happens to be a Semi-double—then the *method* of celebrating them is privileged, that is with only one prayer.

P. MORRISROE.

¹ June, 1893, n. 3804.

DOCUMENTS

RENEWAL OF INDULT GRANTED TO THE IRISH BISHOPS
IN THE MATTER OF FAST AND ABSTINENCE*Beatissime Pater,*

Cardinalis Michael Logue, Archiepiscopus Armacanus et totius Hiberniae Primas, humiliter petit ut, attentis peculiaribus circumstantiis in quibus versantur fideles regionis Hiberniae, benigne prorogare dignetur Indultum super lege jejunii et abstinentiae, etiam tempore quadragesimali, alias ipsi et singulis Hiberniae Episcopis pro sibi commissis fidelibus concessum sub die 2 Januarii, 1904, ad quinquennium.

Die 8 Februarii, 1909, S. Congregatio Concilii Tridentini Interpres, auctoritate SS^{mi} Dⁿⁱ Nostri, E^{mo} Archiepiscopo Ori. expetitam prorogationem benigne impertita est ad aliud quinquennium servata forma praecedentis.

C. Card. GENNARI, *Praef.*B. POMPILIUS, *Secretarius.*RENEWAL OF FACULTIES GRANTED TO THE IRISH BISHOPS
TO DISPENSE THEIR OWN SUBJECTS IN INTERSTICES
AND ONE YEAR OF AGE IN MAYNOOTH COLLEGE AND
IRISH COLLEGE, PARIS*Beatissime Pater,*

Michael Cardinalis Logue, Archiepiscopus Armacanus, totius Hiberniae Primas, humiliter postulat a S. V. renovationem facultatis quam alias obtinuit die 30 Maii, 1904, pro omnibus Hiberniae Episcopis, dispensandi cum propriis subditis in Collegio Maynutiano et in Collegio S. Patricii apud Lutetiam Parisiorum ad sacros ordines promovendis, super interstitiis et super defectu unius anni actatis ad presbyteratum requisitae.

Die 9 Februarii 1909, S. C. de disciplina Sacramentorum, vigore facultatum sibi a SS^{mo}. D. N. Pio Papa X tributarum, attentis expositis, gratiam prorogationis ad biennium Emo. Archpo. Armacano Oratori benigne impertita est, servata forma praecedentis indulti.

J. MORI, *Subsecretarius.*ARCH. BRUNI, *Officialis.*

**PRAYER TO THE HOLY GHOST, INDULGENCED AT THE
REQUEST OF THE SUPERIOR OF BLACKROCK COLLEGE**

INDULGENTIA 300 DIERUM ADNECTITUR CUIDAM ORATIONI IN
HONOREM SPIRITUS SANCTI

Très Saint Père,

Le Supérieur du Collège de Blackrock, près Dublin (Irlande), fondé et dirigé par la congrégation du S. Esprit, humblement prosterné aux pieds de Votre Sainteté, La supplie d'attacher une indulgence de 300 jours, applicable aux defunts, à la recitation une fois par jour de la prière suivante au Saint Esprit (*quocumque idiomate*) :

'O Saint Esprit, Divin Esprit de lumière et d'amour, je vous consacre mon intelligence, mon cœur et ma volonté, tout mon être pour le temps et l'éternité. Que mon intelligence soit toujours docile à Vos célestes inspirations et à l'enseignement de la Sainte Eglise catholique, dont vous êtes le guide infaillible ; que mon cœur soit toujours enflammé de l'amour de Dieu et du prochain ; que ma volonté soit une imitation fidèle de la vie et des vertus de Notre Seigneur et Sauveur Jésus Christ, à qui avec le Père et vous soient honneur et gloire à jamais. Ainsi soit-il.'

Indulgentiam tercentorum dierum iuxta preces in Domino concedimus.

Die 1 Iunii, 1908.

PIUS PP. X.

Praesentis Rescripti authenticum exemplar exhibitum fuit huic S. Congregationi Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae. In quorum fidem, etc.

Datum Romae, e Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis, die 5 Iunii 1908.

L. ✠ S. Pro R. P. D. D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secretario.*

IOS MARIA Can. COSELLI, *Substitutus.*

MIDNIGHT MASSES AT CHRISTMAS

S. CONGREGATIO S. OFFICII

DUBIA CIRCA INDULTUM TRES MISSAS IN NOCTE NATIVITATIS
D.N.J.C. CONCESSUM MONASTERIIS ALIISQUE RELIGIOSIS
INSTITUTIS

Feria V, die 1 Augusti 1907

SSmus. D. N. D. Pius divina providentia PP. X in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. Officii impertita, ad fovendam

fidelium pietatem eorumque grati animi sensus excitandos pro ineffabili divini Verbi incarnationis mysterio, motu proprio, benigne indulgere dignatus est ut in omnibus et singulis sacrarum virginum monasteriis clausurae legi subiectis aliisque religiosis institutis, piis domibus et clericorum seminariis, publicum aut privatum Oratorium habentibus cum facultate sacras Species habitualiter ibidem asservandi, sacra nocte Nativitatis D.N.I.C. tres rituales Missae vel etiam pro rerum opportunitate, una tantum, servatis servandis, postae in perpetuum quotannis celebrari sanctaque Communio omnibus pie petentibus ministrari queat. Devotam vero huius vel harum Missarum auditionem omnibus adstantibus ad praecepti satisfactionem valere eadem Sanctitas Sua expresse declarari mandavit. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Hoc decreto evulgato, quae sequuntur dubia fuerunt proposita :

I. An indultum importet facultatem tres Missas, vel unam tantum pro rerum opportunitate celebrandi *etiam apertis Oratoriorum ianuis* ?

II. An indultum *Oratoriis* concessum extendi possit ad *ecclesias* Religiosorum, quae publico fidelis populi usui inserviunt ?

SSmus. D. N. Pius Papa X in audientia R. P. D. Adessori Sancti Officii die 26 mensis Novembris anno 1908 concessa respondit :

Ad I. Negative.

Ad II. Negative, salvo tamen Religiosorum privilegio in media nocte Missam celebrandi.

L. ✠ S.

ALOISIUS CASTELLANO, *Notarius*.

THE USE OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE IN THE SCHOOLS

S. STUDIORUM CONGREGATIO

EPISTOLA AD RMOS. ORDINARIOS QUA USUS LINGUAE LATINAE IN DISCIPLINIS PHILOSOPHICIS, THEOLOGICIS ET IURIDICIS DOCENDIS COMMENDATUR ET PRAECIPITUR

Rme. Domine,

Vehementer sane dolemus quod accepimus linguam latinam in quibusdam Seminariis ita degligi, ut a disciplinis non solum Philosophiae et Iuris canonici, sed etiam ab ipsa universa Theologia remota esse videatur. Quod discipulis, iis praesertim qui subtiliori et exquisitiori ratione in magnis Lyceis ad has disciplinas applicaturi sunt, maximum affert detrimentum.

Ipsi quidem omittimus quantopere et expetenda et colenda ea esset a Clero —cui litterarum esse nunquam dedecuit—quippe

cum latinae litterae secundum graecas ceterarum sint fons et fundamentum.

At illud in primis, quod maximi momenti et ponderis est-notari atque animadverti volumus, linguam latinam iure meri, toque dici et esse linguam Ecclesiae propriam. Et profecto hac lingua, si quando necessitas exigat, Sacerdotes disiunctarum diversarumque civitatum colloqui et scribere inter se solent ad sensa mentis pandenda, quae aliter inter se pandere non possent. Hac lingua, in quam sacri libri veteris novique Testamenti versi sunt, Clerus canonicas recitat preces, Sacrum facit omnesque sacros ritus et caeremonias, quas Liturgia praescribit, exequitur. Quin etiam hac lingua Summus Pontifex et sacra Consilia Ecclesiae negotiis curandis in litteris actisque omnibus edendis utuntur. Accedit quod quos doctissimos libros sancti Patres Ecclesiaeque Doctores latini scripsere, eos et huic linguae commendarunt.

Sed praeterea lingua latina cum Philosophiae, tum sacrarum disciplinarum lingua facile dicenda est. Cum enim ipsius vis et natura ea sit, ut aptissima existimetur ad difficillimas subtilissimasque rerum formas et notiones valde commode et perspicue explicandas, hac perpetuo usi sunt a media quae vocatur aetate usque ad totum saeculum XVIII eademque usque adhuc uti solent et scriptores in libris scribendis sive de Theologia, sive de Iure canonico, sive de ipsa Philosophia et magistri in iisdem docendis disciplinis.

Quapropter, quum ex his quae diximus satis appareat summa sacrorum alumnis huius linguae cognitione opus esse, hoc S. Consilium Studiis regundis etiam atque etiam hortatur cum magistros, ut ad normam Constitutionis Leonis PP. XIII 'Quod divina sapientia,' Tit. VI, cap 82-84, hac lingua disciplinas tradant, tum discipulos, quo alacrius pleniusque, secundum Litteras Encyclicas 'Depuis le jour,' die VIII Mens. Sept. A. MDCCCXCIX a Summo Pontifice Leone PP. XIII datas, in huius linguae studium incumbant, prout sacra studia potissimum apud Archigymnasia requirunt.

Firma spe freti fore ut Amplitudo Tua omni ope et opere eniti velit, ut nostris his optatis quam optime satisfiat, dum Te oramus us has litteras acceptas Nobis significes, peculiari cum observantia Tibi omnia fausta a Deo O. M. adprecamur.

Datum e S. Congregatione Studiorum,

Kal. Iul. MDCCCVIII.

Amplitudini Tuae

Addictissimi

FRANCISCUS Card. SATOLLI.

ASCENSUS DANDINI, *a Secretis.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

PRINCIPLES OF LOGIC. By George Hayward Joyce, S.J., M.A., Oriel College, Oxford; Professor of Logic, St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst. Large 8vo, 530 pp. London: Longmans. Price, 6s. 6d. net.

THIS valuable work will be welcomed by students of Scholastic philosophy who desire to see the Traditional Aristotelian logic brought up to date by the incorporation of modern logical questions, and presented in a pleasing and attractive form. It will also, without doubt, be widely read by the growing number of educated people who are unfortunately unfamiliar with the scholastic system of philosophy, but who are interested in the renewed attention that has been for one reason or another focussed on Scholasticism in recent years.

Both classes will profit by reading Father Joyce's book. The author is thoroughly master of his subject. It has not been his aim to write an advanced treatise nor to discuss at length the deeper problems raised by a study of logic; but rather to put in a philosophical and therefore a suggestive and thought-inspiring way, the ordinary body of logical doctrine required in our secondary and higher educational institutions. This he has admirably succeeded in doing: his book we may describe as the first successful attempt in English to treat, from the Scholastic point of view, the many newer problems discussed in modern logic and to co-ordinate them with the traditional questions re-stated.

The task of determining, from his chosen standpoint, how much of what is treated in modern handbooks he should put into his own, and how much he should leave out, was itself no easy task. For current opinion as to the relative confines of Logic, Metaphysics, and Physics is so vague and unsettled as to be positively puzzling. The author's judgment on these matters is sound and mature. And in his treatment of the various questions he shows a thorough knowledge both of medieval and of modern writers on the subject.

Here and there, it is true, we meet with points we think to be insufficiently developed. And though these are not of great importance a more satisfactory treatment of them would considerably enhance the value of the book. To give just one instance: the treatment of the doctrine of existential import

in propositions (pp. 111 seq.), is too condensed and, as a consequence, hardly fair either to modern or to medieval views on the subject. 'There can be no doubt,' writes the author (p. 113), 'that the categorical form [of judgment], as such, contains no such implication [of existence].' If so, a Scholastic should infer from the proposition that 'All future free actions are foreseen by the Deity,' the logical *inverse*, 'Some things that are not future free actions are not foreseen by the Deity.' Still, our scholastic would probably hasten to add that there are no such things as 'things not foreseen by the Deity.' But why should he, if the inferred proposition did not imply it? Anyhow the author immediately qualifies his general statement by indicating some classes of exceptions to it. He is right in saying (p. 114, note) that this question was referred to in the Middle Ages. Siger of Brabant, for instance, discusses the question: 'Utrum hæc sit vera: *Homo est annual*, nullo homine existente?' (*Les Philosophes Belges*, tome vii. pp. 65, seq.; Louvain, 1908.) But the medieval logicians did not go fully into it. So far as I have been able to gather from their occasional implicit references to it, and from Dr. Keyne's very able study of the whole matter, I have come to the conclusion that the only assumption on which the whole traditional (scholastic) doctrine on *Opposition* and *Immediate Inferences* will hold good is the assumption that the categorical proposition (*S is P*) refers to a sphere in which *S*, *P*, *non-S*, and *non-P* represent existing classes: not that the categorical proposition *implies this as a part of its meaning*, but that the existence of *S*, *P*, *non-S*, and *non-P* is assumed 'independently of the affirmation of the given proposition.' (Keyne's *Formal Logic*, 4th Edition, p. 228, note 1.) The whole subject appears to me to call for fuller treatment than it has received in the present instance.

The author expounds so clearly the distinction between Logic and Metaphysics (pp. 298-300) that we could wish for a more detailed account of the relation between the 'Conceptual' and the 'Real' Orders from his pen. I doubt whether there is not a Metaphysical as well as a Logical side to the *Ens Rationis*. Is the study of the relation between those *Entia Rationis* or 'Second Intentions,'—e.g., *Species*, *Genus*, *Predicate*, *Negation*, *Intentio Universalitatis*, etc.—and the *Entia Realia*, a portion of *Logic* or a portion of *Metaphysics*? It seems to me that *Entia Rationis*—including their relation to the *Entia Realia*—may be studied from two distinct points of view. They may be studied for their own sake, so to speak,—their genesis, their representative nature and value, the way in which they affect the *Entia Realia* which form the objects of our knowledge, etc. This con-

sideration of them I should regard as Metaphysical: it belongs to Psychology and Epistemology. Such a *speculative* study of them I should not describe as *Logical*. But all these mental modes, forms, grooves, characters, which affect the *Ens Reale* on its being intellectually represented by us,—all these may be examined for the *purely practical purpose* of teaching us how we may best succeed by means of them in representing reality to ourselves *truthfully*. This is the point of view which gives us the *Logical* study of them.

Perhaps Father Joyce might have emphasized a little more the influence of this *point of view*, rather than the *subject-matter* itself, in conveying his idea of the science of Logic. I think that in so far as the logician deviates from the task of setting forth and explaining practical canons for the guidance of conscious thought, in so far as he embarks on the task of ultimately, i.e. philosophically, justifying the First Principles of Knowledge, he becomes a metaphysician.

I thought I detected here and there a tone somewhat too condemnatory of modern developments in Logic, compared with the Aristotelian and Scholastic 'deposit.' The erroneous philosophical presuppositions of much that is modern in Logic cannot be too strongly censured; and Father Joyce has admirably succeeded in laying bare these lurking and dangerous errors. See, for example, his treatment of the Neo-Hegelian identification of Reality with Thought (pp. 248-251), and his very luminous and succinct account of the *Universals* Controversy (pp. 132-136). He has succeeded, too, in assimilating into the traditional logic most of what is good in modern developments, but it struck me that he is sometimes hardly generous in giving credit for these results to those against whose grave errors he feels bound—and rightly—to warn his readers. In defending the Scholastic 'deposit' against the undermining influence of false principles and in enriching it with the fruits of modern labours, we cannot lose by being generous to those who thus serve us though they differ from us.

The opening chapter of Part II. (chap. xviii, pp. 289-309, 'Applied Logic and the Logic of Thought') is most instructive. I find myself, however, unable to agree with everything the author says (pp. 303-309) about what is commonly called Applied Logic. He seems to regard it with suspicion as a product of Empiricism. Neither Empiricism nor Idealism, he writes (p. 303), 'is compatible with any theory of Logic in the sense in which Logic was understood by the Aristotelian writers. With them Logic was the science of the conceptual representation of the

real. But Idealism denies the existence of the real, as Empiricism does that of the conceptual order. We cannot have a theory of the mode in which the mind represents the real order, if there be no reality outside thought. And such a science is equally impossible if concepts are a figment, or our only form of knowledge is the perception by sense of concrete singulars. In the hands of writers belonging to either of these schools the ancient science of Logic could hardly avoid being roughly handled. It was inevitable that its boundaries would become very uncertain, that, on the one hand, parts of it would be discarded as meaningless, and on the other, that to it would be assigned the treatment of topics which the scholastic would not reckon as falling within his province. . . .

‘What is called Applied Logic owes its incorporation into the treatises of the present day as an integral part of the science, to the influence of Mill, an empiricist . . . it was by Mill the attempt was first made “to incorporate scientific method with Logic, and add it as a new wing to the Aristotelian building” (Minto).’

In my belief the building has been much improved by the addition of the new wing. Idealists have erred by their excessively *formal* treatment of thought in Logic, but then they have benefited Scholastic Logic by their searching analysis of the forms. Empiricists have erred, too, about the origin, nature and representative function of the abstract and universal concept, but they also have at the same time enriched Scholastic Logic by a much-needed analysis of the canons and conditions to which the *data* of thought,—the Realities of Sense,—must be submitted, and by which the *evidence* for these data must be tested, before we can form universally true judgments about them. If the science of Logic deals with our ‘conceptual representation of the real’ for the *practical* purpose of helping us to represent the real *aright* and to avoid misrepresenting it, surely, then, Logic not only deals ‘with the general conditions of all intellectual representation,’ but in doing so it ‘prescribes the methods by which we obtain evidence’ (p. 306). To teach us the ‘general conditions’ on which an ‘intellectual representation’ is a faithful or true or valid representation of reality is to go farther than the securing of *formal consistency* within the conceptual order itself. It is to aim at securing for us the conformity of the latter order with the *real* order of things. It is generally admitted that Mill pursued this ideal too exclusively. But I do not think it is true to say that in uniting it with the former ideal he was ‘combining two things which are absolutely incompatible, namely, a science of the investigation

of nature—a branch of knowledge which relates to the real order,—and the rules of the traditional Logic, which concern the conceptual order.’ Logic should teach us how to be accurate in making the real order conceptual, how to estimate the evidence on which we form judgments about the real in every department of research: only in doing this it should confine itself to the method which is applicable in every domain and not digress excessively, as most modern logicians do, into the *one* domain of *physical* science, to the neglect of other and perhaps more important domains of knowledge.

Father Joyce goes into sufficient detail in this department of *Physical* Induction or Method. His chapters on *Explanation*, *Hypothesis*, *Quantitative Determination* and *Classification* will be heartily welcomed by the student of Scholastic philosophy who has been heretofore obliged to gather his knowledge of these things from non-scholastic sources where they were often permeated by false philosophical assumptions.

Altogether the book is one that will prove an immense boon to scholastic students and teachers of Logic. For the publication of such a work the author deserves—and receives—our sincere congratulations.

P. C.

DUBLIN CASTLE AND THE IRISH PEOPLE. By R. Barry O'Brien, author of the *Life of C. S. Parnell*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1909. Price, 7s. 6d.

THIS work of Mr. Barry O'Brien does for Home Rule more than anything that has been achieved for years in the way of argument or controversy. It is a clear, methodical, and enlightening, exposure of the anomalies, futilities, absurdities, and follies that mark the present system of government in Ireland. No country under the sun could make any progress, material or intellectual, under the drag of such an antiquated, screeching, and ill-fitting machine. Persistence in the use of such a crazy combination of parts out of joint is doing infinite harm to England as well as to Ireland. It looks, however, as if we were nearing the end of it. The tithes are gone; the grand juries are gone; the landlords are going. Nobody in his senses can believe that Dublin Castle, such as Mr. Barry O'Brien describes it, is going to stay. It is for the best interests of those who have the power to give it the happy despatch at the earliest possible moment, and rid the country of a system that would not last three days in Afghanistan or Thibet. Only a few days ago I was glancing over Thackeray's *Irish Sketch Book*. How many things that would not have been listened to in his

day have been wrung from the dominant power since then? But they have been wrung after years of exhausting agitation and effort, wasting energies that could have been devoted to such excellent purposes otherwise. It is irritating and annoying even at this hour to read the superior comments and strictures, the proposals and panaceas of this self-sufficient cynic, full of narrow-minded prejudice and bigotry. But if that is true of Thackeray, what may one expect from Brown, Jones, and Robinson? At all events, between them they have succeeded in forcing on this country the system of government which Mr. Barry O'Brien describes in this volume, and that is about the worst that can be said of them.

I could not undertake to follow him through the dreary procession from department to department and from board to board. He gives us a sketch of their origin and evolution, of their *personnel*, of their methods, of their spirit, of their attitude towards the people and towards public opinion. It is a comedy from beginning to end; but then the result is a tragedy. No government that cares for its reputation can afford to let these things continue, and no people who cares for its life should allow them to continue, if they can prevent it. Mr. Barry O'Brien has already rendered many services to the popular and national movements in Ireland by his historical and economic studies in Irish affairs; but I doubt if any book he ever wrote has had a more far-reaching effect than this one is likely to have. His financial catechism in itself is an eye-opener; and nothing could be more effective than his comparison of the expenditure of countries like Sweden, Holland, and Belgium with that of Ireland. In a word, from the material point of view, the Union, such as it has been administered and managed, has broken down completely from the Irish side. The Irish Parliament, such as it was, made rapid strides in its later years towards associating the people with the government of their country. There seems no doubt that had it continued it would by this time be thoroughly representative of the nation.

The 'Union' was supposed to bring many advantages to Ireland in place of those it took away. One finds it difficult to discover the traces of these advantages. At all events, Mr. Barry O'Brien has but little of them to show us. Indeed, he shows us so much on the other side that we believe he will convince a great many people of the futility of continuing the struggle. Home Rulers have, indeed, good reason to be thankful to him. He has rendered them a great service, and they should see that his book is in every public library as well as in their own.

J. F. H.



A HISTORY OF THE TALMUD

MANY movements are co-operating to bring the Jewish question to the front again. The romantic effort of Mr. Zangwill and his comrades to establish a Jewish State in Palestine has provoked some of his own nation to complain that the methods were too disregardful of Messianic hopes. So far as the complaint is true the movement reveals the spirit of the Judaism that is before the world. More Gentile than the Gentiles, it adopts the newest fashions in art, literature, philosophy, and comparative religion. In America it would Americanize Judaism, and proclaims the advent of the Messiah in the Declaration of Independence. In Paris it has said that the Messiah came with the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Frankly Sadducean, it forsakes the synagogues, forms societies for ethical culture, and spends itself in the pursuit of wealth and position.

There is another Judaism, living as keen and eager a life. Indeed, centuries of intermarriage, sudden outbursts of Antisemitism, and the early training in Talmudic dialectic, have rendered it impossible for the Jew to be other than keen and eager. High-strung and often overstrung, compelled to adopt his oriental vehemence to western manners, it is no wonder that so many become nervous, unbalanced, insane. That such is the case in worldly Judaism is well known. Not so well known are the instances in the Judaism of the Ghetto. This is the Judaism of the Talmud, the orthodox Judaism, the sect

of the Pharisees, as alive and as intense as of old when it refused the Messiah and accepted the Oral Law.

With the emancipation of the Jews, the Ghetto has ceased to be a place. It continues, however, as an institution. Perhaps, it ought to be described as his house which the orthodox and Pharisaic Jew, like a snail, carries on his back. The burden costs him much, for he must choose his work and his diet, so that he may be able to bear the load. As a pedlar, he may wander from village to village, instead of conducting a settled business, lest business should call him on Saturday or festivals to break the Sabbath. But, above all, the Talmud must be his study and delight. As Jewish writers themselves are ready to acknowledge, the Talmud took the place of the Temple, and became the object of affection, the source of comfort, and the inspirer of hope.

However anxious the Jew of to-day may be to educate his sons in the knowledge of these volumes, the pressure of modern life leaves only sufficient leisure for the learning of the Hebrew prayers; and not many can find time to master the Hebrew of the Oral Law and the Aramaic of its Commentary. To assist such persons, a learned and enthusiastic Jew, Dr. Michael L. Rodkinson of New York, undertook to translate the fourteen folios. He had many difficulties to overcome, some Jewish comments having led others than Jews to pronounce opinions unfavourable to the work. But the zeal and energy of the translator indicate with what spirit Pharisaic Judaism is reviving, and what confidence inspires it, when it declares the need of Judaizing Americanism in order to transform the materialism of the States by the idealism of Jerusalem.

But there is an aspect of the question which has more attraction for the Christian scholar. Under the guidance of Dalman, men are returning to the Talmud for phrases and words illustrative of the New Testament. Neither Swete's emphasis on Septuagint Greek, nor Deissmann's on fragments of Greek letters and other documents of our first century, nor the reliance of others on the old Syriac versions, can now lead students to ignore the fact that

our Blessed Lord spoke Aramaic, the language of the Talmudic Gemara, or Commentary, or the fact that some of the most difficult phrases in St. John's Gospel, for example, can be paralleled and explained by phrases in the Talmud and its companion literature. Nor does the interest end there. The questions regarding Christian origins touch Jewish life at many points. Though the Mishnah or Oral Law was compiled a hundred years after the publication of the Synoptic Gospels, it helps us to understand the Sabbath, the Passover, and many such matters, even more clearly than those Gospels can do, written as they were to a generation familiar with Jewish life in the days of the Second Temple. The very customs we desire to know are stated plainly by the Tannaim, or Teachers, of the Mishnah, and that for a generation to which the Temple and the City were but a tradition.

Certainly, there are statements in the Talmud which are absurd, and some which were composed to vilify Christianity. Of the former, we may instance the declaration of one rabbi that the offspring of a *r'em*, or wild ox, grew forty miles in its first day. When it was objected that such an animal could not have entered the ark, it was replied that the snout was in the ark and the rest of the body in the water. Some have held such utterances as mere jests, specimens of Jewish humour, and quibbles of venerable rabbis in their light-hearted moments. Dr. Rodkinson takes a view more severe. To him such sentences were the work of enemies. Some of those who hated the Talmud inserted such Hagadas, or narratives, in order to make the great compilation ridiculous.

Much more serious, and serious indeed beyond measure, are the statements regarding our Blessed Lord and our Blessed Lady. These have misled many Jews, trained from their infancy to regard the Talmud as perfect. They have been employed by such Gentiles as Haeckel, who has not hesitated to blend them with the blasphemies of a twelfth-century pamphlet, generally known as the *Toledoth*, or the Generations of Jesus. No scholar, with the least regard for his own reputation, would quote that medieval outrage

to-day. As to the shameful passages of the Talmud, we may note that they do not occur in the Mishnah, the Oral Law itself, but in the Gemara, the Commentary by the Amoraim, or Speakers, who began their work about A.D. 219, the earliest being Rabbi Chanina bar Chama in Palestine and Abba Areca or Rab in Babylonia.

It is easy enough to trace the origin of those shameless and shameful sayings by which some writers in the Talmud sought to degrade our Blessed Lord and our Blessed Lady in the eyes of the Jewish people. The Christian Church of Jerusalem found itself persecuted by Bar Kokba, because it would not join him in his revolt against the Roman Emperor. From A.D. 135, when the city fell utterly, the hostility of the Jews so increased that Tertullian described the Synagogue as a fount of persecutions. Then, in the latter half of the second Christian century, were composed the stories about our Blessed Lady and Jesus, the son of Panthera. At a later time the name appears as Jesus, the son of Pandera. If now we ask what was the origin of the word 'Panthera,' it is easily answered, as Robinson has done in the first volume of *Texts and Studies*, that it is 'simply a Greek anagram on the word *Parthenos*, by which the Blessed Virgin was commonly known.' Then the history of the whole matter resolves itself into a very simple statement. Our Blessed Lady was known as the *Parthenos*, the Virgin. Our Blessed Lord was therefore ben Parthenos, son of the Virgin. The anagrammatist represents the name as ben Panthera. The enemies of the Church, in an age of bitter and fierce persecution, describes Panthera as a man; and, at a later time, they alter the name to Pandera.

The Jews have sought to show that the Talmudic passages did not refer to our Blessed Lord, but to another Jesus. This position is being abandoned, at least by such an excellent scholar as Dr. Michael L. Rodkinson in his *History of the Talmud* (vol. ii., p. 106). So the Catholic Church is justified in her refusal to circulate an unexpurgated edition of the Talmud. That she favours Talmudic studies, apart from those extraneous blasphemies, has been

proved on many an occasion, and clearly enough in the Latin preface to the Basel edition. There it is said that the work, freed from all that was contrary to the Christian religion, and both expurgated and approved according to the mind of the Sacred Tridentine Council, can be read by Catholics not only without impiety, but also with fruit.

As a guide to the study of the Talmud, Dr. Rodkinson's *History* is most useful. True, it is written by a Pharisee of the Pharisees ; but it is none the less serviceable, for it enables us to understand the position and feelings of the orthodox Jew. Perhaps there would have been more success in Catholic preaching to Jews had it been remembered that the people addressed are highly sensitive, keenly intellectual, with reasoning powers sharpened on the grindstone of Talmudic dialectic and a national memory retentive of every kindness and every wrong. Those who reckon any Jews among their friends know well how the barrier between the Israel of the Pharisees and the Israel of the Christ has been enlarged in height and breadth by the folly or worse of some Christians. Compulsory baptisms, and the compulsory professions on the part of those so baptized, have proved an ill-service to Judaism and the Church. Nor will it be known till the Day of Judgment how much the Catholic Church has been misrepresented, and how many Jews and Protestants have been repelled from her threshold by the conduct of some Spanish inquisitors. Not indeed that the Spanish Jews were blameless, for it is openly confessed, and even made a subject of boasting, that some of them had entered the sacred offices of the Church and seated themselves in the very sanctuary. But apart from the Spanish Inquisition, and independently of all controversial questions, it must be acknowledged that they have suffered terribly. Yet affliction has only knit them closer to their Judaism. Like the Irish of the West, these Irish of the East are never so devoted to their religion as when that devotion involves want and misery. There is one secret known to the true Jews, who are neither usurers nor upstarts, and to the true Irish, who are neither the monsters of an unscrupulous journalism nor the playboys of the

Western world : both nations have maintained their religions at the expense of wealth and power. Both stand for supernatural principles in an age too selfish for hope and too apathetic for faith. And of Ireland the leading rabbi in England said some years ago that it was the one European land unstained by Jewish blood.

It is the monotonous history of an isolated people, the history of the Jews ; and, after all, the history of the Jews is the history of the Talmud. In the second volume of his work on this subject, Dr. Rodkinson is at pains to give us a synopsis of the sixty Talmudic treatises, though these occupy twelve volumes ; that is, nearly 3,000 folio pages. Valuable as this must be as an introduction to the study of the Talmud, we are more grateful to the author for the first volume, which gives the history of the vicissitudes through which the Talmud has passed. Probably that history ought to commence with the schools of Hillel and Shammai, though the French Talmudists declare that not a word was committed to writing till the collection was completed. So we sometimes find it said that the Babylonian Talmud was first written about A.D. 500 by the aid of notes and *Simanim* or mnemonics.

The first stage in the process of compilation was the formation of the Mishnah or Oral Law. As the Gospels prove, the 'tradition of the elders' prevailed in Pharisaic circles during the early years of the first century. But it was not till the closing years of the second century that Rabbi Judah the Prince completed the Mishnah. It was no light work he had undertaken, for many of the decisions were inconsistent one with another, and very many were impracticable. According to one tradition, he found six hundred groups of treatises ; and, as he left but six, the labour must have been extremely great, even though we allow for considerable exaggeration in the tradition.

There were critical moments during the formation and definition of the traditions which Rabbi Judah consolidated. Such crises occurred when our Blessed Lord was closing His ministry, when St. Paul turned to the Gentiles, when the Second Temple was destroyed, and when the

Holy City was levelled to the ground. To assimilate the Jews with the other nations, it was, however, deemed necessary to destroy the tradition; and this Hadrian sought by making the ordination of a rabbi a capital offence. None the less, it is said, Rabbi Judah ben Baba gathered together six of Akiba's disciples, ordained them, and commanded them to seek safety, while he himself fell a prey to the Roman spears.

The age of the Tannaim, or Teachers, closed with the completion of the Mishnah. There followed the age of the Amoraim, or Speakers, who commented on the Mishnah. These provided the decisions and recollections which were compiled as an official commentary in the Gemara, or Doctrine. There are two such commentaries—for some of these Amoraim lectured at Tiberias, Sepphoris and Caesarea in Palestine; others at Nahardea and Sura, and at a later time at Pumbeditha in Babylonia. The Palestinian rabbis gave considerable attention to history, geography, and archæology. Their efforts to withstand the arguments of Christians involved a study of the Hebrew Bible. And their interest in Hagadas, that is, narratives, led them to distinguish the *Pshat*, or meaning of the words, from the *Drash*, or free explanation of the text, and from the *Sod*, or mystical interpretation. Their schools were harassed by the secular government till the time of Hillel II, who established the fixed Jewish calendar. As he was the last to hold the office of Nasi, or Prince, it is probable that the Palestinian colleges now ceased to exist. And it may be that at that time, about A.D. 360, someone compiled the Palestinian Gemara, which forms with the Mishnah the Jerusalem Talmud.

The Amoraim of the Babylonian colleges enjoyed nearly three centuries of peace. To the sayings of the Palestinian Amoraim they added fuller and more ingenious discussions of the Halakhas, or legal directions. Finally, their Talmud, consisting of the Mishnah and their Gemara or Commentary, became three times as large as the Talmud of Jerusalem. Persecutions swiftly followed, because the Jews revolted about A.D. 513 against the communism proclaimed by the

Persian King Kobad. The work of the rabbis, however, was complete. Judaism was identified with Pharisaism, and Pharisaism was now embodied in the Talmud. Henceforth, to our own day, Judaism and the Jewish controversy is stereotyped. There is now only one Jewish question, and it is the question of the Talmud.

The first five centuries of the Christian era had gone to the making of the Talmud. The next five, it seemed, were to go to its explanation. Therefore the Babylonian rabbis were now to be known as the Saburaïm, or Explainers, working under the presidency of the Goanim, or Chief Teachers. But opposition arose within Judaism itself. Adherence to the Pentateuch alone had long since been advocated by Sadducees and Samaritans, and it may be by some among the Pharisees. It was, however, about A.D. 760 that Anan ben David of Bagdad arose in revolt against the Rabbanites, that is, the upholders of the Talmud, and formed the sect of the Karaïtes. In contrast to the 'hearers' and 'speakers' of the Oral Law, the schismatics would be known as the Karaïm, the 'readers,' or the *beney miqrah*, the sons of reading. Whether it was through disappointed ambition, as the Rabbanites allege, or for a worthier motive, Anan became hostile to the Talmud; and, obliged in consequence to leave Babylonia, he established a college in Jerusalem. He urged the searching of the Scriptures; and the spirit in which he searched them may be found in his abolition of the phylacteries and in his making the Sabbath observances more stringent.

There is not a little similarity between Karaïtes and Protestants. Both limited God's instruction of the faithful to the early days of the dispensation. And Anan could find a spirit like his own in those who would abolish scapulars and establish the Scotch Sunday. The sects of Protestantism can see themselves foreshadowed in the sects of Karaïsm. Hardly had Anan died, when his son was abandoned by some who held themselves the true Ananites. Nor did the party of Anan's son remain united. After his death some of his followers separated themselves from his son. 'And so,' as Rodkinson says, 'in almost every age

sprang up a new Karaïte sect with a name of its own, each interpreting Scripture in its own way.'

Willingly or unwillingly, the Karaïtes rendered orthodox Judaism a service, just as those who preached Christ in a spirit of contention really helped St. Paul in his ministry. Whatever value the Karaïte interpretations of the Law possessed, the Karaïte study of Hebrew grammar and the Hebrew text produced results serviceable to every reader of the sacred books. Indeed, many of the notes in our Hebrew Bibles, and the vowel points themselves, are due to a famous Karaïte, Ben Asher. And, however much Protestants have desired to attack the Catholic Church, their labours in grammars, vocabularies, textual criticism and archæology have served and shall serve the Catholic student in illustrating or defending the whole Revelation of God. What may be the future of Protestantism this is not the time or place to inquire. But of the Karaïtes there are not five thousand at the present day.

The Talmud was destined to enter another arena and to battle with another antagonist. Till the year 960 Babylonia had been its stronghold; but about that time four scholars set out westward to collect alms for the college at Sura; and as they sailed the Mediterranean, they were captured by an Arab pirate, says Dr. Rodkinson, or by a Spanish corsair, as others tell us. Of the four, three have been traced. Carried to different slave-markets, they were purchased by their brethren, and appointed to the headship of communities, one at Cairo, another at Kairuban, and the third at Cordova. The failure of their mission involved the extinction of the college at Sura. About a century later the college at Pumbeditha was closed; and the scene of Talmudic activity was transferred to Spain, where the traditions of the Pharisees would again encounter the Gospel of the Messiah.

We make no attempt to defend all those who took the part of the Christian Faith in controversy with the Talmudists. It would be as unreasonable to place the actions of certain disputants and inquisitors to the discredit of the Church as it would be to blame His Holiness the Pope,

if we were to refuse the respect due to Dr. Rodkinson's learning and sincerity. In the Middle Ages the Jews themselves shared the earnest vehemence of the time. Whatever faults they had, indifference was not among them. Indeed, Dr. Rodkinson speaks of their great intolerance, and confesses that the books of Maimonides were burned at the stake both in Paris and in Montpellier by the express desire of the Jews themselves. Such cases and the spirit of the time must be considered by Jewish writers to-day if they would deal fairly with the conduct of some Christians during the medieval controversy. And it is even more imperative that the Catholic writer and preacher should understand the Jewish point of view. Otherwise, it will seem as if the Catholic argument rested on cheap retorts and wrestings of facts. We cannot expect the Jew to believe us when we speak of matters outside his curriculum, if he knows we are not to be credited when we discuss matters with which he is acquainted. Nor can anyone tell how many Jews have refused to hear what Christians would say, because they have heard other Christians charge the Jews with ritual murder. Apparently in vain three Popes have condemned the accusation, converted Jews have consistently denied it, and the Mosaic Law disproves it by the prohibition of blood. Yet even in our own day we meet those who believe that some Jews celebrate their Paschal Feast by murdering a Christian child and mixing his blood with the flour for the Paschal cakes.

It is necessary, then, to know the truth of the matters in controversy; and it is as needful to know what prejudices and misrepresentations of the facts are current among the Jews. Especially important is it to know how Jewish minds are wont to regard the similes and analogies which some Christian advocates substitute for more serious arguments. Reasoning and learning are as attractive to Jews as to others; and proof of this, if proof be needed, can be found in the first volume of Dr. Rodkinson's *History of the Talmud*. There we read that 'Raymond Martin, a Dominican Hebraist and one of the censors of the Talmud appointed by the Pope, who treated the Talmud with comparative leniency, wrote

against Judaism two hostile books under the titles, *Religious Dagger* (Dagger of Faith) and *Scourge for the Jews*, wherein arguments in favour of Christianity were adduced both from Scripture and from Rabbinical writings.' Continuing, Dr. Rodkinson acknowledges frankly that 'these books were imposing not less from their powerful logic than from their exhibition of profound scholarship.' Nor have such treatises been without effect. Many of the keenest controversialists on the Catholic side have been converted Jews, who had like him been of the Pharisees and trained in the keen dialectic of the rabbis. One indeed, known to us as Geronimo Santa Fe, first of all wrote against the conversion of his teacher, Rabbi Paul Burgensis, and afterwards became himself a convert and a defender of the Faith at the Tortosa disputation.

Dr. Rodkinson's *History of the Talmud*, like Dr. Graetz' *History of the Jews*, naturally enough dwells on the Jewish side of the disputes, debates and other forms of the controversy. Dr. Rodkinson's account is valuable as condensing within a small space the Jewish account and verdict. Perhaps it is therefore inevitable that some vehemence accompanies the description of converts to the Catholic Church as apostates from Judaism, and that there is no recognition of good faith in any of them. Yet it is impossible to suppose that the Jewish training of these men, some of whom had become rabbis, produced characters so utterly dishonest, or that they were transformed into rogues during the process of their conversion. To speak of 'the fanatic flagellator and preacher, Vincent Ferrer,' and to say that the Dominicans threatened in any contingency 'to secede from the Church and unite with the Hussites of Bohemia,' cannot be held illustrative of the historical spirit.

But, already the Talmud was being found insufficient by the Jews themselves. Pietists craved for expressions of devotion and for communication with God; and like natural mysticism in ancient Egypt and modern Germany, the new movement led to Pantheism. Therefore the doctrine of creation was abandoned for a doctrine of emanation. Human souls are said to exist before their embodiment in

matter. And every letter of the Mosaic Law is proclaimed to be significant of mystical truth. The body of this teaching was known as the *Kabbalah*, or Reception, because it was asserted to have been received by tradition through the patriarchs and prophets. The Bible of the Kabbalists was neither the Mosaic Law of the Karaites nor the Talmud of the Pharisees, but an Aramaic commentary on the Mosaic Law. This work is named the *Zohar*, or Light, because it opens with an explanation of the words, 'Let there be light.' It was really written by Moses de Leon, who died in A.D. 1305, though it claims to be the work of Rabbi Simon ben Yochi, who was active at the close of the first century.

Under the influence of the Kabbalah came an awakening of Messianic hope. Naturally, an opportunity was given to a pretender, and Shabattai Zevi announced himself as Messiah. Like other Pietist and emotional revivals, this also tended to sensual excess; and Shabattai did not lose a large following, though he married an abandoned woman, and became a Mohammedan and door-keeper to the Sultan.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, Jacob Frank preached the doctrines of the *Zohar* to the Polish Jews. These people had discovered in the teaching of Shabattai a mystical element forgotten by the Talmudic dialectic of the rabbis. And now the Talmudists found themselves opposed by the Frankists, who named themselves the Zoharites. Summoned by the Polish bishop Dembovsky, both parties met in the June of 1754 to hold a disputation. The Bishop decided in favour of the Frankists. Dr. Rodkinson cannot be expected to accept that decision. But he proceeds to point out that soon after the trial the Bishop died a sudden death, 'the result of an injury received, it is related, from a fire which consumed the Talmud.' Our historian expresses no pity for the Frankists, who suffered under Labinsky, Dembovsky's successor. He is, however, sufficiently candid, for he adds that 'the Jews, with the help of the government officials and an expenditure of money, effected the expulsion of the Frankists from their residence

near Kamenitz, for being neither Jews nor Christians, and they suffered persecutions.'

Under the successor of Labinsky the Frankists took courage, and challenged the Talmudists to another disputation. This took place in June, 1758, an occasion memorable as the last on which the Talmud was compelled to a public defence.

We have fallen on other times and other manners. Our interest in the Talmud is seldom polemic. Sometimes our study of it is caused by a desire to know more of the ancient Pharisees and Jewish customs, that we may the more easily reconstruct something of the scenes through which our Blessed Lord passed. At other times it is due to a hope that we may be the more able to understand and help the modern Jews, kinsmen of our Blessed Lord. Such works as Dr. Rodkinson's on the *History of the Talmud*, written as they are from the Jewish standpoint, render us no little service when we would comprehend our Israelite neighbours and grasp the Jewish question of to-day.

G. S. HITCHCOCK, B.A.

HISTORIC PHASES OF SOCIALISM

I N all discussions of socialism it is necessary to bear in mind the varieties of principle that distinguish it in various countries and in the different schools of the same country. Amongst us it is often narrowed down to a fairly definite set of proposals which I hope to consider in due time. All I need say now is that I believe these proposals to be wrong and bad ; that they would not cure the disease for which they are intended ; and that they would bring in their train much worse evils than those they are expected to remedy. It is not possible, however, to confine socialism as a school to the flimsy specifics of this country or of that, still less of this or that other organ of opinion. We must take it as we find it in the vast movement of thought and network of principles that distinguish it in the main current that flows through the world. Socialism is spoken of now as if it were never heard of before, and as if the principles on which it proposes to advance, in outline at least, were never thought of hitherto. There is no doubt that the main principle of modern socialism is perhaps more general and comprehensive than anything that has so far been suggested for the regulation of a commonwealth ; but the root idea of it, the primal conception of equality and community of possession, has in one form or another been considered, discussed, proposed and rejected hundreds of times over in the history of the world. That is a fact that cannot be denied. Even though in many cases the proposal was confined to small sects or individual philosophers, both the sects and the philosophers cherished the hope that the world would move in the direction of their speculations. I am quite well aware that socialism in the strict sense of ownership and operation of the instruments of capital by a democratic state, such as it is proposed to-day, has never actually been tried : but I know that the communist communities to which that

proposal is expected ultimately to lead have been tried with such effects that they are not likely to be tried again. They may not have been tried under the most favourable conditions, with the sympathy of a fully-organized socialist state at their back; but they have sufficiently revealed the tendencies of human nature to make the experiment of the state itself an impossibility. Mr. Sydney Webb¹ may rail as he pleases against those who recall these abortive experiments. Their failure and the causes and circumstances of their failure are more eloquent than any words of his. Even though socialism were to stop at the equal distribution of land and capital, to admit the possession of consumable goods, and make provision for talent and skill, and bravery and genius, I believe it would leave things worse than they are and profit nobody but a set of greedy adventurers, who would at once ascribe to themselves the very highest attributes of genius. These would batten on the public purse; and the chief result of their activities would be to paralyze the arm of industry, to kill the aspirations that draw men to great endeavours, and rob the citizen of that freedom which is the most precious of his civil possessions.

The communist principle is so closely allied with socialism, and is recognized by so many socialists as the ultimate ideal, that it becomes necessary to trace the manifestations of it that are to be met with in the course of history. It will be noticed that, as an obligatory and essential tenet, it is usually associated with some heretical sect or some extraordinary aberrations of the human mind. Previous to Christianity it was but natural that it should have suggested itself to pagan lawgivers and philosophers. Without going back to Crete and various mystic countries of the East, we find in Plutarch's biography of Lycurgus,² an account of the régime which that famous lawgiver set up in Sparta, where gymnastics, military training, and education were

¹ *Fabian Essays*, 'Historic Basis of Socialism,' p. 32. By Sydney Webb, M.P.

² A full and interesting account of the whole project is found in Plutarch's *Lycurgus*.

common to both sexes, and public meals and sleeping apartments were provided for all the citizens. The land also was distributed in equal shares ; and relations of sex were so ordered as to promote race culture. Principles of equality and common life were applied as far as possible ; and ' no man was at liberty to live as he pleased ; for in the city the law of life was regulated as in a camp, and so also occupation in the republic.' ¹ Of course the Helots had no share in the division of the spoils. Their duty was to work and produce for the others to divide. There was an iron currency used as a medium of exchange, and gold and other precious metals were discarded. Sparta indeed produced a brave and hardy race of people : but their mental endowments could not compare with those of the Athenians. In the struggle between the two the Spartans went down, and there is no indication that any effort was subsequently made either to maintain the legislation of Lycurgus at home or to extend it to the rest of Greece. Nevertheless, it probably supplied Plato with the theories he developed in his *Republic*, proposing community of goods, and even of wives and children, in the case of the caste of rulers or guardians who were to direct the republic's affairs. But Plato's suggestion never took on in Greece. It was put out of court by the counter-advice of Aristotle that motives for exertion would be taken away if it were followed, that disputes would arise when each was dependent upon all, and that every man would produce as little and consume as much as he liked.² It is remarkable that one of the greatest advantages Plato expected from his communistic proposal was the uncommon peace and concord it would bring about amongst the section of the people to whom it was to be applied ; and it is equally remarkable that Aristotle ³ anticipated the exact contrary—quarrels, contentions, blows, the decay of industry and wealth. Wherever in modern times the communistic experiment has been tried (outside

¹ 'Ουδεις γάρ ἦν ἀφειμένος ὡς ἐβόυλετο ζῆν· ἀλλ' οἶον ἐν στραπέδῳ τῇ πόλει καὶ διαίταν ἔχοντες ὠρισμένην, καὶ διατριβὴν περὶ τὰ κοινα, καὶ ὅλως νομίζοντες οὐχ ἑαυτῶν ἀλλὰ τῆς πατρίδος εἶναι διετέλουν.'

² See Jowett's Introduction to *The Republic of Plato*, p. clxxviii.

³ Πολιτικῶν, ii. 5.

of religious communities bound by vows, who stand on a footing entirely apart), in the phalansteries of Fourier, in the workshops of Louis Blanc, and in the townships of Robert Owen, the bickerings, divisions, and disputes that ended in disruption form a rather significant commentary on the speculations of Plato.¹ But, then, it is to be remembered that Plato never quite expected his speculations to be translated into actual facts. That could only be done on the hypothesis that 'philosophers became kings or kings philosophers,' a condition never likely to be realized. But even though ideals were not possible of attainment, he rightly held that they served their purpose none the less. For man may always strive towards them and ennoble himself in the effort. There were ideals, however, in which he was much better inspired than in this particular feature of his republic. The world at least has acted ever since on the view of Aristotle rather than of Plato, and in substance is likely to continue to do so. It will be interesting, nevertheless, to note the contest of the two principles in the course of history; and, with that object in view, I will endeavour to trace briefly the efforts, spasmodic or enduring, which were made, at various times, to make the principle of Plato prevail.

I grant quite readily beforehand that many of the social phases of life which I shall have to recall under this head have little essential connexion with what is regarded as fundamental in modern socialism. The connexion at all events is not necessarily deductive. Many modern socialists will go no farther back for their origin than Adam Smith, from whom Karl Marx borrowed his theory of value, and Riccardo, from whom Lassalle took his *iron law of wages*. Many English socialists trace the birth of their movement to the year 1817, when Robert Owen laid his scheme of reform before the Committee of the House of Commons. But whilst the fundamental principle of modern socialism was never formulated in the old communistic

¹ Evidence of similar results in the communistic communities established in Croatia, North America, and Australia, some of them under government patronage, are given by Herbert Spencer in his chapter on Socialism, in *Principles of Sociology*, vol. iii. pp. 568-579.

movements of history exactly as it is to-day, one cannot help, all the same, being struck by features of similarity and resemblances in the old and in the new, resemblances which, if one reasons back far enough, seem to merge into identity. Let them be regarded however, if you will, with Mr. Kirkup,¹ as 'old world phenomena,' and let us not insist too much on the evolutionary development which is so often served up against ourselves. There is one thing at least that cannot be ignored. Socialist writers of the present are constantly recalling these movements and recognizing them as forerunners of their own. You cannot have it both ways. There are differences as well as resemblances, we all admit. To some the differences, to others the resemblances, will seem merely accidental. Partisans of evolution, in any case, can hardly hold that they themselves were spontaneously generated a hundred years ago. Partisans of mere relation, on the other hand, must not confound relation with deduction. With this in mind, we start on our historical journey.

THE ESSENES

The Essenes were a small sect of Jews, who lived in the days of our Lord, chiefly along the shores of the Dead Sea. In many respects they aimed at a pure, holy, and ascetic life. They practised continence and chastity in a high degree. They avoided oaths. They observed the law and the ritual more strictly than other Jews, refusing, however, to sacrifice living things in the Temple. They observed the Sabbath with ultra-Pharisaic rigour. They avoided wine and even meat; and then they held all their goods in common. Here is the account given by Philo¹ of this phase of their life:—

No one possesses a house absolutely his own, one which does not at the same time belong to all: for in addition to living together in companies (*haburot*) their houses are open also to their adherents coming from other quarters. They have one storehouse for all and the same diet. Their garments belong

¹ *History of Socialism.*

² *Quod Omnis Peobus Liber*, No. 12.

to all in common, and their meals are taken in common. . . . Whatever they receive for their wages after having worked the whole day they do not keep as their own, but bring into the common treasury for the use of all. Nor do they neglect the sick who are unable to contribute their share, as they have in their treasury ample means to offer relief to those in need. . . . Joab, as the type of an Essene, made his house like the wilderness, that is, ownerless and free from the possibility of tempting men to theft or sin; and he supported the poor of the city with the most delicate food.

In order to establish some sort of a link between Christianity and this rigid brotherhood, socialist writers scarcely ever miss an opportunity of representing St. John the Baptist, and even our Lord Himself, as members of it. There is not a particle of foundation for the existence of such a connexion. St. John the Baptist's mode of life was the very opposite of that of the Essenes. He was a solitary, living in the wilderness. They were an organized body, living, working, and eating in communities. The Essenes banned wine and meat. Our Lord was denounced by Pharisees, and possibly by Essenians too, as a 'glutton and a wine-bibber,' a friend of publicans and sinners, who attended banquets and festivals. Our Lord smiled on all innocent joys and encouraged all lawful festivities. The Essenes looked askance at the slightest manifestation of gladness. The Essenes avoided the Temple; our Lord was constantly there.

Besides these and many other differences in principle and in detail, the Essenes had introduced into their practices, discipline and creed many heathen elements, which they borrowed from the mysticism of the East. They prayed to the sun, which they apparently worshipped and regarded as the source of good as of light, like the Gnostics and Manichaeans. They rejected the Mosaic priesthood and invented a priesthood of their own. They denied the resurrection of the body and its reunion with the soul.¹ They practised magic and became soothsayers and fortune-tellers

¹ See Lightfoot on 'Essenism and Christianity,' in *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age*, pp. 381-407.

rather than prophets. No orthodox Jew could be a member of their sect. No Christian could join them. They were socialists, if you like, in their desire to organize the socialistic state. But this, of course, they were never in a position to do. They came to nothing, and in due time were merged either with the Christians or with some of the heretical sects that held doctrines allied to their own.

THE EBIONITES

The Ebionites, who flourished from the second to the fourth century, seem to have borrowed many of their practices and doctrines from the Essenes. In their later developments they practised poverty and community of goods, much the same as the Samaritan sect. But they denied the Incarnation, the divinity of Christ, and in most cases the Virgin birth. They rejected all the gospels except St. Matthew's, and even that they mutilated. They rejected the teachings and writings of St. Paul, and mixed with Jewish observance many false doctrines borrowed from the East.¹ Here again socialism is in bad company. For the Ebionites cast aside the best part of the Essenian code, and not only married freely, but became addicted to polygamy and all the vices associated with it.

THE APOSTOLICS, APOTACTICS, ENCRATIDES, AND THEIR SUCCESSORS

In the second and third century of the Christian era there were various other heretical sects which made communism a foremost plank in their platform. Some called themselves *Apostolics*, because they wanted to insist that all men should return to what they represented as the primitive simplicity and communistic life of the Apostles. They did not stop, however, at community of goods, but abolished marriage and adopted their own method of propagating the species. They were allied with the Apotactics, the Encratides, the Catharites, and other disciples of

¹ St. Epiphanius, *Adversus Ebionaeos Haereses*, xxx. ; Irenæus, *Haereses*, i. 26 ; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, iii. 27.

Tatian, all of whom held somewhat similar tenets. They are refuted by St. Epiphanius,¹ who reminds them that whilst the Church values self-denial and the free renunciation of all things for Christ, she has never authorized anyone to raise an insolent voice against those who do not feel equal to such a sacrifice, recalling the words of St. Paul,²

Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not ; and he that eateth not, let him not judge him that eateth,

and refuting their assertions as to the attitude of our Lord and His Apostles to those who made a wise and good use of their wealth. At the end of his argument against them he says : ' We give these vipers a final blow of the cross and pass on in contempt to other heresies ! ' ³ Let us do the same. But before doing so let us recall the fact that St. Augustine ⁴ also has a contemptuous reference to these sects and their denial of the right of property. Let us also remind the reader that two sects of *Apostolics* arose in the Middle Ages to continue the traditions of their earlier namesakes, one in the neighbourhood of Cologne in the twelfth century,⁵ and the other in Lombardy towards the end of the thirteenth. Both of them wanted the Church to return to Apostolic simplicity. They abolished marriage, but allowed *spiritual* sisters to their severe brethren, which turned out to be nothing better than promiscuity of the grossest kind.

The *Apostolics* of Cologne were succeeded by the Beghards, those of Lombardy by the Fraticelli, both sects adding some new adornments to the outfit of the old ones. Councils and Papal Bulls fulminated excommunications against them. But they died hard, and have really left us

¹ *Adversus Haereses*, lib. ii., tom. i. Haeres. lxi. : ' De inopia rerum omnium gloriantur et sacrosanctam Dei Ecclesiam superstitionibus dividunt.'

² Romans xiv. 3.

³ ' Crucis ligno percussimus et relinquimus, et, contemptis illis et abjectis, ad reliquos haereses transeamus.'—*Adversus Haereses*, lxi.

⁴ ' Sed idem isti haeretici sunt, quoniam se ab ecclesia separantes, nullam spem putant eos habere qui utuntur his rebus quibus ipsi carent.'—*De Haeresibus*, xl.

⁵ See Mosheim's *Geschichte des Apostel Ordens*. Helmstadt, 1748.

some successors. Ullman¹ tells us what the object and methods of the Beghards were :—

Their professed object was to restore the pure primeval state, the divine life of freedom, innocence and nature. The idea they formed of that state was that man being in and of himself one with God, requires only to act in the consciousness of this unity and to follow unrestrained the divinely implanted impulses and inclinations of his nature in order to be good and godly.

How they carried that principle into practice supplies us with one of the most shameful pages in the history of European morals, even though it does not find a place in the work of Mr. Lecky. The maxims and practices of these fanatics are too gross to relate. They forbid description. There were remnants of the sect in Germany until comparatively recent times ; but in 1848 the Austrian Government took effective steps to clear them out of its dominions. Since then, I understand, they have taken refuge in Prussia, where they still have some adherents. Even England and the United States have supplied them with imitators as far as the law would allow, in the Princeites and Perfectionists, or Bible Communists, into whose principles and practices, paradises and Agapomenes, it would not be very edifying to inquire. Let those who think that there is nothing of this kind in the modern socialist movement read *The Woman Socialist* of Mrs. Ethel Snowden ; the *Ethics of Free Thought* of M. Karl Pearson, *The Old Order and the New* of F. M. Davidson, to say nothing of *Die Frau* of Bebel. ‘The social purity of socialism,’ says Mr. Ellis Barker, ‘would be the purity of Sodom and Gomorrah. It would be unrestricted bestiality.’²

It puts the seal to its audacity when it claims to be *Apostolic*.

THE Gnostics AND MANICHAEANS

This is not the place to enter into a detailed account of the general tenets of the Gnostics and Manichaeans, and of

¹ *Reformers before the Reformation*.

² *British Socialism*, by J. Ellis Barker, p. 343.

the multitude of sects that found shelter under their wings. These can be found in our manuals of history and of doctrine. What the manuals of history and of doctrine, however, do not furnish is the picture of depravity and corruption to which these monstrous follies led. The mixture of Persian maxims and professions, of Alexandrian and Greek philosophy, of Indian theosophy and pantheism with Christian teaching and practice produced the most awful combination of incongruities that the world has ever seen. Never in the history of mankind were pretensions to holiness and unworldliness so belied. When one has read the practices of these sects as described by St. Epiphanius or St. Clement of Alexandria, or St. Irenæus, one needs to get into the fresh air and the fields or to get a bath of ozone. It is unspeakable and almost unthinkable. St. Augustine, who was himself for years a member of the Manichæan sect, says nothing of the grosser and more hideous charges brought against them by St. Epiphanius, but he constantly speaks of their impiety, their blasphemy, their obscenity and turpitude. Now, here again we have socialism peering out from behind the clouds. One of the Gnostic leaders, Epiphanes by name, who had gone some way in absorbing Manichæan theories, proclaims in his work, *De Justitia*, all the goods and pleasures of the earth common property.¹ There are many other documents and some inscriptions that confirm the communistic or socialist tendencies of these two sects. Of course, the Manichæans regarded all material things as emanating from the principle of evil; but in so far as it was lawful to use them it was equally lawful for all, for the perfect in the first place and the imperfect in the next. Flesh was the most concentrated form of matter, and therefore was banned; but wine was the gall of the

¹ 'Ex æquo communiter omnibus creator et pater omnium uno jussu omnibus est largitus. . . . Et *meum et tuum* dicit (Isidorus) subiisse per leges, adeo ut per eas communiter jam non amplius liceat iis quæ communia sunt, terra videlicet, possessionibus et ipso matrimonio, uti. Cum ergo Deus communiter omnia fecisset homini et foeminam cum masculo communiter conjunxisset . . . demonstravit justitiam esse communionem cum æqualitate.' Quoted by St. Irenæus and published amongst the Fragments in his Appendices. The whole passage is a communistic argument from the beginning.

See also St. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromatum*, lib. iii.

devil, the vital fluid of the evil principle, and naturally was anathema. St. Augustine, who had information at first hand, tells us that ordinary individual Manichaeans were forbidden to have fields, houses, or money. It was only the perfect amongst them who were allowed to touch such things, men whose holiness put them beyond the power of temptation. I am afraid it would soon come to that in the socialist state.¹

THE PELAGIANS

The fundamental error of the Pelagians was the denial of original sin; and it was a pretty natural deduction from it that as man's nature was sound and upright in itself, it was heir to the promises that had been made to it or were in the evident intention of its Author. That the heresy did develop in that direction is evident from the letter addressed to St. Augustine by Hilarius, Bishop of Syracuse, asking his advice as to the best manner of refuting several of the Pelagian doctrines which were then rife in Sicily. Amongst them was this one²: 'Could a rich man, retaining his wealth, enter the kingdom of God? Or was it true that it was necessary to sell and divide as a condition of salvation; and that the use of riches to fulfil the Commandments (to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, etc.) was of no avail?' St. Augustine devotes a long chapter to this question, making clear the distinction between the Commandments and counsels of perfection. He also points to the numerous cases of rich people of both sexes who had died the martyr's glorious death, condensing into that one act all the sacrifices that Christ had counselled.³ It is not the mere abandonment

¹ See 'Opera Sancti Augustini,' Migne's *Patrology*, i. 1343-1345.

² 'Divitem manentem in divitiis suis regnum Dei non posse ingredi nisi omnia sua vendiderit, nec prodesse eidem posse si forte ex ipsis divitiis fecerit mandata.'

³ 'Habemus hinc utriusque sexus divites clarissimasque personas martyrii gloria sublimatas. Ita multi quos rerum suarum venditione piguerat ante perfici, Christi imitata passione sunt repente perfecte; et qui nonnullam infirmitatem carnis et sanguinis suis divitiis perfecerunt, subito adversus peccatum pro fide usque ad sanguinem certarunt.'—*S. Aug., Op.*, Ed. Migne, vol. ii. p. 691. St. Ambrose says: 'Non ergo malae sunt divitiae sed male utentibus malae sunt. Quia bona quae fecit Deus valde bona sunt.'—*De Trinitate*, xxxiii.

of earthly goods that opens heaven to men, nor the retention of them that closes it, but the presence or the absence of divine grace, whether men are rich or poor. There is the key.

But apart from this tendency to communism in the Pelagian doctrine, the main link between it and modern socialism is the denial of original sin. I am far from saying that every man who calls himself a socialist denies it ; but I do assert that socialism as a school denies it, and that the writings of the leading socialists in the different countries to-day literally teem with denunciations of a doctrine without which Christianity would cease to have any meaning. For my part I do not give much for the Catholic rectitude of the man who, in spite of warnings from the highest authority, persists, without the slightest necessity, in calling himself a socialist, only aggravating his offence by making a profane use of the term 'Catholic' to qualify his defiance. There were Manichaeans and Pelagians who did not share all the impieties of these sects ; but they did not and could not escape the shame of the company to which they had become attached. They refrained, however, from adding insult to injury by designating themselves 'Catholic Manichaeans,' or 'Catholic Pelagians.'

THE WALDENSES, ALBIGENSES, AND ALLIED SECTS

Both Waldenses and Albigenses are the lineal descendants of the Manichaeans and Pelagians. It has been truly remarked that all heresies begin with great pretensions to rigour and strict denial of self. Not having within them, however, the sap of life, they frequently fall as far below the line of rectitude as they had for a while appeared to be above it.

Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne.

So it was with these two sects, who seem to have adopted all the most fatal errors of the sects that had preceded them. Whilst they came professing to reform the lives of their fellow-men—which, had the right reformers come, was sadly needed in those countries which they disturbed—they soon

became a plague, and, at least as far as the Albigenses are concerned, left behind them a character for corruption of morals which is second only to that of their dualist ancestors, the Manichaeans. Indeed, with both Waldenses and Albigenses, corruption of faith and corruption of morals went hand in hand.¹ Here again property becomes a common possession. No man had a right to anything in particular, and the Church above all should be stripped of lands and houses. 'You,' they said to the Catholics, 'add house to house and field to field. The most perfect amongst you, like the monks and canons regular, possess nothing of their own, but hold possessions at least in common with others. We, the poor of Jesus Christ, without a place to lay our head, without any certain domicile, wander from town to town, like sheep amongst wolves, and we suffer persecution like the apostles and martyrs.'²

Under this assumed mildness they propagated antisocial doctrines against marriage and property and raised such a storm of passion and turmoil that a crusade had to be preached against them. When accounts were settled it was found how sincere were their pretensions to disinterestedness and sanctity. They seized, pillaged, and held everything that came in their way, and gave the most unbridled rein to their passions without acknowledging any responsibility for their crimes.³ This was their communism, the socialism of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A like story may be told of their allied, affiliated, and contemporary sects, the Petrobrussians, Henricians, Paulicians, Bulgarians, Catharins, and Patterins, the Brabançons, Navarese, Basques, Cottereaux, Triaverdins, Eonians. The founder of the last-mentioned, Eon d'Etoile, a wealthy Breton, is a remarkable figure. He was a twelfth-century communist who imagined himself to be the Messiah, and went forward as a social reformer. He died in prison, and his adherents long expected his resurrection. Had

¹ The Councils of Tarragona and Tours, and the Letters of Philip Augustus of this period, give a faithful picture of the condition of things.

² Auguste Nicolas, *Protestantisme et Socialisme*, p. 355.

³ See Fauriel's *Guerre des Albigeois*, and *Histoire du Languedoc* of Vich and Vaissette.

they lived until our day their expectations would have been satisfied. Eon is abroad in many lands at the present time. Another reformer of society in those days was that Fra Dolcino, about whose success Mohammed showed himself so much concerned when Dante saw him in the ninth pit of Malebolge.¹ Dolcino was the leader of the brotherhood founded by Gerardo Segerelli in 1260 to bring back the Church to the simplicity of Apostolic times, and amongst other reforms to bring about community of goods, wives, and possessions. So that the author² of *Die Frau* has really had some remarkable forerunners. Arnold of Brescia, whose heretical doctrines were so ardently pursued by St. Bernard, had social as well as metaphysical notions calculated to revolutionize his age. According to him the Church and churchmen, high or low, were incapable of holding property, and were bound to relinquish for public purposes that which they held. Community of non-possession was to be the rule for them rather than the community of possession.

WYCLIFITES, LOLLARDS, HUSSITES

There is no doubt that in the Middle Ages a great many of the heresies that afflicted the Church were associated with social movements that aimed at the removal of very real and crying grievances. That this was the case in England and in Bohemia in the fourteenth century is abundantly clear. The social needs and sufferings of the lower classes, combined with the selfish extravagance of the rich and the laxity of religious discipline, offered any and every preacher of disorder a fertile ground for mischief. Hence, when Wyclif and the Lollards³ came upon the scene repudiating Church authority, declaiming against the celibacy of the clergy, the confessional, the jurisdiction of prelates, the existence of Purgatory, vows

¹ *Inferno*, xxviii. 55-63. Benvenuto da Imola says that Fra Dolcino was aping Mohammed: 'Quia vere Dulcinus fuit simia Macomethi.'

² Herr Bebel.

³ See *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*, vol. i. bk. i. chaps. i., ii.

of chastity, virginity, and even transubstantiation, it is evident that the people would have listened to them with deaf ears had they not mingled with these heresies an appeal to their rapacious instincts and promised them at least the goods of the clergy. They did not draw the line at the clergy, however, but extended the principle in due time to all. Those who were in sin were incapable of holding property of any kind; and of course all who were opposed to themselves were in sin.

‘Ah, ye good people’ [said Wat Tyler’s preacher, the notorious John Ball] ‘things go not well to pass in England, nor shall do till everything be common, and that there be no villeins nor gentlemen, but that we be all united together, and that the lords be no greater masters than we. They are clothed in velvet and camlet, furred with ermine, and we are vested with poor cloth. They have their wines, spices and good bread, and we have the drawing out of the chaff and drink water, They dwell in fair houses and we have the pain and travel, rain and wind in the fields. And by that which cometh of our labours they keep and maintain their estates.’¹

Speaking of Wyclif, the writer in the Protestant *Dictionary of Heresies* sums up a good deal in these words:—

His distinctive views were political and social rather than religious. He withstood the monks, friars, and dignified clergy. He held peculiar views on ecclesiastical property and the right of the State to confiscate it, which his followers developed to their logical extent and applied to all property; and this, in the unsettled state of these times, was the main cause of the persecuting statutes Parliament from time to time passed against them.²

Whilst the Lollards came into England bringing with them the German rhyme

When Adam delved and Eve span,
Where was then the gentleman?³

¹ Cassell’s *History of England*, vol. i. p. 410.

² *Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, and Schools of Religious Thought*, by Rev. John Henry Blunt, M.A., F.S.A. London: Rivington. 1874.

³ ‘Als Adam grübt und Eva spann,
Wo war dann der Edelmann?’

they returned to Bohemia with several tracts of Wyclif, which Huss soon turned to account. The social and democratic fury of the Hussites found a stupid expression in the cry 'The Cup to the People.' For although they no longer believed in the Real Presence and were now Utraquists, they would have communion in wine as well as in bread. With the usual protests against sacraments, festivals, Purgatory, prayers for the dead, invocation of saints, and possessions of the clergy, they knocked down to themselves in proportionate shares the property of all sinners. So far did the communistic idea prevail that a special sect arose amongst them, calling themselves 'Adamites,' or 'Men of the Free Spirit,' who wore no clothes as an outward profession of equality. These, however, brought such ridicule on the general body that they had to be exterminated by Ziska, the lay commander of the Hussites. They were in reality but the imitators of a sect of the second century who had introduced the practice. They and the so-called *Angelics* are worthy brethren and were both duly branded by St. Augustine.¹

SIR THOMAS MORE AND THE SOCIALISTS

One can scarcely suppress a smile at the seriousness with which socialist writers take the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More. There is no doubt whatever that they take it in all its details much more seriously than Sir Thomas himself.² Sir Thomas was a keen and most refined humorist. Those who knew him say that it was very hard to know when he was joking and when in earnest. According to Erasmus, his countenance was often a mystery even to his own family. He himself speaks of this in his *Dialogues*: 'Ye use (my master saith) to look so sadly when ye mean merrily that many times men doubt whether ye speak in sport when ye mean good earnest.'³

¹ *De Haeresibus*, xxxi. and xxxix.

² See Graham's *Socialism, Old and New*, pp. 30-33. Mr. Graham quotes the opinions of Hythloday as if they were invariably those of Sir Thomas, which Sir Thomas expressly says they were not.

³ *English Work*, p. 127; also Father Bridgett's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, p. 102.

One of the editors of his *Letters and Papers* says of him ¹: 'He hovers so perpetually on the confines of jest and earnest, passes so naturally from one to the other, that the reader is in constant suspense whether his jest be serious or his seriousness a jest.' This was the style that just suited him for throwing out hints and making covert suggestions in the *Utopia*. It is to the drift and tendency of the *Utopia* one has to look rather than to the letter. One might as well take Swift's Saturnian joke in *Gulliver's Travels*, or Cyrano de Bergerac's *Voyage a la Lune*, in the literal sense as the narrative of Raphael Hythloday in *Utopia*. In its literary form the *Utopia* assumes the shape of a conversation between Sir Thomas More, Peter Giles of Antwerp, and an imaginary Portuguese philosopher, Raphael Hythloday by name, who had been a companion of Amerigo Vespucci, and had travelled in many lands. Raphael's description of Utopia is not interrupted; but before that is reached the conversation is free enough. The Portuguese traveller tells how he became acquainted with Cardinal Morton, Chancellor of England, on the occasion of his visit to Sir Thomas's country, and relates some of the things he said to him. These things are full of wisdom and humanity, and have a decidedly democratic ring in them. Amongst others he says:—

There is a great number of noblemen among you that are themselves as idle as drones, that subsist on other men's labour, on the labour of their tenants, whom, to raise their revenues they pare to the quick. This, indeed, is the only instance of their frugality, for in all other things they are prodigal, even to the beggaring of themselves; but besides this they carry about with them a great number of idle fellows, who never learned any art by which they might gain their living; and these as soon as either their lord dies, or they themselves fall sick are turned out of doors; for your lords are readier to feed idle people than to take care of the sick; and often the heir is not able to keep together as great a family as his predecessor did. Now when the stomachs of those who are turned out of doors grow keen, they rob no less keenly. And what else can they do?

He then goes on to describe the results that follow and

¹ Brewer's Introduction to *Letters and Papers*, ii. 268.

the injury done to the country by the various classes of unemployed :—

‘ But ’ [he continues], ‘ I do not think that this necessity of stealing arises only from hence. There is another cause of it more peculiar to England.’

‘ What is that ? ’ said the Cardinal.

‘ The increase of pasture,’ said I; ‘ by which your sheep, which are naturally mild and easily kept in order, may be said to devour man and unpeople not only villages but towns; for wherever it is found that the sheep of any soil yield a softer and richer wool than ordinary, there the nobility and gentry, and even those holy men, the abbots, not contented with the old rents which their farms yielded, not thinking it enough that they, living at their ease, do no good to the public, resolve to do it hurt instead. They stop the course of agriculture, destroying houses and towns, reserving only the churches, and enclosed grounds that they may lodge their sheep in them. As if forests and parks had swallowed up too little of the land those worthy countrymen turn the best inhabited places into solitudes; for when an insatiable wretch, who is a plague to his country, resolves to enclose many thousand acres of ground, the owners, as well as tenants, are turned out of their possessions by trick or by main force, or, being wearied out by ill usage, they are forced to sell them; by which means those miserable people, both men and women, married and unmarried, old and young, with poor but numerous families, are all forced to change their seats, not knowing whither to go. And they must sell almost for nothing their household stuff which could not bring them much money even though they might stay for a buyer. When that little money is at an end what is left for them to do but either to steal and so to be hanged (God knows how justly), or to go about and beg. And if they do this they are put in prison as idle vagabonds, while they would willingly work but can find none to hire them; for there is no more occasion for country labour to which they have been bred when there is no arable ground left. One shepherd can look after a flock which will stock an extent of ground that would require many hands if it were to be ploughed and reaped. This likewise in many places raises the price of corn. The price of wool is also so risen that the poor people who were wont to make cloth are no more able to buy it; and this likewise makes many of them idle: for since the increase of pasture God has punished the avarice of the owners by a rot among the sheep which has destroyed vast numbers of them. To us it might have seemed more just had it fell on the owners themselves.

He then proceeds to indicate the monopolies that result from this state of things, all hard and oppressive on the poorer classes with the very natural result that they have recourse to robbery and crime. Moreover,

‘Luxury likewise breaks in apace upon you to set forward your poverty and misery : there is an extensive vanity for apparel and great cost in diet, and that not only in noblemen’s families, but even among the tradesmen, the farmers themselves, and all ranks of persons. You have also many infamous houses, and, besides those that are known, the taverns and ale-houses are no better. Add to these dice, cards, tables, football, tennis, and quoits, in which money runs fast away, and those that are initiated into them must, in the conclusion, betake themselves to robbing for a supply.’

And what remedies did Raphael suggest to Cardinal Morton for these social disturbances? Is it the remedy of socialism? Here it is:—

‘Banish these plagues and give orders that those who have dispeopled so much soil may either rebuild the villages they have pulled down or let their ground to such as will do it. Restrain those engrossings of the rich that are as bad almost as monopolies; leave fewer occasions to idleness. Let agriculture be set up again and the manufacture of wool be regulated that so there may be work found for those companies of idle people whom want forces to be thieves, or who now, being idle vagabonds or useless servants, will certainly grow thieves at last. If you do not find a remedy to these evils it is a vain thing to boast of your severity in punishing theft which, though it may have the appearance of justice, yet in itself is neither just nor convenient : for if you suffer your people to be ill educated and their manners to be corrupted from their infancy, and then punish them for their crimes to which their first education disposed them, what else is to be concluded from this but that you first make thieves and then punish them.’

So far it will be seen there is not much socialism. There is an appeal to statesmanship to do its duty, viz.: to protect natural rights and defend lawful possessions against unjust aggressors, and so to order the conditions of life that no man will be driven of necessity to idleness or to crime. There is much in all I have quoted that reminds

one of Thomas William Croke, Archbishop of Cashel in his day, who was no socialist, but who, like John Chrysostom or Basil, had a great heart for the toiling masses, and, like Sir Thomas More, preferred people to sheep.

And it was not Thomas William Croke, but one who occupied a much higher position in the Church, and did not always go quite so far as the Archbishop, Pope Leo XIII himself, who wrote what follows :—

But all agree, and there can be no question whatever, that some remedy must be found, and quickly found, for the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment on the great majority of the very poor. The ancient workmen's guilds were destroyed in the last century, and no other organization took their place. Public institutions and laws have repudiated the ancient religion. Hence by degrees it has come to pass that working-men have been given over, isolated and defenceless, to the callousness of employers and the greed of unrestrained competition. The evil has been increased by rapacious usury, which though more than once condemned by the Church, is nevertheless, under a different form, but with the same guilt, still practised by avaricious and grasping men. And to this must be added the custom of working by contract and the concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a few individuals, so that a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself.¹

Neither the Irish Archbishop, nor the English Chancellor, nor the Pope invoked the socialist remedy, nor the remedy that led to it. The Pope in the plainest and most comprehensive language repudiates the principle of it even in its mildest and most restricted form. The Archbishop would have nothing to say to Davitt's patronage of Henry George. And the English Lord Chancellor looks to statesmen to set right what is out of gear, not by depriving men of nature's rights but, on the contrary, by defending and asserting them. In order to facilitate their intervention, which is not always an easy matter, he gets Hythloday to

¹ *Rerum Novarum.*

go back to primitive, fundamental notions of right and justice, and tell his tale of Utopia, or 'Nowhere,' in which natural laws were supposed to be in force and the most widespread happiness prevailed. Utopia, however, is an ideal place which statesmen are not expected to reproduce, and, being 'Nowhere,' is not expected to be anywhere.

I should also draw attention to the fact that at the end of the narrative description of Utopia, Sir Thomas More takes care not to commit himself to many of the principles set forth with such enthusiasm by the fictitious dreamer and theorist, Raphael Hythloday, although they are quoted with all solemnity by socialist writers,¹ as his definite and fixed opinions. Here is what he says :—

When Raphael had then made an end of speaking, though many things occurred to me both concerning the manners and laws of that people that seemed very absurd, as well in their way of making war as in their notions of religion and divine matters together with several other particulars, but chiefly what seemed the foundation of all the rest, their living in common without the use of money by which all nobility, magnificence, splendour, and majesty, which, according to the common opinion, are the true ornaments of a nation, would be quite taken away, yet since I perceived that Raphael was weary, and was not sure whether he could really bear contradiction . . I only commended their constitution and the account he had given of it in general ; and so taking him by the hand carried him to supper, and told him I would find some other time for examining this subject more particularly and for discoursing more copiously upon it. In the meanwhile, it must be confessed that though he is both a very learned man and a person who has obtained a great knowledge of the world, I cannot perfectly agree in everything he has related. However, there are many things in the commonwealth of Utopia that I rather wish than hope to see followed in our governments.

Keeping this in view we shall know what importance to attach to the details of Raphael's narrative. Some things were meant in earnest, some in jest, some as ideals to be striven towards without any hope of reaching them, some

¹ Mr. Bellamy's *Looking Backwards* is in reality but a travesty of the *Utopia*.

as the outcome of erring reason, some as the best that unaided nature could devise. In the whole medley there are many shrewd thrusts at existing abuses and plain hints at the direction in which the remedy for them is to be found. In the *Utopia* there is really nothing more. Sir Thomas, as one might expect, was a very mild and tolerant man ; and this is how he has his fling at intolerance in the *Utopia*. Raphael says :—

Those among them that have not received our religion do not fright any from it, and use none ill that goes over to it, so that all the while I was there one man only was punished on this occasion. He being newly-baptized did, notwithstanding all that we could say to the contrary, dispute publicly concerning the Christian religion with more zeal than discretion, and with so much heat that he not only preferred our worship to theirs, but condemned all their rites as profane, and cried out against all that adhered to them as impious and sacrilegious persons that were to be doomed to everlasting burnings. Upon his having frequently preached in this manner he was seized, and, after trial, he was condemned to banishment, not for having disparaged their religion ; but for his inflaming the people to sedition ; for that is one of their most ancient laws that no man ought to be punished for his religion.

One of the most fundamental laws of socialism *in practice* seems to be that men should be punished on account of their religion.

He also dwells on the cheerfulness with which the Utopians welcome death, and enter into what they believe to be the reward of a good life, contrasting that with the gloomy fashion in which many Christians see the approach of the beatific vision.

The system of property and government in Utopia is undoubtedly communistic. But when Sir Thomas expresses his misgivings as to the results, inquiring—

How can there be plenty where every man will excuse himself from labour ? for as the hope of gain doth not excite him, so the confidence he has in other men's industry may make him slothful. If people come to be pinched with want, and yet cannot dispose of anything as their own, what can follow upon this but perpetual sedition and bloodshed, especially when the

reverence and authority due to magistrates fall to the ground ? For I cannot imagine how they can be kept up among those who are in all things equal to one another,

the only answer given by the theorist and dreamer is the answer which the socialist gives us to-day : ' You should have been in Utopia to see how these things worked.'

The device by which gold and precious stones were brought into contempt in Utopia is worth recalling, even though modern Utopians scarcely want to introduce it :—

They eat and drink out of vessels of earth or glass, which make an agreeable appearance though formed of brittle materials, while they make their meaner vessels of gold and silver, and that not only in their public halls but in their private houses. Of the same metals they likewise make chains and fetters for their slaves, to some of which as a badge of infamy they hang an ear-ring of gold, and make others wear a chain or a coronet of the same metal ; and thus they take care by all possible means to render gold and silver of no esteem. . . . They find pearls on their coasts, and diamonds and carbuncles on their rocks ; they do not look after them, but, if they find them by chance, they polish them, and with them they adorn their children who are delighted with them and glory in them during their childhood ; but when they grow to years, and see that none but children use such baubles, they, of their own accord, without being bid by their parents, lay them aside, and would be as much ashamed to use them afterwards as children among us, when they come to years, are of their puppets and other toys.

The effect of all this was very remarkable when the ambassadors of the Anamolians came to make their entry into Amaurot, the capital of Utopia. They wished to impress the imagination of these simple people with their grandeur and wealth. They came covered with silk and gold, adorned with massy chains and ear-rings, their caps sparkling with pearls and other gems ; in a word, decked out in all those things that among the Utopians were either badges of slavery, the marks of infamy, or the playthings of children. Young people asked their mothers who were those great fools with all the sparkling things upon them. Even the old people are astonished to learn that gold is of any value

elsewhere. They think it ridiculous. They cannot reconcile it with common sense

that a man of lead, who has no more sense than a log of wood, and is as bad as he is foolish, should have many wise and good men to serve him, only because he has a great heap of that metal; and that if it should happen that by some accident or trick of law, all this wealth should pass from the master to the meanest varlet in his family he himself would very soon become one of the new owners' servants, as if he were a thing that belonged to his wealth, and so were bound to follow its fortunes.

When Raphael Hythloday, the unpractical visionary, had gone through all the departments of the Utopian state, had described their capital, their magistrates and laws, their towns, their trade, their currency, their traffic, their mode of travelling, their knowledge and cultivation of the arts and sciences, their military discipline, their various habits of life, and their religion, he solemnly tells us at the end,

I would gladly hear any man compare the justice that is among them with that of all other nations, among whom may I perish if I see anything that looks either like justice or equity; for what justice is there in this: that a nobleman, a goldsmith, a banker, or any other man, that either does nothing at all, or, at least, is employed in things that are of no use to the public, should live in great luxury and splendour upon what is so ill-acquired, and a mean man, a carter, a smith, or a ploughman, that works harder even than the beasts themselves, and is employed in labours so necessary that no commonwealth could hold out a year without them, can only earn so poor a livelihood and must lead so miserable a life, that the condition of the beasts is much better than theirs.

Therefore I must say that, as I hope for mercy, I can have no other notion of all the other governments that I see or know than that they are a conspiracy of the rich who, on pretence of managing the public, only pursue their private ends, and devise all the ways and arts they can find out, first, that they may, without danger, preserve all that they have so ill-acquired, and then, that they may engage the poor to toil and labour for them at as low rates as possible and oppress them as much as they please; and if they can but prevail to get these contrivances established by the show of public authority, which is considered as the representative of the whole people, then they are accounted laws.

Such is Raphael Hythloday's account of Utopia, and such is the moral that he draws from it. Sir Thomas, as we have seen, reserves judgment on it, but already tells us he disagrees with many things in it. It served its purpose in giving hints to statesmen, reminding them of certain elemental principles, and indicating the direction their efforts should take. The work was written in Latin, so as not to be accessible to the people generally, lest it might be misunderstood and turned to purposes for which it was not intended. That was reserved for modern socialists, who have read it in translations, and who seem to take every extravagant detail in it as gospel, and as the ideal suggested by Sir Thomas More. One instance will give an example of how absurd this is. We are told that in Utopia the priests were married, and that even women were sometimes priests: 'The wives of their priests are the most extraordinary women of the whole country. Sometimes the women themselves are made priests, though that falls out but seldom, nor are any but ancient widows chosen into that order.'

Do these words imply that Sir Thomas More wished the clergy of his day to marry, or that women, even ancient widows, should be priests in a modern state? His whole life is a contradiction of the idea. And not only his life, but when Tundall, an English Lutheran, put forward a theory that, in case of need—as, for example, if a woman were cast by shipwreck alone on an island where there were no Christians—she might preach and consecrate the Holy Eucharist, More replied to him, saying:—

Tundall may make himself sure that since there falleth not a sparrow upon the ground without our Father that is in heaven, there shall no woman fall aland in any so far an island, where God will have His name preached and His sacraments ministered, but that God can, and will, well enough provide a man or twain to come to land with her; whereof we have had already meetly good experience and that within few years. For I am sure there hath been more islands and more part of the firm land and continent discovered and founden out, within these forty years last past, than was new founden, as far as any man may perceive, this three thousand years afore. But God hath pro-

vided that His name is preached by such good Christian folk as Tundall now most railleth upon, that is good religious friars, and specially the Friar Observants, honest, godly, chaste, virtuous people; not by such as Friar Luther is, that is run out of religion, nor by casting to land alone any such holy nun as his harlot is.¹

That, I think, disposes of the idea that Sir Thomas wished to transform into actual practice the speculations of Raphael Hythloday.

Father Bridgett, in his *Life of Sir Thomas More*,² tells us that according to Harpsfield many good priests were so stirred by reading the account of the people of Utopia that they wished to set out at once to convert them to the Christian faith. Their innocent error, he thinks, in taking Utopia for a real place was not so ridiculous as that of Mr. Seeböhm in taking More's description of their religion for More's own profession of Christianity.³ A similar remark may be made of the socialists, only on a wider scale.

OTHER UTOPISTS

The *Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante* of Giordano Bruno, the *Oceana* of James Harrington, and the *Civitas Solis* of Campanella are works of a later period, all three more or less communistic in their tendencies.

The *Spaccio*, which is mainly directed against the Papacy by a wayward and eccentric genius, is a series of dialogues in which each one says what he thinks according to his character.⁴ It is a political and religious pamphlet,

¹ *English Works*, p. 428.

² Page 107.

³ Sir James Mackintosh, in his *Life of More*, says:—

'The true notion of *Utopia* is, that it intimates a variety of doctrines, and exhibits a multiplicity of projects, which the writer regards with almost every possible degree of approbation and shade of assent; from the frontiers of the serious and entire belief, through gradations of descending plausibility, where the lowest are scarcely more than the exercise of ingenuity, and to which some wild paradoxes are appended, either as a vehicle or as an easy means (if necessary) of disavowing the serious intention of the whole Platonic fiction' (p. 61).

⁴ 'Niente è detto assertivamente, che sian dialogi dove ognun dice e parla quel che conviene a suo carattere, dove sono interlocutori i quali fanno lor voce, da' quali son rapportati i discorsi di molti e molti altri che parimente abbondano nel loro senso, ragionando con quel fervore e zelo che massime può essere ad é appropriato a essi.'

inspired in England in the days of Queen Elizabeth, and dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney. Although the form of dialogue makes it difficult to determine which side represents the real views of the author, it is clear that communism is favourably presented. The unfortunate philosopher perished at the stake in 1600, and whilst at the present day we may fairly have pity on his fate, we must remember that he lived in rough times and that he himself would exterminate by fire and sword¹ all who opposed his wild and revolutionary dreams. Indeed, this very work was one of his most fierce attacks on those whom he hated and could not forgive. If the socialists are anxious to have this treatise I am quite willing to make them a present of it; but they cannot expect Catholics to share their enthusiasm either for its author or its doctrines.

The *Oceana* of James Harrington is the republican answer to the monarchial *Leviathan* of Hobbes. Perhaps of the two the *Leviathan* is the more socialistic in principle. The state, at least, is not more omnipotent in one than in the other. The *Oceana* is in reality a rather ponderous constitution of an ideal republic, a paper sketch which, like most proposals of the kind, leaves out of view the capricious element of human nature. The only solid foundation of power according to him is landed property; and here is how he sums up his proposals for its distribution:—

The centre or fundamental laws are, first, the agrarian, proportioned at two thousand pounds a year, and stating property in land at such a balance that the power can never swerve out of the hands of the many; secondly, the ballot conveying this equal sap from the roots by an equal election or rotation unto the branches of magistracy or sovereign power.

The vital question here is, that the many should have the power, not the few, and should also have the machinery to secure the power to themselves and retain it in their hands. As this is done in all democratic states it does not seem that socialism has much to gain from the authority of James Harrington.

¹ See *Giordano Bruno e i Suoi Tempi*, by Luigi Previti, S.J., pp. 291-297.

The *Civitas Solis* of Thomas Campanella, who, like Giordano Bruno, was a Dominican Friar, is modelled on the *Utopia*, with which the author was acquainted.¹ Campanella spent a good deal of his time in jail, and had to defend himself several times before the Inquisition. The Popes befriended him and ultimately got him his liberty. He was a brilliant genius and a very close reasoner, giving plenty to do to the best theologians of his day. He was, however, a little *cracked*, and cannot always be taken quite seriously. His *City of the Sun* contains nothing very original. His communism is based on the *Utopia* and the *Republic* of Plato. It applies to women as well as to goods ; but the author himself takes care to explain in a commentary of his own that he is discussing the conditions of pure nature, independent of human or divine laws. Indeed his communistic theory is much more fully and clearly set forth in his treatise *De Politicis* than in the *Civitas Solis*. If socialists only knew it they have a much better arsenal in the former than in the latter : for there he breaks a lance with Catejan, Dominicus Soto, and other famous theologians on several fundamental questions of natural law, looking at things as Solon, Socrates, Cato, or some other wise pagan might do ; whilst, at the same time, recognizing the binding authority of the positive laws of the Church and professing the profoundest respect and reverence for the Pope.

Other *Utopias* on somewhat similar lines were 'The Republic of the Bees' (*Repubblica delle Api*) of Giovanni Bonifacio, a Florentine jurist of the seventeenth century, and *I Mondi* of Francesco Doni. We shall see that there have been sketches of a different kind at a later period.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

¹ He mentions it expressly in another work of his. 'Sed contra est auctoritas Thomae Mori martyris nuperrimi qui scripsit Rempublicam Utopie fictitiam ut ad ejus exemplar nostras, vel mores particulares institueremus.'—*De Politicis*, Quaesti iv. 8.

APOLOGETICS OF THE MIRACLE

I HAVE said¹ that the physical aspect of a miracle—scholastically, its *matter*—suggests of itself nothing very definitely. The effect is indeed seen to be an anomaly, out of joint with the ordinary run of things, and thus is calculated to excite our wonder, our astonishment. But so, too, with the jumble of an earthquake or the passing of a comet, and these are rarely taken to be miraculous. It is the attendant circumstances, the moral religious surroundings, inseparable from the notion of a true miracle, that give to the occurrence its peculiar character. If the physical phenomenon is the matter, this is the *form* which specifies it, places it in the distinct category of the miraculous. Before proceeding now to examine in detail the difficulties already urged, there are one or two fundamental points affecting the relation of our teaching with physical science to which we must give a passing reference. It has been said that the miraculous occurrence is seen to violate the established laws of matter, concentrating an unaccountable increase of energy on the production of a particular effect. And so it really does, however it is to be explained. The ordinary Christian explanation is, that it is due to the direct interposition of God, whose power is invoked in the production of a miracle, and who may reasonably be claimed competent and willing to interfere in His own creation.

If the laws of matter were proved to be necessary or inexorable things, or if the interference of God at the prayerful call of one of His creatures were shown to be unworthy of Him, there might be reasonable grounds to find fault with this view. But as none of these things has yet been satisfactorily proven, there would seem to be no urgent need to alter the reply. Moreover, we have but to glance at some of the tendencies in modern science,

¹ I. E. RECORD, September, 1908.

to see that its plausibility is gaining every day additional strength. No longer is that rigid determinism, so prevalent fifty or sixty years ago, hugged by the *savants*. The old gross materialistic theories are fast fading out of view, and a philosophy, in which spirit plays no unimportant part, comes to take its place.

Already indeed one prominent school has gone so far as to claim, apparently, that matter has no existence except in relation to spirit, that spirit is the be-all and end-all of its existence ; while another holds¹ strenuously to a strange theory of spirit-matter, in which matter itself is understood to be a quasi-spiritual reality. The former of these would seem to have originated in the idealism of Kant, the latter is the peculiar product of our own time, consequent, possibly, on the new theories of the nature of heat, light, and electricity, and the postulation of the indeterminable and all-pervading ether ; while both would seem to have been largely influenced by the marvellous discoveries in the domain of the occult sciences. However this may be, the idea of spirit, and therefore of the Deity, acting on matter is no longer repugnant to the scientific mind.

While admittedly it may be true that the offer of a mere suggestion to an hypnotic patient has been proved to be efficacious in producing rigidity of the members of the body, stigmata, cessation of the heart-action, the almost instantaneous cure of nervous diseases, etc., and thus demonstrating the partial subjection at least of the material organism to the subconscious mind, there are, we must remember, other phenomena claimed by some to be almost equally demonstrable that go to prove that matter, even outside the human body, is, too, at the command of the indwelling spirit ; the net result of all being that the unchristian advocates of the new science have projected a theory whose shibboleth is the universal power of spirit over matter, and whose logical sequence is the repudiation of the supernatural character of the Christian miracles. A theory flattering to human nature beyond

¹ Vide Mallock, *Foundations of Belief*.

a doubt, a potent testimony to the excellence of the human soul !

But is it true ? We could wish it were, but what avails our wish when our invariable experience, the experience of all the sane men we know, only goes to prove its vanity. Doubtless, we are conscious of a spirit-power over certain movements of our body, as we are conscious that we act freely ; we will gladly admit, too, in deference to the experience of others whose testimony we have reason to value, that the subconscious mind has been shown to have the direction and control of other movements of our body of which we are not conscious ; but we have as yet neither an experience of our own nor the convincing testimony of others to the inherent powers of the soul to control or arrange at will matter that is altogether external to it.

Besides, the alleged cures through hypnotism and suggestion, the phenomena of clairvoyance and telepathy—even if true—cannot surely be put forward seriously as indicative of the natural order of things, when they require conditions so abnormal as the hypnotic trance for their production. Need I state, also, what must be patent to anyone who has even an elementary knowledge of the story of Christ's life, that all the alleged phenomena of the subconscious mind, as well those seriously recorded as those set down in the wildest dreams of fancy, are weak and faltering compared with the more important of the miracles effected through Christianity. Apart from the fact that the great miracles of Christianity required no exceptionally abnormal physical conditions, even in their mere physical aspect they are in magnitude, in completeness, in display of power far above the highest recorded effort or rational aspiration of the modern scientific expert. We have yet to hear of the *savant* whom the winds and waves obey,¹ who can feed five thousand on two barley loaves and two fishes, leaving a surplus of twelve baskets full of fragments,² who can change water into wine,³ who can give sight to those born blind,⁴ who can raise the dead to life⁵—nay,

¹ Matt. viii. 27.

⁴ John ix.

² Matt. xiv.

⁵ Matt. ix. ; Luke vii. ; John xiii.

³ John ii.

who can heal instantaneously even suppurating ulcers, as has been done before experts in our own day at the shrine of Lourdes. The exponents of those sciences have not as yet even given us reasonable hope that they will ever be able to do the smallest of these things. They have indeed built up a theory, novel in itself, and flattering to human pride, but it is largely woven in fancy, unsubstantiated by the necessary evidence of facts.

From an impartial view of the evidence, then, of the alleged wonders of the occult sciences, nay, even granting for the moment the genuineness of the accounts seriously set down by their interested advocates, I say that as mere visible manifestations of the power of spirit over matter, they fall far short of the great miracles of Christianity. But, as I have indicated elsewhere in this paper, this is not the only, nor even the special quality of the Christian miracles, which places them in a category securely and distinctly their own. Their peculiar religious character elevates them on a pedestal above all, even the most astounding, feats recorded of the occult sciences. Whether we have regard to the miracles of the Gospel, or to those worthy of notice in ecclesiastical history, or to those of our own time accepted generally by Catholics, this outstanding fact is always seen to be in evidence. The miracles of Sacred Scripture, whether wrought by our Lord Himself or by the Apostles, have one and all this distinctive trait. In the case of our Divine Lord the working of His miracles is seen to synchronize with His public life. The miracles become, then, the counterpart of His teaching, the sign and proof of its supernatural truth and efficacy. The unsolicited miracle may almost invariably be taken as the background for the announcement of some new doctrine to be proposed by Him, of which the miracle is, as it were, the visible sign; the solicited ones are usually preceded by an act of faith in His supernatural power. One may see how the feeding of the five thousand is availed of for the significant announcement: 'I am the bread of life;' ¹ the recovery of sight to the

¹ John vi. 48.

blind man is followed by the words, 'I am the light of the world;' ¹ the raising of Lazarus from the tomb by the remarkable statement, 'I am the resurrection and the life.'² As illustrative of the necessary presence and power of faith, to take but one or two examples, we see Him saying to one, 'Be of good heart, thy faith hath made thee whole,'³ to another, 'Have faith and thou shalt be cured,' and to the disciples who complained that they could not work a certain miracle, He said, 'It was on account of your incredulity. Amen I say to you if you have faith as the grain of mustard seed you shall say to this mountain, "Go hence," and it shall go, and nothing shall be impossible to you.'⁴ Faith is seen to precede, accompany, and actually account for the miraculous work. The attendant circumstances are all religious, redolent of a spirit of faith; the miracle is seen to be pre-eminently a great religious act.

(1) Every miracle, as I stated, has a two-fold aspect, a moral and a physical, each of which plays its distinctive part in this connexion. The function of the physical aspect, the phenomenon from which indeed the word 'miracle' is primarily derived, is to arrest our attention, to excite our wonder, our surprise, to set us a-thinking. The thing done is so sudden, so extraordinary, so wonderful that our undivided attention is forthwith centred forcibly on the person of the thaumaturgist. We are at once induced to listen earnestly, whole-heartedly, to his teaching, to take in his words, and permit them sink deep in our minds, much as in the hypnotic trance the subconscious mind is pre-disposed to be influenced by the suggestion of the acting medium. Perhaps, too, we may be impressed with a prevailing thought of the extraordinary power of the man, and possess thereby a sort of guarantee for the efficacy of his word. But this is all; practically nothing more than the 'lying wonder' of an imposter might succeed in effecting.

¹ John ix. 5.
Luke vii. 50, xviii. 42.

² John xi. 25.

³ Matt. ix. 22, Mark x. 52,

⁴ Matt. xvii. 18, 19.

Yet thus far only does the physical aspect of the occurrence lead us. It is here the religious character of the whole thing comes in for inspection; herein the function of the religious aspect of every true miracle is in evidence and our powers of perception in the moral order, our faculty of discerning religious and moral truth, brought into play. All the attendant circumstances, antecedent and concomitant, the persons, place, the nature and bearing of the truth proposed, have to be subjected to examination. The inference to the genuineness or the spuriousness of the alleged miracle will, of course, be very much coloured by our previous mental setting in regard to such occurrences, as well as our previous notions of what is right and wrong in the moral and religious orders. If this new teaching is seen to harmonize with our preconceived views, then indeed have we a strong motive for our assent to the genuineness of the miracle, and accordingly for the acceptance of the truth propounded, of which the wonder wrought is, as it were, the seal from on High. If, on the other hand, it is found to jar with our previous convictions of what is right and wrong, the inference to the spurious character of the whole thing is not the less strong. Of course we may be deceived, and good men often were, for we have no strict guarantee for the infallibility of our perceptions in either the physical or moral orders; but at all events, in some such way, do I believe, an occurrence having the appearance of a miracle would ordinarily avail for an eye-witness regarding the claims or teaching of a would-be thaumaturgist.

In this connexion another point, to which I have already alluded, deserves a passing notice, as bearing in a special way on the miracles wrought by our Lord Himself. This is the peculiar religious signification of the occurrence itself, the fact that the mere external effect was itself very often the visible *sign* of the religious truth which He proposed to convey. With St. John, the miracles of Christ were almost invariably called 'signs,' the symbolic meaning of which was primarily intended to be grasped by His listeners. Neither our Lord Himself nor St. John apparently

were at great pains to emphasize the display of power exhibited in the miraculous occurrence, nor were the Pharisees reprimanded for not having recognized it, while they are frequently blamed for failing to perceive what the occurrence symbolized. To take but one example out of many, we see that after the great sign of the feeding of the five thousand, to the significance of which the hearts of the multitude were impervious, the Lord said, 'You seek Me not because you saw signs, but because you ate of the loaves and were filled.'¹ They realized seemingly the outward visible sign, they failed to understand its symbolic meaning, and for this they are blamed.

Again, we frequently find Christ Himself giving on the spot the interpretation of those signs, and we are struck at once by the aptitude of their significance. In fact one would imagine that they were used by Him in an exactly parallel way to that of the parables—those at least that are strictly symbolic, as the 'sower and the cockle.' The feeding of the five thousand is interpreted by Him, 'I am the bread of life;' the recovery of sight to the blind man, 'I am the light of the world;' the raising of Lazarus, 'I am the resurrection and the life;' 'the walking on the waters, 'I am, be not afraid,'² just as if in each case the *sign* were the peculiar illustration—the parable in act—of the truth afterwards propounded.

This being true, then, of many of the miracles of the Gospel, the outward sign or wonder being of its own nature calculated to lead to the perception of the religious truth proposed, their evidential value was manifestly intensified for those who had the privilege of witnessing them. To grasp their symbolic meaning, however, demanded an exercise of reason untrammelled by religious bias, or antipathy to religious truth. If the faculty of perception in this order were twisted or blunted, as in the case of those who set their face deliberately against all religion; if it were clouded by prejudice or wilful malice, as in the case of the Pharisees who witnessed in vain the miracles of Christ;

¹ John vi. 26.

² John vi. 20.

then more than likely the religious significance of the occurrence was unperceived and its evidential value as a consequence rendered for them null and void. The miracle always had, of course, objectively an evidential value for him who witnessed its performance—that was the *raison d'être* of its occurrence—but its subjective proving force was largely dependent on the disposition of will of each individual witness.

(2) What is the *vis probandi* of a miracle for those who have not witnessed its occurrence?

The evidential value of a recorded miracle in favour of a person or a doctrine may be in one way more reliable than that of a witnessed miracle, in another way it may manifestly be far less reliable. While I believe it to be certain that a true miracle is never wrought in favour of a false teaching or an impostor—else you would have God contradicting Himself—I see nothing impossible in a spirit lesser than the Deity performing what would have all the external appearance of a true miracle in the interests of error. Now this error may not be perceived by an eye-witness, it may indeed be concealed 'neath a glamour of truth, and so the after effects of the event become a more reliable test of its genuineness than the actual witnessing of its occurrence. If a miracle is stated to have been performed in favour of a teaching or a person whose subsequent history tended to jar with our otherwise certain convictions of the truth in the moral and religious orders, then we have at once the very strongest presumption of its original spuriousness, that it was the work of a false impostor or the Evil Spirit. It is on this score that Christians must always entertain the gravest suspicion of the recorded miracles of Mohammedanism and Buddhism—so many of whose doctrines are, now at least, decidedly against our notions of moral and religious truth.

But if the recorded miracle has this advantage over the witnessed one, it has difficulties of another kind which more than counterbalance this seeming show of superiority. In fact, it is against the recorded miracle, as we have seen, that practically all the adverse criticism of the miraculous

tells with most effect. The following questions might pertinently demand an answer? Can we ever have such reliable testimony to the occurrence of a miracle as will satisfy the reasonable demands of an impartial inquirer? Can we ever know with certainty that a recorded miracle was actually wrought to prove the truth of a certain teaching?

Here again the notion of miracle which we have given must be borne in mind. Did we present the case for a miracle to the scientific historian as that of a mere physical anomaly—an interruption of the laws of nature—there should be little wonder if the edge of his critical faculty was at once turned against it, if he should seek to explain it away either as an optical delusion, as an invention, or a mere extraordinary natural phenomenon. But when we present it clothed with its own characteristic form, the peculiar religious environment with which it is invariably associated, and with which accordingly the ordinary methods of the scientific historian must be admitted incompetent to deal, his attitude cannot, logically at least, be so sceptical. That a man may admit even the possibility of the miraculous he must, as I have already stated, have assented to the truths of the existence of God and of the ‘supernatural.’ No amount of recorded evidence for a miracle will influence a man who wills not to believe in one or other of these truths. Such a man’s moral religious sense will not, cannot perceive the true value of a miraculous occurrence, its religious value, and consequently its proving force in favour of a certain person or teaching, will hardly ever register conviction. But for the partial unbiassed historian, whose moral religious turn is not thus warped or blunted, the case for a miracle as now presented is bound to elicit a favourable hearing. It will be seen to have its own place and purpose in the history of man; that it has, too, its own peculiar standards according to which its value must be judged. It will be seen, too, I venture to think to have its own scientific law, which an even cursory examination of all the recorded miracles that are seriously put forward by Christians cannot fail to bring home to the true scientific historian—a law, as

I have said, founded on the recognized method in scientific research by 'Constant Coincidences.' The factors which I have indicated will be seen to be constant in every true Christian miracle; as constant, if they were fully perceived, as those that go to form many of the recognized laws of physical science. For the man who recognizes the force of this reasoning, it will be at once seen that the recorded miracle has its value as a proof of the claims or doctrine of a thaumaturgist, being itself, as it were, the visible manifestation of the supernatural efficacy of the truth proposed.

(3) This brings me now to outline briefly the case for the Christian miracles and what part they play in the rôle of Christian apologetics. My statement shall be little more than a suggestive application of the principles indicated in the foregoing pages regarding the evidential value of a witnessed and a recorded miracle. All the miracles which Christianity seriously puts forward as evidences of the supernatural character of her teaching are claimed to have been performed at one time or another before capable eye-witnesses. Even in our own day, in the full blaze of modern progress and modern science, the occurrence of miracles is almost daily testified to by witnesses whose number and whose competency to judge command a most favourable hearing. In fact, to many minds which are inclined to be sceptical, the evidence of those modern miracles, inasmuch as it is recent and capable of minute and detailed investigation, should, I imagine, have a peculiar convincing force—and if so, might not unreasonably be directed backward as a search-light upon the alleged miraculous occurrences in the past history of Christianity. If miracles have happened recently, and are occurring to-day in circumstances precisely similar to those recorded of bygone days, it would seem to me that the narration of the latter should become no longer an object of suspicion, but a subject for the impartial consideration of the evidence adducible in their favour. It is through faith in Christ that miracles are wrought to-day just as in the early ages of the Church. It is through the power that

comes from Him that all the miracles of Christianity are alleged to have been performed. These latter-day miracles indeed to which I refer may not be wrought precisely in proof of, or concomitantly with, the announcement of some Christian truth—that is not the sole function of a miracle, as we know from the whole history of Christianity—but yet they are always visible manifestations of the supernatural efficacy of the belief and the religion which the persons profess. For the eye-witness, then, the proving force of one and all towards the supernatural character of Christianity is to be rated according to the principles elsewhere laid down. If a man's religious sense is doggedly opposed to the possibility or actuality of the miraculous, then its value as an evidence of the truth, unless by a special grace of God, will hardly ever register the desired conviction. He will either believe himself to have been deceived or seek to explain away the witnessed phenomenon as a mere natural occurrence. Such, on their own admission, would have been the attitude of men like Hume, Strauss, and Spinoza, had a veritable miracle been performed before their eyes. They were so pre-occupied with the notion of a miracle as a violation of the laws of nature—which they regarded as unalterable—that they would not believe their own eyes testifying to the contrary. Such, too, apparently was the attitude of very many of the Jews in presence of the miraculous workings of our Divine Lord. They were not indeed blinded to the supernatural character of His works; they recognized that no mere human being could perform the wonders which He wrought; yet in their inrooted obstinacy and malicious antipathy to His person and His teaching, they preferred to ascribe His miracles to the power of Beelzebub¹ rather than to Him by whom they were claimed to be performed. They were blinded, or wilfully blinded themselves, to the import of His teaching; they failed to realize in it the fulfilment and consummation of what had already been vouchsafed to them; they failed to realize in Him, owing to their mis-

¹ Luke xi. 15.

interpreting the prophecies that had been made about Him, the long-expected One who was to rule the nations of the earth. They viewed both His person and His teaching through the coloured spectacles of their own prejudices and antipathies, and consequently the religious significance, the real evidential value of His miracles, was either wholly lost to them, or only dimly perceived. The works by themselves apart from His life and teaching would not be calculated to enforce the conviction of His Heavenly message in the mind of the Jewish race; the display of supernatural power was not invariably associated in their minds with God and goodness. It was supposed¹ to be in the gift of evil spirits as well as good, it was in fact regarded with horror in as many cases as with reverence. When wielded first by Christ Himself was not the impression produced upon those who witnessed it frequently one of alarm and distress? Some men apparently were not so much disposed to admire or adore as to escape precipitately from the presence of one so formidable. The Gadarenes prayed Christ to depart out of their coasts. Even the devoted Peter made the same petition, and that at a time when he should have known too much of His Master utterly to misapprehend His character and His purpose.

For those, however, whose minds were not thus clouded by prejudice; for subsequent generations who could read dispassionately the life and doings of the Christ; for those who, in addition to having the authentic story of His life and teaching handed down to us unquestionably by those who saw and lived with Him, can moreover, unbiassedly, read 'the signs of the times' before and after, the miracles of Jesus are seen to have a beauty and grandeur all their own, and to be what they really were, the visible and significant manifestation of the supernatural efficacy of His word. Many of the Jews were, or at least professed to be, suspicious of the origin of that supernatural power; for us its effect upon the world, its history for

¹ See Emile Bougaud, *The Divinity of Christ*, p. 135.

nineteen centuries leaves not the semblance of a doubt. Are the miracles, then, a conclusive proof of Christ's divinity, and consequently of the divine origin of Christianity? Yes, when coupled with His teaching and His express claims to Divinity, they form a most convincing proof. The miracles of themselves, as recorded, unmistakably bear the impress of the supernatural. Even the Jews recognized this, and the works themselves demand a display of power which exceeds our highest hopes for the mere powers of nature. Again, the peculiar manner of their production,¹ the beauty and sublimity of the doctrine with which they were associated, together with the subsequent marvellous history of that same doctrine in the world and its perfect adaptability to the spiritual needs of man show sufficiently, I think, if proof were needed, that that supernatural power could not have been from the Spirit of Evil. I do not deny that the works of themselves might not have been performed by a mere man endowed with supernatural power from God, nor, *a fortiori*, do I deny that they could have been the works of an angel acting as His instrument, but all the circumstances of their production preclude even the very thought of this. We have but to glance at the character of the producer in act, in type, and prophecy, His express claims to Divinity and equality with the Father, together with the fact that the subsequent history of Christianity has its *raison d'être* through the perpetual preaching and profession of that belief, and then associate those facts with His miraculous works, to see that the divinity shines forth in the clearest light. We do not then view the miracles of Christ alone; we take them conjointly with what we know otherwise of His life, character and teaching, and the transformation it effected upon the world. It is with this peculiar religious setting we approach the miracles which He is recorded to have accomplished to examine them in

¹ *The Divinity of Christ*, p. 140. According to this distinguished writer it was through His marvellous reserve and exceeding tenderness in the use of His supernatural power—never using it in His own defence—rather than in the magnitude and number of His miracles, that Christ distinctly showed Himself to be divine.

the light of what we know. They are then seen to be the connatural ratification of His teaching, the outward manifestation and convincing proof of its supernatural truth and efficacy.

The sceptic will cry out that this presupposes the authenticity and substantial accuracy of the documents relative to Christ's life and teaching. So it does, and their authenticity we are prepared to maintain. The books themselves can be traced to the immediate followers of Christ, as truly as—and, perhaps, more truly than—any other admittedly authentic work of the time can be traced to its now recognized author. Were it not for their peculiar teaching of the life and miracles of the Christ, the extrinsic evidence for their authenticity would not leave the faintest suspicion on the mind of the scientific historian. It is the extraordinary nature of their contents, which, of course, is purely scientific history, would be a valuable and recognized criterion of the genuineness of the work that alone, in consistency, can be called into question by him. Herein, however, as I have insisted, the canons of purely scientific criticism as applied to ordinary facts of history are not sufficient. The facts and teaching are pre-eminently religious, and must be judged by religious moral standards as well. They must not be taken as merely isolated distinct phenomena out of harmony with the ordinary course of things. Their essential character is religious, and with their religious antecedents and consequents they are to be estimated. There is a religious history of mankind concerned with the relations of man and his Maker, as well as a profane history concerned with the relations of man to his fellow-man. In the religious history those facts and teachings, if true and proven, are seen to assume their rightful place in harmony and concord; in their religious setting alone is their real value and beauty truly estimated. This does not imply that in the investigation into the authenticity of those facts and teachings all extrinsic means, extrinsic evidences, should not be employed, and that if this be found wanting their credibility would not be impaired.

It implies only that when the evidence in their favour would be quite sufficient to establish the credibility of ordinary facts in history, these must not be rejected on the plea merely that they are extraordinary, wonderful, inconsistent with the natural order of things before and after, smacking of the 'supernatural,' which scientific history at all costs must not hear of. This is the type of scientific historian whose canons of criticism we deem insufficient, incompetent to deal justly with the miraculous. He is unreasonably biassed ; he is a lop-sided critic, a partial sceptic ; he lacks the necessary religious turn of mind, the religious moral acumen which would have enabled him to detect in these apparently incoherent, inconsistent things the workings of another and a higher order with which they are understood to be in perfect harmony. This is the faculty—unfortunately not possessed by all who have essayed to pronounce upon religious facts—which I have insisted upon as necessary to the critical historian, this is the faculty which must always be possessed by him who will essay to pronounce upon the actuality of the miraculous.

MALACHY EATON.

GLIMPSES OF THE PENAL TIMES—V

IN one respect the most interesting document among the few which have been quoted in the course of these articles, is a list of regular priests convicted as such in the Court of Queen's Bench, which was made out on October 12, 1703, and was soon afterwards presented to Parliament by Lord Chief Justice Pyne. Of the judges' lists or reports extant, it is the only one the Examinations or the Indictments corresponding to which are preserved.

The Lord Chief Justice's own report of all the ecclesiastics he had tried while on circuit does not add appreciably to our knowledge of those who were impeached for offending against the Act of Banishment. The total number is in fact surprisingly small, compared to what is found elsewhere. And the only names peculiar to it, or that are not mentioned in any of the similar returns sent in by the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, N. Donnellan; the Lord Chief Baron of the Common Pleas, R. Doyne; or Judges Upton, Macartney, and Coote, are those of John Mathewes and Thomas Johnson of Wexford, and that of Daniel Curree of Limerick. About these priests we have unfortunately not been able to get further information, for all the relevant records of the Assizes appear to have been lost.

But, on the other hand, the list alluded to above, that of the regular priests tried in his own court in Dublin, which the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Robert Pyne, commanded the Deputy Clerk of the Crown, Richard Tisdall, to draw up for presentation to Parliament, and which he appended to the report of his own circuit, though short, is, as we already observed, interesting. It can be illustrated with the help of contemporary documents. It mentions the names of four members of the regular clergy that had been condemned in Queen's Bench, and subsequently committed to Newgate.

They were Father John Keatinge, O.P. ; Father John Kelly *alias* Purcell, O.S.F. ; Father Edward Chamberlain, S.J. ; and Father Dominic Egan, O.P. The words of the Lord Chief Justice, in his annexed certificate respecting their trial and penalty, are :—

Search being made among the Pleas of the Crowne in her Majestie's Court of Chiefe Place, Irelande, I find that John Keatinge was in Michaelmas Terme, 1699, convicted of being a ffryer, and that in Hillary Terme, 1700, John Kelly *alias* Purcell, was likewise convicted of being a ffryer, and that in Michaelmas Terme, 1701, Edward Chamberlain was likewise convicted of being a Jesuite, and that in Easter Terme, 1702, Dominic *alias* Constantine Egan was likewise convicted of being a ffryer, all which persons were committed to the gaole of Newgate, there to remain without Bayle of Mainprize until they should be transported.

The whole of this list was published in the I. E. RECORD.¹ And the same number contained a summary of the respective Indictments, and the Examinations so far as at present extant, together with some account drawn from other sources, of the first three of these priests.

We come now to the fourth. As was said above, he was a Dominican. It may be assumed as certain that Constantine was his baptismal and Dominic his religious name, so that the word *alias* is due to the pardonable mistake of some legal functionary. According to the *Liber Provinciae Hiberniae*, 1683-1710, he belonged to the Tralee house.²

At the time to which our narrative refers the community was a comparatively large one. During the three years that a Father Kenna held the office of Prior there, he gave the habit to no less than ten postulants, as he himself told O'Heyne.³ These we may fairly assume were

¹ September, 1907, p. 267.

² Its customary designation is 'Holy Cross,' but in this official document it is for some unexplained reason called 'St. Mary's.' In passing we may observe that in the same MS. the title of the Waterford Priory is not the usual one, viz., St. Saviour's, but St. John the Baptist's. The *Liber Provinciae* is a catalogue of all those residing in the Irish Dominican houses, made out every year.

³ See the latter's *Epilogus Chronologicus*, p. 114.

all received for the Tralee house, because as we learn from another contemporary source—a MS. in St. Clement's, Rome, entitled 'Brevis Notitia Provinciae Hiberniae ab anno 1600-1736, a Rev. Patre Edmundo Burke'—there were then several novices in Connaught, which throughout the penal times was a stronghold and a seminary of Hibernia Dominicana.¹

More than ordinary virtue was needed by those who entered religion at the close of the seventeenth century, for not only did the aspirants to profession as usual relinquish all that human nature holds dear, but they exposed themselves to imminent danger of persecution and death. We may be sure that all the young Dominicans living together in Tralee were animated by this generous and courageous spirit. But ardent as was the zeal which inspired them, none among the group has left behind a nobler name than the subject of these pages, Constantine Dominic Egan.

He appears in the *Liber Provinciae* as a professed novice resident in 'St. Mary's,' first in 1685 and again in 1686, after which his name does not occur for some years. We know the reason. As De Burgo says,² he was sent to Spain in order to complete his ecclesiastical studies in some house

¹ That, however, the total number of Dominicans then in Ireland was considerably less than it had been just before the pseudo-Reformation is made evident by a comparison of the above-mentioned *Liber Provinciae* with another work in MS. of this Father Edmund Burke, *Dissertatiuncula de Provincia Hiberniae* (Archives of the Dominican General, xiii. 157, no. 2) in which the following statement occurs in connexion with an account of the Clanrickard family, which for centuries had been most friendly to the Dominicans:—

'Accedit quod in registro Conventus Athenriensis legantur inter alia notabilia beneficia quae dicto Conventui contulit Dominus Ricardus de Burgo sive Burk sequentia verba. "Item, tempore nostri Capituli Provincialis quod celebratum in conventu Athenrii fuit Anno 1524 reficiebat (praefatus Ricardus) omnes fratres in capitulo tunc existentes ter, cum magna solemnitate et honore, trecenti et sexaginta, aliis omnibus supervenientibus et famulis et parvulis exceptis aut non computatis, et nonnulla alia bona huic Conventui suo tempore fecit, cuius animae propitiatur Deus, qui diem clausit extremum Anno 1530.'"

As only a few from each community go to the house where a Provincial Chapter is to be held, the total number of Dominicans then in Ireland must have been about 600, a number which elsewhere we find stated as being that of the Province when Elizabeth ascended the throne. In contrast to this, at the end of her reign only *four* were left.

² *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 587.

of the Order. This was commonly done at the time. In Ireland there existed so few facilities for a thorough theological course, that students had to go abroad. It was often a perilous voyage ; and no less perilous was the return one. To run the blockade required courage and skill and good luck. The young priest on the vessel homeward bound was in continual danger ; it increased as he drew nearer. This he was well aware of. In all probability someone he had heard of, or someone from his own college that had set out for home a short time before him, was then in prison. But it did not daunt him. As the hills he had longed to see once more, the green hills of his native land, gradually rose above the waves, and then the coast-line, dim at first, came, by little and little, clearly into view, he would think with pride of the people that had kept the faith, of the people against whose virtue fire and sword were powerless. He would thank God that he belonged to such a race. And his heart would turn instinctively to his *own*, to the father and mother from whom he had received the earliest and deepest lessons of Catholic piety. He would think, too, of one who, when even secular education was proscribed, exposed himself to severe penalties and endured hardships day after day. He would remember the Mass heard at early morn in sequestered glen or on the lonely hill-top, of his pastor's instruction and blessing, and lastly of his own parting from all this for a foreign strand. Thus would he muse on boyhood's years. Then to all the cherished scenes that memory might recall and affection delight to dwell on, other and more serious thoughts regarding the present would succeed. The young priest's mind would be occupied by practical reflections, he would realize more than ever that he was now coming back as God's envoy and would make an unutterable resolve to be worthy of his high mission. He would feel as never in his life before the special need he had of Heaven's help, for well might he apply to Ireland what the Apostle said about Jerusalem : ' *Quae in ea mihi ventura sunt ignorans.*' The myrmidons of a heretical government were on the alert to prevent his landing, and beyond them, even should he

succeed in passing through their cordon, in many districts paid spies lay in ambush, so that it was difficult and well nigh impossible for a priest to work undetected in their midst.

Considerations such as these must have occupied Father Egan's mind, when coming up the Irish Channel he first saw Bray Head and in the distance the Hill of Howth, and then as his bark neared its destination, the fairest panorama on the whole coast, that of Dublin Bay, gradually opened to his enraptured vision all its varied forms and tints from the pencilled background of the Wicklow Mountains to the long line of verdant shore that circles the bright waters from Dunleary to Clontarf. If the grandeur and beauty of the sun-lit scene naturally pleased him, his attention was given chiefly to what concerned him as a priest. For a great change had come over Ireland since the time when Dominic Egan, soon after his profession, had left its shores.

As we saw above, the year 1686 was the last in which the *Liber Provinciae* recorded his name. It was a year of gladness and of hope. On the accession of a Catholic sovereign, James II (February 16, 1685), the persecution that had lasted for a century and a half came at last to an end, and many faithful Irish hearts beat high with expectation. Before 1702, when Father Egan returned, all these joyful anticipations were blighted. James II had been defeated at the Boyne, and the treaty subsequently made had been shamefully violated. To use Grattan's words: 'The peace after Limerick was to the Catholics a sad servitude : to the Protestants a drunken triumph.' Persecution recommenced, and soon one of the heaviest blows ever dealt the Church in Ireland was inflicted by the Act of Banishment. Her bishops and her religious were no longer to stay in the country. They might quit it of their own reluctant accord before May 1, 1698 ; else after that date they would be forced to do so. The Williamite Parliament drove crowds into exile, and took every possible precaution against the return of a single individual. Two months after the Act had come into operation, on July 7, 1698,

only one archbishop (Cashel) and two bishops (Cork and Dromore) remained; but by 1701 both bishops were in prison, and the archbishop, a feeble old man, was in hourly danger of arrest. Of all members of the secular clergy possessing jurisdiction *in foro externo* only a few were able to conceal themselves, and the same was true of the regular priests.

Thus the laity experienced extreme difficulty in getting religious instruction, in receiving the sacraments, and above all in hearing Mass. The Act of 1697 was a deep-laid scheme. Had its working proved successful, one of its immediate and most disastrous results would have been the extinction in Ireland of the religious Orders. Perceiving this and the ulterior consequences, in order so far as in him lay to render the diabolical scheme ineffective, the Dominican Provincial, Father Ambrose O'Connor (1700-1709), recalled from various colleges on the Continent as many of his subjects as possible.¹ Neither he nor they were deterred by the Proclamations (September 13, 1698), 'For putting in execution an Act for banishing the Popish clergy from this kingdom,' and (April 22, 1700), 'Forbidding Popish priests to enter the kingdom.' Father Dominic Egan was one of those who hastened to obey. At this time the vigilance of the Custom House officials was so unrelaxed, that we may well wonder how any priest could, on his return, succeed in passing through their midst. Yet, as we know, many devoted missionaries, by the special intervention of Provi-

¹ In 1704 he presented to Clement XI a detailed account of the sufferings endured by the Irish Catholics. It is entitled 'De praesenti Hiberniae sub A catholicorum jugo statu, Anno 1704.' This MS. and a printed copy of it are preserved in the Vatican Archives (Inn. X, vol. 164).

He speaks thus (p. 6): 'A quadriennio quippe et ultra, Provincialis (licet immerito) institutus Orator, ex Hispania per Belgium et Angliam in Hiberniam properavit, ibidemque sibi subditos (numero nonaginta circiter) per Regnum hinc inde dispersos, et non sine fructu occulte evangelizantes invisit, atque ad contumelias, aliaque quantumvis aspera pro nomine Jesu laete patiendi, pro viribus;' (p. 7): 'animavit, quae et quanta ipse interea fuerat perpressus, quoties ad carceres quaesitus, quam presse saepius insecutus, referre consulto omittit, et servus licet inutilis Altissimo consecrat.'

And on p. 8, he adds: 'Veritatis praecones, in exilium missi, aut domi occulte latitantes, aut carceribus inclusi, prout de facto sunt, cum aliis diversis in distinctis Regni partibus, quinque Oratoris subditi per annos jam quatuor humano subsidio destituti.'

dence, remained in Ireland or got back there undiscovered, and they kept the lamp of faith burning with undimmed lustre. Others who were captured in the endeavour became so many victims whose sufferings pleaded to Heaven for mercy, and contributed as much to the salvation of souls as otherwise their preaching would have done. To the latter class Father Egan was destined to belong.

When he landed, as the writer of the 'Brevis Notitia' (O'Heyne) and De Burgo inform us, he was arrested in Dublin, and at once thrown into prison. This we learn, too, from another source, but a disagreement exists respecting its date. The two well-known authorities add that this happened in 1700; unless indeed 1700 is a misprint for 1702, but at any rate the latter date seems to be the correct one. It is testified to by four MSS., in which a mistake could hardly occur. They show indubitably that Father Egan was seized and condemned not in the reign of William III, but in that of Queen Anne, which began March 8, 1702. Nor can it be suggested as a tentative reconciliation, that Father Egan may have been in Ireland for the two years preceding his arrest, since from his own words it appears (notwithstanding the lacuna in the Examination, *which see below*) that he was just returning from Lisbon, when he landed in Dublin on May 2, 1702. On the other hand, O'Heyne, writing in Louvain, in 1706, says: 'Reverendus Pater Dominicus Mac Egan a sexennio detinetur in carcere Dublinii in Hibernia.' Owing to lack of information, the discrepancy cannot be removed by the present writer.

These four documents are in the Record Office, Dublin. The text of one of them we have already seen, namely, the certificate of his trial and imprisonment which was laid before Parliament by Lord Chief Justice Pyne. Next come Father Egan's own Indictment and Examination. The Indictment is, of course, in Latin, according to the practice of our law courts till about seventy years ago, but the Examination is in English. Both these documents were, when discovered, in a very bad state of preservation, being mildewed and stuck together, and the faded writing on

the parchment containing the Indictment was at first in many places quite illegible, and in a few it still remains so. The action of the damp has also corroded the edges and other parts of the paper on which the Examination was written. It should be mentioned here in explanation, that this composite document is the outside one, or the first in the bundle of indictments to which it belongs, and therefore the most exposed: this accounts for its actual condition, dating as it does from a time when the records were not preserved with the admirable skill and care that they are at present. The lacunæ in the originals are indicated here by brackets:—

(Crown Office, Queen's Bench, Trinity Term, 1702. Indictments No. I.)

Comitatus Civitatis Dublinensis, scilicet jurati pro domina Regina super sacramentum suum dicunt et praesentant quod Dominicus alias Constantinus Egan de Dublino in comitatu Civitatis Dublinensis Regularis sacerdos Anglice 'a ffryar' de ordine Sancti Dom[]do die Maii anno regni dominae nostrae Annae dei gratia Angliae, Scotiae, Ffranciae et Hiberniae Reginae fidei defensoris, etc., primo apud Civitatem Dublini videlicet in[] Sancti Michaelis Ar[] in Ward Sancti Michaelis in comitatu ejusdem civitatis vi et armis videlicet gladiis baculis et cultellis, etc., existens Regularis Sacerdos Anglice 'a ffryar' de Ordine Sancti Dominici de Ecclesia Romana remanens in hoc Regno Hiberniae et nunc existens infra comitatum civitatis Dublini praedictae in malum et perniciosum exemplum aliorum in tali casu delinquentium et contra pacem dictae dominae Reginae coronam et dignitatem suam et contra formam Statuti, etc.

Peruse the annexed examination
for proove of this Bill. Billa vera cum sociis,

JAMES COTTINGHAM.

Tempore Paschali primo anno Reginae
Cognovit Indictamentum, i[] Iudicium redditum.
Cognovit I[].¹

¹ These words mean: He pleaded guilty, and judgment was given accordingly.
He pleaded guilty.

[]tion of Dominick als Constantine []
 of y^e order of St. [] taken before me []
 fforster, Recorder of y^e City of Dublin.

Wh[]being examined sayeth & confesseth y^t he this
 Examinant in y^e yeare 1685 was professed a fryar in y^e Order
 of St. Dominick at Tralee in y^e County of Kerry and was
 admitted then into y^e Order by Father John Browne, Pro-
 vincial of y^e order in Ireland, and by Father Peter Kenon who
 was Prior of y^e Convent of St. Dominicke in y^e town of Tralle.
 That y^e Examinant went from Corke in y^e yeare 1687 to Spain^e
 and there continued till about two yeare & a half last past &
 then the Examinant went to Lisbon in Portugal & there con-
 tinued till his return into this kingdom in y^e ship called y^e
 George of Dublin, out of which this Examinant landed []
 of May. The [] sayeth y^t Dr. Pei[] Romish
 Bpp. of Waterf[] this Examinant was desired to del[]
 y^e small note found in y^e Ex[] papers
 sayeth that the said Peirse was in Ireland and sent thence by
 virtue of the late Act of Parliament for banishing the Romish
 regular clergy and Bishops, but whether he be now in this
 kingdom or not this Examinant knoweth not.

f. Dominicke Egan.

Captum coram me
 2 die Maii, 1702.
 Johannes Fforster.

The next document is an order on the Treasury for pay-
 ment to the person who arrested Father Egan. It was
 issued by the Privy Council. As we may fairly assume
 that application for the 'blood money' and the consequent
 grant or order were made without delay, the date of this
 document (June 10, 1702) affords corroborative evidence
 that the Dominican was arrested not in 1700, but in
 1702.

The amount actually paid the informer in this case, as in
 others mentioned in our last article (September, 1907), is
 the same, viz., £11 os. 1½d., being, for some reason unknown
 to us, slightly larger than what was promised for the arrest

and conviction of a regular priest in the Proclamation issued on September 13, 1699. The relevant passage runs thus :—

And for the better encouragement of all and every such person who shall discover, etc., etc., We, the Lords Justices and Council, do hereby publish, declare, and promise, that if any person or persons shall discover . . . regular Popish clergy exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, so remaining in this Kingdom, contrary to the tenor of the said Acts, or either of them, so that such person or persons be apprehended and convicted for such offence, the person or persons so discovering the same shall, for such discovery, have and receive as a reward . . . for every such Jesuit, Fryer, or Monk, ten pounds.

This offer had the desired effect. It stimulated the zeal of several spies and priest-hunters. They made great efforts, as we learn from their own letters still preserved in the Record Office. We shall presently have occasion to quote some of them in connexion with the case of the Bishop of Waterford, of whom mention is made in Father Egan's Examination, and others will be quoted in subsequent articles. But let us now see about the reward bestowed on Father Egan's captor. This is the order for it :—

By the Lords Justices and Council.

Mount Alexander

Thos. Keightley

We think fitt and soe do conclude condescend and agree by these our Letters of Concordatum that Percivall Conron Gent. shall have and receive the sune of Eleaven pounds & one penny halfpenny for apprehending the body of Dominick Egar *als* Egan a Fryer lately tryed in the King's Bench and comitted to Newgate untill transported as appears by the certificate of the Deputy Clerke of the Crown. These are therefore to will and require you, out of such her Majesty's Treasure as now remaines under your charge or shall next come to your hands, to pay the said Percivall Conron, or his assignes, the said Sume of Eleaven pounds & one penny halfpenny, and for your soe doing, these our Letters of Concordatum, together with his acquittance or the acquittance of his assignes, shall be as well unto you as to the Comptrollers of your acc^{ts} & all

other persons concerned therein a sufficient Warr^t and Discharge in that Behalfe.

Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin the 10th day of June, 1702.

To the Receiv^r or Receiv^r Generall of her May^{ties} Revenue in this Kingdome their Deputy or Deput^{ies}.

NARCISSUS DUBLIN.¹

ROB. KING.	CHA. FEILDING.	INCHIUIN.
CHA. DERING.	RT. PYNE.	WILL. KILDARE.
	RICHD. COX.	EDW. DOWN AND CONNOR.
	ROBT. DOYNE.	

Intr. THO. ISACK, Dep. Ck. Pells.

PERCIVALL CONRON, Gent., £II os. 1½d.

[Reverse side] Received the contents, £II os. 1½d.

PER. CONRAN.

10 June, 1702.

Concordatum.

Percival Conran for apprehending Dominick Egar als Egan a Fryar order'd to be transported.² £II os. 1½d.

Poundage	-	-	-	0	5	6¼
Pells	-	-	-	0	1	1¼
Ballance	-	-	-	10	13	6

£II 0 1½

¹ The following particulars about some of these Privy Councillors are taken from Clinton's *Fasti Eccl. Angl. in Hibernia*, and from the *Liber Munerum* (ed. Lascelles):—

Narcissus Dublin is, of course, Dr. Marsh, the founder of the library in Dublin which bears his name. He was in 1702 translated to Armagh. *Charles Dering* was Auditor-General of the Exchequer and M.P. for Carlingford. *Sir Richard Cox* was Justice of Common Pleas and afterwards Lord Chancellor. *Inchiquin*, William, 3rd Earl, succeeded in 1691 and died 24th December, 1719. *W. Kildare* was William Moreton. Educated at Oxford, came to Ireland as chaplain to Earl of Oxford. Then appointed chaplain to Lord Ormond, and made, in 1677, Dean of Christ Church, Dublin, and Bishop of Meath in 1682. He retired to England during the reign of King James, and after his return was translated, in 1705, to Kildare. *Edward Down and Connor*, Edward Smyth, Fellow, T.C.D. Left Ireland in the reign of James. Became chaplain to William III, and in 1695 was made Dean of St. Patrick's. Was made Bishop in 1699; died at Bath in 1720. A voluminous writer.

² This order for transportation, the one commonly issued in such cases, was in accordance with the following section of the Act regarding certain ecclesiastics:—

'III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid That from and after the twenty-ninth day of December, which shall be in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and ninety-seven, no Popish archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, dean, or any other Papist ex-

The amount due and the receipt for its payment are also mentioned in one of the Treasury books. This is the corresponding entry in the Vice-Treasurer's ledger:—

[1702. p. 73.] Paid Percival Conran for apprehending Dominick Eagar *alias* Egan, a [Dominican] Fryer ordered to be transported as by Warrant dated the 10th of June, 1702, with Acquittance appears.

Documents such as these leave no doubt whatever as to the cause of Father Egan's conviction and imprisonment. His own fearless straightforward acknowledgment of his being a Dominican, together with the equally clear unequivocal statement on the part of both the Queen's Bench and the Privy Council that for returning to Ireland the Dominican was condemned, are sufficient proof. But there is more. In the Record Office there are still to be seen, preserved in the bundles of Queen's Bench Indictments, three 'Newgate Calendars' or lists of the prisoners confined within its gloomy walls. They are dated respectively: January 23, 1705; November 6, 1706; January 23, 1706; and by the way these are the only Calendars found amidst the Indictments belonging to a period of fourteen years. Newgate Calendars show at a glance the prison characters respectively of the inmates, for opposite each name or each group of names the cause of the incarceration is set down. Let us take, for example, the last-mentioned one, found amid the Queen's Bench Indictments, Hilary Term, 1706 (Crown Office, 2 F. 16, 15). Its heading is

A Callend^r of the Prisoners in her Maties Goale of Newgate this present Terme being the 23rd of this Inst. Jany. 1706.

Among the prisoners two had been committed for murder, a third for stabbing, a fourth for perjury, a fifth for felony, others as accomplices in the same evil deed, and so on to the end of the sad catalogue. The only bright spot is where we see the names of the priests. All were in Newgate, as

exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, not established by the laws of this kingdom, Jesuit or frier, shall come into this kingdom, from any part beyond the seas, on pain of twelve months' imprisonment, and then to be transported in manner aforesaid.'

is obvious, for the same *crime*, i.e. of being Regulars that did not obey the Act of Banishment :—

DOMINICK EAGAN	{ Fryars tryed and con- victed at Queen's Bench.
GEORGE MARTIN	
FFELEX <i>alias</i> RANDLE DOWLE	
THOMAS BLUNTT	{ Fryars transmitted from Trim.
JAMES DONOUGH	
PHILIP BRADY	
JOHN MORRISON, Goaler.	

No other ecclesiastics are mentioned in the 'Calendars.' All the names that occur in the third are found in the second (November 6, 1706), and, with one exception, also in the first (January 23, 1705). We mean the name Ffelex *alias* Randle Dowle. About its bearer, Father Felix Randal Dowell, O.P., who was convicted on April 19, 1706 (O.S.), it will be necessary to speak in the following article. We have spoken of the others, with the exception of Father Egan, in preceding articles, so here we have only to speak of what befell him after his incarceration.

Constantine Dominic Egan was destined not to be transported, but to end his days in Dublin prison. While his novitiate companions were at liberty, though scattered far and wide ; studying, as O'Heyne remarks, in Spain, France, or Belgium ; and other members of the Tralee community were working on the Irish mission, he was immured in the filthy depths of Newgate. What the horrors of that dismal place were can hardly be imagined at the present day. Howard, the philanthropist, wrote of them thus : 'I well remember the dreadful state of Dublin Newgate in the beginning of the year 1775.' Yet it had been altered and repaired about 1750. But there was within those walls something worse than physical or material discomfort ; the interior of Newgate in its normal condition presented an appalling scene of depravity and turpitude. We are told that criminals callous to every sense of morality or shame abandoned themselves to vice, with that recklessness and positive exultation which sometimes appear when such profligates feel they have but a short time to live. That

feverish fit of elation at wickedness might have been the forerunner of frantic despair and final impenitence. But in their midst there was one to save them. Father Egan's life in prison was that of an apostle, a true son of St. Dominic. By his example and by his fervent admonitions he brought back to the paths of repentance and virtue several of these hardened sinners. His zeal and charity were manifested most in regard of those under sentence of death, and among them were many whom he converted and received into the Church. Thus did this saintly priest, under most adverse circumstances, reap an abundant harvest of souls during his long imprisonment.

And, incredible as it may seem, in Newgate he had the inestimable consolation of saying Mass every day. Not only were his fellow-prisoners present, but externs also—some of whom, long afterwards, related this fact to De Burgo, himself a native of Dublin, born in 1710, or three years before Father Egan's death.¹ From its history, we

¹ In that very year of grace 1710, incredible as it may appear to those who know only the Dublin of the present with its numerous churches, in which so many Masses are said daily, a single Mass could not be said in any of the little chapels for several weeks. Yet such was the case, as we learn from a letter sent to the Guardian of the Irish Franciscians in S. Isidore's, Rome, the contents of which were communicated to Propaganda. The Archbishop, Dr. Byrne, and clergy had to fly for safety to the Dublin or the Wicklow hills owing to an eruption of bigotry and hostility, during which the priest-hunters were more than usually active. At the time sixteen priest from other parts of Ireland were confined in Newgate for having performed ecclesiastical functions without having taken the oath of abjuration, or which more anon. The following is a summary of the letter:—

(Archiv. Propaganda. Atti d'Irlanda. Die 20 Julii, 1710.)

'Avviso con lettere delli 6 Maggio passato, come dalle 25 Marzo sino a quel tempo non s'era in detta Città celebrata alcuna Messa, per essersi quell'Arcivescovo e clero ritirato alle montagne a causa della severa perquisitione, che di loro si faceva, che anco facevasi degli altri sacerdoti in altre parti, e che di già erano stati condotti prigionieri in detta Città e condannati all'esilio dal Regno 16 Ecclesiastici convinti di haver fatto le sacre funzioni prima di haver preso il detto giuramento.'

N.B.—New Year's Day, March 25, 1710, was the term prefixed for the taking of this oath; unless the statute which commanded it was complied with before that date, all registered secular priests performing sacred functions afterwards became liable to the penalties enacted against regular priests.

Owing to a lull in the persecution, the Dominicans, after ten years' absence, returned in 1708 to Dublin. Father Stephen MacEgan, O.P., who had been for some years a curate in the then united parishes of St. Catherine and of St. James, got for his Order a chapel in Bridge Street, traces of which may still be seen.

know that bribes were, for ordinary things, all-powerful in Newgate, yet we should not believe that a priest confined *in odium fidei* could get permission to perform the sublimest work of his sacred office, the work most *hated*, if we were not assured by persons whose veracity in unquestionable that Father Egan was allowed. Under the very eyes of the law, he was committing the greatest crime of which he could be guilty. In default of further information we can only suppose that by giving an unusually large sum of money, either his Dominican brethren or some charitable citizen in Dublin found a sure way to the good graces of the jailer of Newgate, the illiterate John Morrison. But by whatever means it was obtained, the privilege of hearing Mass must have been highly prized by the externs, as at that time the chapels in the city were closed by order of the Lord Lieutenant.

It may have been in testimony to Father Egan's heroic virtue that he was elected Prior of his old home in Tralee. There may also have been a spice of humour in this honorary appointment, made to express the conviction that in the conflict then going on between Church and State the latter would get the worse of it. The entry in the *Liber Provinciae* is: 'Rev. Pr. Fr. Dom. Egan institutus fuit in Priorem Conv. S. Mariae Traliensis, die 18 8bris, 1703.' And it is not undeserving of notice that in the book where we first met his name (in 1685, as that of a novice), this one of him as Prior should be the last entry. It forms a suitable conclusion to a long roll of honour in the penal times.

We have accepted above De Burgo's statement that Father Egan died in 1713. It seems that he had better opportunities for getting information than the author of the MS. 'Brevis Notitia,' who gives 1709 as the date. In conclusion it may be said that the cause of Constantine Dominic Egan's beatification has been begun.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

[To be continued.]

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

IS THE ENCYCLICAL 'PASCENDI DOMINICI GREGIS' AN EX CATHEDRA DOCUMENT ?

REV. DEAR SIR,—You will greatly oblige by informing us if, in your opinion, the Encyclical of Pius X, condemnatory of the system of Modernism, *Pascendi Dominici gregis*, is to be considered an *ex cathedra* document ?

SACERDOS.

For an *ex cathedra* document four conditions are required according to the decree of the Vatican Council. The Pope must speak as supreme teacher and pastor of the Church ; the subject-matter of his decision must concern faith and morals ; his teaching must be addressed to the whole Church ; and his decree must contain definitive as distinct from provisional teaching.

These four conditions seem to be verified in the Encyclical *Pascendi Dominici gregis*. 1°. The Pope speaks as supreme teacher of the Church ; of this there can be no reasonable doubt. The Encyclical is clearly not so much the work of a legislator as the official act of a teacher, who in this case is the Supreme Pontiff, acting in his own person and not through any of the Roman Congregations. 2°. The subject-matter of the Encyclical concerns faith and morals, as even a cursory glance serves to prove. It is no mere speculative explanation of errors ; it primarily contains a condemnation of the doctrines which are taught by Modernist writers and which are explained in the Encyclical. 3°. The Encyclical is addressed to the universal Church as represented by the ' Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, and other local Ordinaries in communion with the Apostolic See.' 4°. The Encyclical proposes definitive as distinct from provisional teaching :—

(a) This is manifested by the way in which the Pope

speaks of Modernist errors. For example, he stigmatises the Modernist system as 'the rendezvous of all heresies':—

Jam systema universum uno quasi obtutu respicientes, nemo mirabitur si sic illud definimus, ut *omnium haerescon collectum* esse affirmemus. Certe si quis hoc sibi proposuisset, omnium quotquot fuerunt circa fidem errores succum veluti ac sanguinem in unum conferre; rem nunquam plenius perfecisset, quam modernistae perfecerunt. Immo vero tanto hi ulterius progressi sunt, ut, non modo catholicam religionem, sed omnem penitus, quod jam innuimus, religionem deleverint.

It is difficult to see how the Pope could more clearly indicate that he is condemning a system in such a way as to demand from the universal Church an irrevocable assent to the teaching which is opposed to Modernism. In condemning Modernism as the rendezvous of all heresies, as the essence of all errors concerning faith, and as destructive of all religion, the Pope employs phrases which are as strong as the usual formulæ to be found in *ex cathedra* documents.

(b) Though there is some difference of opinion about the infallible nature of the Encyclical, the *Motu Proprio Prae-stantia*, published by Pius X on November 18, 1907, ought to help towards creating unanimity amongst Catholic writers on the subject. Having spoken of the excommunication which people incur who hold the doctrines condemned in *Pascendi Dominici gregis* and *Lamentabili sane*, the Pope continues:—

Haec autem excommunicatio salvis poenis est intelligenda, in quas, qui contra memorata documenta quidpiam commiserint, possint, uti propagatores defensoresque haeresum, incurrere, si quando eorum propositiones, opiniones doctrinae haereticæ sint, quod quidem de utriusque illius documenti adversariis plus semel usuvenit, tum vero maxime quum modernistarum errores, id est *omnium haerescon collectum*, propugnant.

The latter part of this statement, in which Pius X quotes the condemnatory phrase of his Encyclical, and in which he deduces therefrom that persons who hold Modernist views are very likely to propound and defend heretical doctrines, seems sufficiently to manifest his definitive intention in

publishing the Encyclical. If it follows from the universally binding teaching of the Encyclical that many errors of Modernists are heretical, the definitive nature of the Encyclical can scarcely be questioned.

(c) A further argument is urged from the fact that, apart altogether from the excommunication incurred by defenders of heresy, an excommunication simply reserved to the Holy See is directed against all who deny the doctrines proposed by the Encyclical for the acceptance of the universal Church. According to many authorities, v.g., Canus¹ whom theologians generally follow, an excommunication attached to the denial of any doctrine is a sign of a definitive utterance. This argument, however, cannot be put forward as certain, because there are some good authorities also, v.g., Dr. Murray,² who do not look on a simple excommunication as a sure indication of an infallible decision. In any case the argument does not seem to prove that every point of doctrine, the denial of which entails this excommunication, infallibly is revealed truth; all that appears to follow therefrom is that the denial of any doctrine taught in the Encyclical is infallibly in some degree opposed to faith or morals. What this precise degree of opposition is in the case of Modernist errors must be gleaned from sources other than the Encyclical *Pascendi Dominici gregis*.

(d) Finally, many features of Modernism, condemned in the Encyclical, were already opposed to defined doctrines; and I assume that when, in his capacity of Supreme Pastor, the Pope teaches the whole Church any doctrine already defined, he is speaking *ex cathedra*, or at least is exercising his infallible doctrinal authority.

For these reasons I believe that the Encyclical *Pascendi Dominici gregis* is an infallible document. So far there has been no express authoritative decision on this matter; so I give merely a personal opinion—a view, however, which has many adherents. If, indeed, the prerogative of Papal infallibility is not in abeyance since the time of the defini-

¹ L. 5, c. 5, q. 4.

² *De Ecclesia*, vol. iii. n. 274.

tion of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception by Pius IX, it can with difficulty be denied that the Encyclical *Pascendi Dominici gregis* is infallible ; no Papal document which was published during the last half century bears more markedly the signs of an *ex cathedra* decision.

CAN CONFESSORS IN IRELAND DISPENSE FROM THE LAW OF FASTING ?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Have confessors in Ireland—who are not parish priests—power to dispense at Confession in the law of fasting as distinct from the law of abstinence ? If they have such power, where do they get it ? M. T.

1. Confessors have no authority from Canon Law to grant dispensations in the law of fast or the law of abstinence ; in this they differ from parish priests who can grant dispensations to individual members of their flocks in both laws. Nor is there any general concession in this country whereby confessors can grant the aforesaid dispensations. Hence it is necessary to examine the regulations—especially the Lenten regulations—of each diocese to find out whether and how far confessors have this power. If diocesan regulations concede the authority, confessors can dispense individuals whose confessions they can hear. However, unless it is expressly stated to the contrary, confessors who have received the faculty can exercise it *extra tribunale*.

2. In virtue of their quasi-ordinary power, independently of any Papal indult, bishops can grant dispensations in the laws of fast and abstinence to individuals, and can delegate others to concede like dispensations. Hence confessors, who obtain the faculty already mentioned, obtain it in virtue of this quasi-ordinary power of their bishops.

CONFESSORS AND SECRET SOCIETIES

REV. DEAR SIR,—1. Is a confessor at liberty to withhold absolution from anyone who is a member of a secret society ?

2. How is a confessor to decide in practice whether absolution is to be given or not ?—he may not have definite information about the society. C.C.

1. Secret societies are forbidden by the Church under

pain of grave sin. Hence a confessor is bound to withhold absolution from any person who *mala fide* is a member of such an association, and who refuses to sever his connexion with it. In exceptional circumstances a person may be permitted to remain a nominal member—when, scandal being removed, he would suffer considerable loss or encounter serious danger if he were to withdraw his name. He may not, however, be permitted to take any active part in the work of the society; he may not be allowed, for instance, to contribute to the funds of the society.

If a person who was a *mala fide* member of a prohibited society promises to cease to be a member, he can be absolved at once, except there be some special reason which recommends a different course. Such special reason would be present if the delinquent had already promised to leave the society and had failed to keep his promise.

If a person is a *bona fide* member of a secret society, he has committed no sin, and, therefore, is blameless so far as the past is concerned. It is inadvisable to warn such a person of his obligation to desert the society unless there is reasonable hope that he will listen to the advice of his confessor. If, being warned of his obligation, he refuses to do his duty he becomes unfit for absolution by reason of his present evil dispositions.

It is well to remember that though members of societies which publicly or privately plot against the legitimate authority of Church or State come under the excommunication of the Constitution *Apostolicae Sedis*, members of a society which is merely 'secret' do not incur any censure or reservation by the general laws of the Church. Sometimes, however, there are local excommunications or reservations, and in this case a practical question arises in connexion with members who were *bona fide*, who are now warned of their obligation to leave the society, and who refuse to do so. If there is a reserved excommunication or a simple reservation directed against those who join a secret society, can an ordinary confessor absolve them if they are ultimately brought to see the malice of their refusal to sever their connexion with the society? Does their sin of

refusal to leave the society of which they were previously *bona fide* members incur the reserved excommunication, or the simple reservation? It seems reasonable to hold that, unless the contrary is clearly indicated, this sin of refusal does not incur the reserved excommunication or simple reservation, because only some new action of co-operation with the society, which would be a virtual renewal of membership, could in strict interpretation be looked on as different from the previous *bona fide* membership. This opinion is held by Lehmkuhl¹ in regard to the excommunication of the *Apostolicae Sedis*; and nothing prevents an application of the same principle to the case under consideration.

As in the case of a person who *mala fide* joined an unlawful society, so, too, in the case of a *bona fide* member, nominal membership can be allowed if serious danger or loss would arise from withdrawal from the society, and if no scandal would be given. Even greater latitude is sometimes allowed by the Holy See to people who were *bona fide* when they joined the society. Thus in regard to some American societies, viz., the 'Odd Fellows,' the 'Sons of Temperance,' and the 'Knights of Pythias,' the Holy Office, January 19, 1896, allowed members to continue paying an insurance tax under the following conditions: (1) They must have been *bona fide* in joining the society. (2) Scandal must be absent, or at least prevented, by an opportune declaration that nominal membership is continued simply with the object of gaining the insurance money; all communication with or participation in the affairs of the society being interrupted. (3) Grave loss would be encountered by the member or his family by renunciation of membership. (4) Finally, danger of perversion, especially in case of illness or death, and danger of funeral rites opposed to Catholic Liturgy, must be avoided.

2. The difficulty which 'C.C.' mentions in connexion with his second question is sometimes serious, because of the absence of reliable information about the nature of a particular society. In general the rule can be laid down

¹ *Theologia Moralis*, vol. ii, n. 950.

that a confessor ought not to condemn an organization as a secret society unless he has certain proof that the association is really so, and the surest source of information is the authoritative voice of the bishop or of the Holy See. Of course, if it is perfectly clear that a society is a secret society, it is not necessary to await superior judgment; but only rarely will this certainty be had before legitimate authority has spoken.

How can it be known whether or not an organization is a secret society? The fact that a society makes its members promise not to reveal its secrets to the world at large is no proof that the society is 'secret' in the technical sense; most societies would be 'secret' if this promise would suffice. Nor are secret signs any indication of a secret society; it is only reasonable that members of societies should wish to have private means of knowing one another. The following are the ways of knowing a secret society: (1) If the members promise, especially by a sworn promise, to keep secrets of the society from legitimate authority legitimately demanding information, the society is secret in the strict sense. (2) If the members of a society promise, especially by a sworn promise, to give absolute obedience to occult leaders, this is sufficient to make the society 'secret.' If neither of these conditions is fulfilled a society is not 'secret' in the strict sense. A society may come under condemnation from another point of view, because, for instance, it publicly or privately plots against legitimate authority of Church or State, but unless one or other of the above conditions is present the society cannot be regarded as 'secret.'¹

J. M. HARTY.

¹ 'Ne quis vero errori locus fiat, quum judicandum erit, quatenus ex his perniciosis sectis *censurae*, quae vero *prohibitioni tantum* obnoxiae sint, certum imprimis est, excommunicatione latae sententiae mulctari massonicam aliasque ejus generis sectas, quae cap. 2, n. 4, Pontificiae Constitutionis *Apostolicae Sedis* designantur, quaeque contra Ecclesiam vel legitimas potestates machinantur, sive id clam sive palam fecerint, sive exegerint, sive non, a suis asseclis secreti servandi juramentum. *Præter istas* sunt et aliae sectae prohibitaе, atque sub gravis culpae reatu vitandae, inter quas *praecipue* recensendae illae omnes, quae a sectatoribus *secretum nemini pandendum et omnimodam obedientiam occultis ducibus praestandum jurejurando exigunt*.'—Holy Office, 10th May, 1884.

CANON LAW

THE REFORM OF THE ROMAN CURIA

It is not our purpose to give here a full commentary on the Roman Curia and treat exhaustively of its several departments from the historical and juridical point of view. All that would be inconsistent with the scope of our canonical notes, and it has already been done by various canonists, who have recently, in periodicals and separate pamphlets, learnedly discoursed on the origin, development, organization, and authority of the different branches of the Roman Curia.

Our object in writing on this topic is a modest one. We intend to make a few practical remarks for the use of those ecclesiastics who want a simple and brief exposition of the method of having recourse to the Roman authorities and have no access to or time to peruse the important enactments of the Holy See for the reform of the Roman Curia. However, our observations on the practical way of dealing with the Roman Congregations and Tribunals in matters of disciplinary and judiciary character will call for some additional remarks on the system adopted by those supreme governing bodies in deciding and expediting ecclesiastical affairs, on the salient features of the reform of the Roman Curia wrought by the present Holy Father, and on the specific competence of each of the several branches of this great organization as constituted since November 3, of the year just elapsed.

I

MODE OF APPLYING TO THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS OF THE
ROMAN CURIA

1. In order to know with which department of the Roman Curia affairs of different natures can be treated, a distinction is to be made between contentious matters and those of administrative and disciplinary character. Cases which must be decided with all solemnities of law, and

according to the strict judicial form, are to be tried in the two Tribunals of the Sacred Rota and of the Apostolic Signatura; the Tribunal of the Sacred Penitentiary being competent only in matters and cases of the internal forum. Other affairs of administrative and disciplinary nature, whether contentious or otherwise, to be decided *pro bono et aequo*, and without rigorous judicial formalities, are dealt with in the Roman Congregations. Leaving aside, for the moment, the Tribunal of the Signatura, which is a supreme court, competent only in a few cases mostly concerning the judges of the Rota, the Sacred Rota is the ordinary court of appeal in cases brought before the Holy See. But being a court of appeal it tries in the second, third, and last instance cases already decided by local ecclesiastical superiors, and sentences not yet passed in *rem iudicatam*. In order to take up cases in the first instance, it requires a special commission from the Pope.

This Tribunal consists of ten prelates, nominated by the Pope, and called Auditors. They administer the law either by benches of three Auditors in rotation or by the full court. Under penalty of invalidity of their sentences, Auditors must faithfully follow and observe all solemnities of ecclesiastical trials, and state the reasons of fact and law on which their sentences are based.

Those who intend to appeal to the Roman courts in cases strictly judicial must, first, petition the Sacred Rota to be allowed to lodge the case before that Tribunal, and must, in addition, furnish the judges with the necessary data to enable them to decide whether the case is within the sphere of their competency. These documents are to be directed to the Dean of the Auditors, who is at present the distinguished canonist, Mgr. Michele Lega, and are to be sent to the Palazzo della Dataria, Via dell' Umilta, Rome, where the Tribunal of the Rota is now housed.

If the case is accepted the parties may, if they wish, plead their cause themselves before the Rota. But as they are not, generally speaking, sufficiently acquainted with all the intricacies and complicated procedure of ecclesiastical judicature to avoid nullity of proceedings, it is advisable

to employ an advocate either as an assistant or as a pleader, and give him a regular written mandate, provided he be an advocate recognized as such by the Roman ecclesiastical courts, who has already obtained the diploma after a qualifying examination. When the lawyer acts as an assistant the parties may compose their own defence, and reply to the argument of the adversary, but care must be taken that the documents be signed both by the party and by the advocate, and that the language used be either Latin, French, or Italian. Advocates alone are bound to write in Latin the defence for their clients.

It is not necessary for us to lay down in detail all the formalities to be strictly observed in trials of that sort; they may be seen in any manual of Canon Law. It will suffice to state here that cases are conducted in writing and oral information to the judges is prohibited. However, a moderate disputation might be admitted sometimes for the elucidation of doubtful points. The parties, as a rule, are not allowed to take part in this disputation, but they have to depute, for that purpose, their advocates, and the disputation will never assume an oratorical form. If, however, the judges wish, they may order the parties to intervene. If an appeal is lodged against a rotal sentence, the case is handed over to the next group of auditors, and when two uniform sentences have been passed the question becomes *res iudicata*. The case is thus ended, and there is no ordinary remedy against it, save if a complaint of nullity is advanced or *restitutio in integrum* asked, when the case is referred for decision on those heads to the supreme court of the Apostolic Signatura.

Trials before the Roman ecclesiastical courts are rather expensive on account of the many judicial acts and documents required and of the expert evidence and assistance to be procured. In the *Lex Propria* of the Sacred Rota taxes which are to be paid for various judicial acts are given in detail. Here we will be satisfied with stating that, according to the different nature and importance of cases, the parties must deposit in the treasury of the Rota a sufficient sum of money to cover judicial expenses, a sum which may

vary from 100 to 500 lire. The fee of an advocate for drawing up a case may range from 200 to 1,000 lire ; for mere legal assistance from 100 to 200 lire ; and the same amount for replying to the adversary's arguments. It is to be noted, however, that those who give evidence of being *quasi-pauperes* in the canonical sense may obtain, according to different cases, a reduction of costs, and those who are proved to be poor are entitled to a complete exemption from judicial expenses and to gratuitous legal assistance—*gratuitum patrocinium*.

2. For matters belonging to the internal forum to be transacted with the Holy See, recourse must be had to the Tribunal of the Sacred Penitentiary. According to the new reform of the Roman Curia this Tribunal is deprived of all extraordinary powers to deal with cases in *foro externo*. On account of the delicacy, importance, and secrecy of the cases usually submitted to the Penitentiary, in communicating with it all formalities may be, and in some cases must be, dispensed with. Intercourse with it may be had either directly or through agents, in writing or *viva voce* ; and all favours are granted absolutely gratuitously.

Cases of conscience may be submitted to the Penitentiary even by private letter, written in any language and form ; care, however, must be taken to state the case clearly and to assign the true reason for the favour requested. The names of persons for whom rescripts are asked need not be mentioned, but it is of necessity to give an address whereto the reply must be sent.

Confessors may apply to the Penitentiary even for a dispensation which the Bishop could grant, if it is advisable to do so, particularly in case that the seal of confession would otherwise be infringed. Letters are not to be written and addressed to the Pope, but to the Major-Penitentiary, and must be registered. The Grand-Penitentiary at present is His Eminence Cardinal Serafino Vannutelli, and the Penitentiary has recently been housed in the Palazzo del S. Uffizio, Rome.

3. Affairs of disciplinary and administrative nature to be treated by the Roman authorities, and also recourse

to Rome against acts and decisions of Ordinaries which are not judicial sentences, as well as controversial points to be decided *pro bono et equo*, must be referred to the Roman Congregations. Each of them is in charge of a special kind of ecclesiastical affairs, usually indicated by the name of the same Congregation. In order to know the right Congregation with which different business is to be transacted it is of necessity to know their different competency and the limits of their jurisdiction, which we shall have an opportunity of explaining in a separate article.

Private individuals are allowed to deal directly and personally with the Roman Congregations in matters in which they are concerned. We say *personally*, because Congregations as a rule do not communicate with private persons by post or wire; they treat affairs and expedite matters which are introduced to them *de manu ad manum*, principally because any other method would seriously complicate the expedition of affairs and would scarcely secure the payment of taxes for the favours granted. Hence, private persons who cannot personally conduct their cases before the Congregations have to do so either through the diocesan Curia or through delegates called Agents. It is useless, therefore, for private individuals to write to the Congregations for dispensations or other favours in the same manner as people in missionary countries used to do with Propaganda. Congregations do not take notice of those communications, and never answer them; but if cases be important, or the favour asked urgent and necessary, the Congregation remits the whole affair to the Ordinary, together with the necessary powers to deal with it *in forma commissoria* according to his discretion and judgment.

Agents who may be employed to treat business with the Congregations are of two kinds: public, if they are already recognized as such by the Consistorial Congregation after the presentation of documents showing their qualifications, good morals, Catholic religious persuasion, and sufficient knowledge in the management of ecclesiastical affairs; and private, who may be any other person, provided he be of

good reputation, Catholic, and not connected with the Congregation with which he has to deal. No formality is to be observed for the engaging of agents of the first order, but private agents, if employed, must be furnished with a regular written mandate which is to be produced to the Congregation and kept in its archives.

Ordinaries alone may communicate directly and by post with Roman Congregations for matters which concern either themselves or their subjects; but if they want a direct answer they have to acquaint the Congregation with this fact and the Congregation takes notice of it by writing on the documents, called *ponenza*, the expression 'Personal for the Ordinary.' In this case, however, Ordinaries are responsible for the expenses incurred and for the taxes to be paid for the rescript to the Holy See.

If they wish to engage an agent for the transaction of a particular affair, they must follow the rules laid down in case of an agent employed by private individuals; but if they select a person to be habitual diocesan agent, then such a person has first to be recognized by the Congregation as a public agent in the manner indicated above, and he has to produce also to the Congregation the document of the habitual mandate received from the Ordinary, a mandate which may, at any time, and without any reason, be withdrawn by the Bishop, but not by the Vicar-Capitular during the vacancy of the See.

In drawing up a petition to be sent to the Roman Congregations, the following rules must be observed. A petition must contain three parts: a brief exposition of the case—*pars narrativa*; the demand made to the superior—*pars postulativa*; and the statement of the reason for asking the favour—*pars impulsiva*. This reason must be true or the truth, which ought to be expressed, must not be concealed to avoid invalidity of the concession under the heads of 'obreption' or 'subreption.' However, there are no official formulæ to be used for petitions to the Roman superiors, and those usually found in manuals of Canon Law are mere suggestions and private compositions for the use of those who are not accustomed to the drawing up of these documents.

The petition in all cases must be made to the Pope, beginning with the words, *Beatissime Pater* ; but the document itself must be presented or sent to the Congregations. The narration of the case always begins with the stating of the name, rank, and diocese of the petitioner ; the petition is preceded by the usual phrase, *Ad pedes sanctitatis vestrae humillime provoculus* ; the concluding paragraph, after the statement of the reason for the petition, is indicated by the opening words, *Et Deus* or *Pro qua gratia*, etc., expressing the prayer of thankfulness of the petitioner addressed to God for the expected favour. Languages that can be used in the composition are only three : Latin, French, and Italian. Care must be taken in the use of material in composing a petition. According to a decree of Propaganda, May 18, 1896, the paper for use in drawing up petitions must be white, the ink black, and the handwriting clear and legible. Cardinal Parocchi in the name of all the Cardinals connected with the Holy Office issued a circular letter to all the Bishops, on August 23, 1901, complaining of the disreputable pieces of paper sometimes used in writing petitions for the Holy See, and of the slovenly manner of dealing with matters of great delicacy and moment. Letters containing affairs of such a character, he says, must be registered or sent to agents, if they be employed, in a sealed envelope ; and petitions are to be written in *folio communis Romanae dimensionis*, v.g., in a double sheet, 8½ by 10¾ inches.

As Congregations do not, as a rule, grant favours of importance without hearing or getting the consent of the Ordinary, it is a saving of time and trouble if petitions of that sort be endorsed by the Ordinary before being forwarded to Rome. Such an endorsement is not strictly necessary in petitions for minor favours and ordinary powers of blessing religious articles ; but, in the rescript sent from Rome, the clause is usually inserted *De consensu Ordinarii*. If that clause is not to be found, we will say elsewhere whether and when rescripts must be presented to the Ordinary before use.

At present all departments of the Roman Curia are

accommodated in the 'Palazzo della Cancelleria,' with the exception of the Secretary of State, whose office is in the Vatican; and the Holy Office and the Datary, which are housed in the same palaces as the Penitentiary and the Tribunal of the Rota respectively. It is quite sufficient to address the documents to the Prefect of the Congregation; but, if the names of the Cardinals occupying that post are desired the *Annuario Ecclesiastico* or the *Gerarchia Cattolica* may be consulted for that purpose.

With the exception of the Propaganda, in all the Congregations and Offices a small tax is levied from the petitioners for favours granted from the Holy See. A small portion of that money is expended in paying the meagre salaries of the numerous and hard-toiling officials and the most part of it enables the Holy Father to meet the expenses necessary for and incurred in the government of the Universal Church. The official in charge marks on the rescript the tax for the Holy See, the fee for the agent, if there is one, and that for the diocesan Curia if the rescript requires execution from local authorities; and, as a rule, rescripts are not delivered without the payment of taxes. Poor in the canonical sense, however, whether they be private persons or institutions, are relieved from the payment of taxes and fees, and rescripts are thus conceded to them gratuitously in case that these rescripts give them no temporal advantage. For persons almost poor taxes will be reduced to half the original amount. According to the more common opinion of moralists and canonists canonically poor are considered those whose net property does not exceed 500 lire, and almost poor those whose property does not amount to more than 1,000 lire.

The Ordinary, after hearing from the Parish Priest, has to testify as to petitioner's financial state, *onerata eius conscientia*, and under the obligation of refunding to the Holy See the money unduly subtracted by false statements. In no case, however, will a false statement of that kind and a refusal of payment of taxes affect the validity of a rescript. And in this latter case, if the favour or dispensation is necessary and urgent, the Holy See grants it, but, through

the Ordinaries, reminds the receivers, if prudence permits it, of their obligation in justice towards the Holy See. Until the enactment of new rules, taxes to be paid for matrimonial dispensations are the same as those already in use in the Datary and in the Congregation of the Council.¹ For all other rescripts from the various Congregations and Offices a tax of 10 lire for the Holy See and a fee of 5 lire for the agent, is to be paid if rescripts are of great importance ; for minor favours the tax for the Holy See is 5 lire and the remuneration for the agent is 3 lire. When a rescript contains two favours the tax for the Holy See will be doubled, but not the honorarium for the agent.

It remains to be noted that expenses incurred by the parties in cases before the Congregation, generally speaking, are not recoverable, but a contumacious party desiring to have the case revised must either purge his contumacy or deposit a sum of money for the expenses which the diligent party and the Congregation may be again bound to incur. This deposit must be made also by those who temerarily and without legitimate motives claim that their cases are to be examined by the Plenary Congregation.

II

METHOD OF EXPEDITING AFFAIRS IN THE ROMAN CONGREGATIONS

We intend to give here only a brief account of the mode which is in general observed by all Congregations in dealing with affairs not strictly judicial, whether they be matters of favour or causes of disciplinary and administrative nature.

With the exception of the Rota and Signatura, which proceed according to their special rules in contentious matters, in the other departments of the Roman Curia the Secretary of each Office has the power of expediting routine affairs and matters of lesser importance. Moreover,

¹ The tax paid on the occasion of matrimonial dispensations is termed *compendium*, for it is different in different cases and it was fixed by a special official of the Datary according to the financial state of the petitioner and the quality of the impediment requiring dispensation.

Congregations have two kinds of meetings ; the particular and the general. The first, called 'congress,' is usually held every week before the Cardinal-Prefect, and at it the Secretary, the Under-Secretary, and their adjutors-minutanti take part. In this meeting affairs are transacted which come within the powers of the Prefect of each Congregation ; for instance, causes to be referred to the Plenary Congregation are prepared for that purpose, usual indults and faculties are conceded, application of the law is made in obvious cases, and so forth.

The general meeting takes place, as a rule, once a month, at which the Secretary and all the Cardinals connected with the Congregation are present. Cases which do not present special difficulty are verbally reported by the Secretary at the meeting ; whereupon the Cardinals discuss and decide them by majority of votes. Of more serious and complicated questions a compendious exposition, showing the arguments bearing on them, is made by the adjutors, and is printed in folio and distributed to the Cardinals ten days before the meeting. In these intricate cases, if legal advice is required, a consultor is asked to give his vote or opinion corroborated by arguments of law and fact. This opinion is also printed and copies are distributed beforehand to the Cardinals. A Cardinal is usually appointed, in these difficult cases, as *Ponens* or Relator, who has to make a special study of the case and propose it in the assembly. After decisions are taken by the Congregation they are reported by the Secretary to the Sovereign Pontiff for his approval, and are subsequently published in the official bulletin, *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis*, if they require promulgation. At the end of the Constitution *Sapienti Consilio* the Holy Father enjoins that, without his knowledge, nothing grave and out of the Ordinary be done by the various branches of the Roman Curia.

As Congregations are supreme governing bodies there lies no recourse from them to any other court. The party aggrieved by a decision of a Congregation, in extra-judicial affairs, may, within ten days from the publication of the decision, petition the same Congregation for the benefit of

a rehearing of the case—*beneficium novae audientiae*. Usually this is granted for a sufficient reason, and by the Cardinal-Prefect in the congress, but it must be accorded by the Plenary Congregation if the decision to be revised was accompanied by the expression *Et amplius non proponatur*.

Except petitions for dispensations and other concessions of the kind, all other matters are proposed to the Fathers of the Congregation in form of a doubt; so that their customary answer is either *Affirmative* or *Negative*, as the case may be. Occasionally they add *Ad mentem* if anything is to be added to the first laconic answer. This *mens* is published in full if it is of general interest and is necessary for the explanation of the question which was not sufficiently answered by the short affirmative or negative reply. It is, on the contrary, privately communicated to local superiors when it has only a local interest, and respects the mode of execution rather than the merit of the decision. Refusal to deal with questions proposed is expressed by the phrases, *Relatum, lectum, reponatur, non expedire*, etc. When the Congregation thinks it lacks necessary powers to decide some case, it refers it to the Holy Father, and then the decision is published with the clause *Facto verbo cum SSmo*. The meaning of other expressions and answers, such as *Episcopus utatur iure suo, in decisis, dilata, ponatur in folio*, and the like, are easily understood, and may be seen in any Canon Law manual. Lastly, unlike the tribunal of the Rota, Congregations do not assign reasons for their decisions, and if motives are stated in decrees issued by the Congregations, these motives are offered either by the officials of the different departments or by consultors and canonists; but it is not to be taken for granted that the Cardinals were actuated by those reasons in giving their responses.

As to the way of granting favours by the Congregations, and the method of using them by the receivers, some practical instructions are given in the new rules for the Roman Curia.

It is customary with the Congregations, as we remarked

above, not to make concessions, or give decisions, at least of importance, without first hearing the parties concerned and third persons interested in the matter, and without also asking the Ordinary of the parties, *pro informatione et voto*. Favours are granted, as a rule, in writing, but if a person receives a privilege or a faculty from the Holy See orally, it will be valid in the forum of conscience, but it cannot, in the external forum, be urged as such without proof. Powers are sometimes delegated to Bishops to grant, according to their judgment and conscience, favours which have been asked from the Holy See; but in the majority of cases these favours are conceded directly by the Roman authorities. If concessions are absolute, and made in *forma gratiosa*, as usually indulgences of personal privileged altars are, or faculties for blessing religious articles,¹ then, by their own nature they do not require any executorial document on the part of local and diocesan superiors, nor is it necessary to show to them for a *vised* the original document before use. Exception, however, is to be made for concessions in which the Ordinary has to verify some conditions, such as the fitness of the place for a private oratory, or if they deal with matters of public order, such as indulgences of a general character, relics to be exposed for public veneration, and so forth. If rescripts are granted by the Holy See in *forma commissoria*, or, as some call it, in *forma mixta*, such as rescripts for matrimonial dispensations, in which the favour is already granted and requires only a decree of execution on the part of the Ordinary, then the original document received from Rome must be presented to the Ordinary for the executorial decree, which the Ordinary cannot refuse to give, save if the rescript is evidently invalid, the person who presents it is unfit to receive apostolic favours, or a favour granted to a special person would cause astonishment and scandal. In these cases the Ordinary must suspend the execution of the decree and communicate,

¹ According to an Instruction of the S. Congr. of Indulgences of June 14, 1901, the approbation *pro confessionali* is required for the *valid* exercise and the consent of the Bishop for the *permitted* exercise of the faculties, received from Rome, of blessing crosses, crucifixes, medals, rosaries, metal statuettes with Papal indulgences.

in the meantime, with the Roman authorities to get instructions as to the line of conduct to be followed in the case.

It is not amiss to note here that the execution of a decree being a *nudum ministerium*, and not exactly a power of jurisdiction, and also being a commission given only *ratione industriae personae* cannot be subdelegated to others. Again, while formerly all censured persons, even occult, were unable to receive validly rescripts from the Holy See and, as a rule, an absolution was given in all rescripts to receivers for the valid use of the concession, now, according to the new rules of the Congregations, all persons are capable of validly getting rescripts from Rome with the exception of those excommunicated by name, and ecclesiastics suspended *a divinis* by the Holy See.

Finally, administrative and disciplinary cases are treated by the Congregation in a quite informal manner, and without the solemnities observed in judicial trials. In these cases the parties concerned are heard, their documents and arguments are examined, and some information from local authorities is also obtained; but no cross-examination or formal examination of witnesses takes place, nor are written documents and defence of lawyers admitted. In this way Congregations treat recourses against dispositions of local superiors, and also against sentences which are not strictly judicial, such as sentences *ex informata conscientia*.

Above we have already outlined the mode in which Congregations enact their decrees, express their decisions, and communicate them to the parties and have likewise mentioned the main rules for the passing of sentences in the tribunals, as well as the remedies against judicial sentences and extrajudicial decisions. It remains now to give a brief exposition of the salient features of the reform made by the present Holy Father, especially with regard to the organization and competency of the various departments of the Roman Curia, but this will be the subject of a future study.

S. LUZIO.

LITURGY

WHETHER LAY-PERSON MAY LEAD STATIONS OF THE CROSS

REV. DEAR SIR,—I would be greatly obliged if you would give an answer in a coming number of the I. E. RECORD to the following question :—

When the Stations of the Cross are made *in choro* would it be sufficient for a *layman* to move with the acolytes and cross-bearer, reciting the prayers, in order to obtain the indulgences ? Or in crowded churches when the Stations are so recited, must they be made a public prayer (with a priest moving in behalf of the people and reciting the usual reflections and prayers) in order that the gaining of the indulgences be safeguarded ? . . . In large religious communities, where one sister moves from station to station in behalf of her companions, many afterwards recite them privately, as they deem the gaining of the indulgence is doubtful. The Archbishop of Montreal, they state, got special permission for the religious of his diocese to dispense on such occasions with the presence of a priest. Were it not for this assertion I would think no official minister of the Church would be required to lead in the Stations when recited *in choro* than to lead in the Rosary in order to gain the indulgences attached to the October Devotions.—Very sincerely yours,

SACERDOS.

The method of performing the Stations of the Cross in crowded churches by which the priest, accompanied by two clerks, makes the round of each station and says the prayers, while the faithful remain in their places (merely standing for the considerations and kneeling for the prayers), was sanctioned by a decree of the Congregation of Indulgences in July, 1757. It was then decided that for the public exercise of the Way of the Cross in a crowded church, where it was impossible for all persons to visit each station without causing great commotion (*perturbatio*), it was sufficient if the priest with two clerks went around and said the usual prayers, the people making the responses and—though this is not stated in the decree—rising in their places before each station, genuflecting at its announcement, and kneeling during the prayer. In this concession, by which the usual moving from place to place on the part of each one

is dispensed with, it is assumed that a priest conducts the devotions. It would not be safe, therefore, to say that his place might be taken by a layman, for the circumstances are such as contemplate the exercise taking place as a public function on some important occasion when the priest would be expected to be in official control of the service. That this is the sense in which the privilege of going through the Stations in this manner has been generally understood will further appear clear from the following question which was addressed to the Congregation. In the year 1901 the Marist Fathers, alluding to the decree already quoted and assuming that the presence of a priest was necessary, asked : 1°. 'An ista methodus servari queat ob angustiam loci, in sacellis domorum communitatum religiosarum ;' et 2°. 'An loco sacerdotis cum duobus clericis unus tantum e fratribus non sacerdos circumire ac sistere in qualibet statione suetasque preces recitare valeat ?' The reply was : 'Affirmative ad utrumque.' In the next year the same privilege was granted to religious communities of women in response to the following petition : 'An loco unius en fratribus, in domibus religiosarum una ex sororibus circumire . . . queat ?'¹

It may be said that in the above query the necessity of a priest was gratuitously assumed and that there was nothing to prevent a lay-brother, even before the decree, from conducting the Stations. If this were so, the Congregation would have indicated in some way that it was not granting a real privilege in its answer to the second petition. The analogy of the Rosary does not hold, for we have no explicit statement of the Congregation declaring that it should be recited by a priest. Moreover, in the case of the Stations, the priest acts in a representative capacity, fulfilling by his own acts what is necessary ordinarily on the part of each. The parity with the Rosary holds where a layman goes round the Stations accompanied by a crowd of others, and reads the prayers. In this case there would, of course, be no doubt as to the gaining of the indulgences.

The decree of 1902 is general, and applies to all religious communities. There is, therefore, no need of any further

¹ I. E. RECORD, September, 1902.

Indult except, indeed, *ad cautelam*. For the use of the privilege depends on the existence of necessity, or of the moral impossibility (*ob angustiam loci*), for all the members of the community to go through the Stations *in globo*. If the community was small and could easily visit each station all together, the indulgences would not be gained unless they did so. Similarly, in a church which is large and spacious, and where the number of people is comparatively small, it might be a matter for doubting if the indulgences are gained unless the Stations are performed in the usual way.

The fact, therefore, that the Congregation of Indulgences in the decree of 1757 speaks of a priest with two torchbearers; that the subsequent petitions of 1901 and 1902 assumed the necessity of the presence of a priest, and sought as a special favour for particular places that a lay person might take his place, and that authors generally¹ mention a priest in connexion with the conduct of the Stations in crowded churches, makes it extremely doubtful if the indulgences are gained when a layman without proper authorization leads the Stations in the manner suggested.

RECITATION OF ROSARY AT SUNDAY MASS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly say if there is any general obligation of saying the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin in connexion with the principal parochial Mass on Sundays? The reason I ask is because I am aware that in some places it is said, and in others it is not.—Yours truly,
P.P.

There is no permanent general law for the whole country requiring the Rosary to be recited on all Sundays of the year in connexion with the parochial Mass. If there was a law of this character its existence would be revealed in the Statutes of the recent Synod of Maynooth, either among the body of the legislation or in some one of the very useful Appendices of the second volume. In no place, however, is there any indication of such a regulation, and hence the inference is that it does not exist. There may be, and prob-

¹ Beringer, *Les Indulgences*, i. p. 395.

ably there is, a law in certain dioceses either ordering or counselling the saying of the Rosary on Sundays in connexion with the parochial Mass.

USE OF STOLE IN PREACHING; GIVING RELICS TO
PRIVATE PERSONS

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I ask you to kindly answer the following questions in an early issue of the I. E. RECORD: 1°. Is there any obligation to wear the stole in preaching? 2°. May relics of the saints be given to lay people?—Yours obediently,

DETHIER.

1°. There is no obligation of wearing the stole in preaching. On the contrary, its use in these circumstances is rather exceptional. It is forbidden to wear the stole when preaching a funeral oration;¹ but outside this occasion, bishops and priests, according to a decree of the Congregation of Rites, may wear the stole when preaching *extra Romanæ* wherever there is an immemorial custom in favour of the practice.² Other decrees seem to imply that where such a custom exists the stole ought not to be dispensed with.³ When the stole is used on the occasion of a sermon its colour should correspond to the Office of the day. This has been also decided.⁴

2°. Some remarks on relics will be found in the liturgical department of the I. E. RECORD for November, 1907. With regard to the present query, if it is asked whether relics which are kept in the custody of the church may be given to lay persons and carried to their homes, this would not be lawful. They may, however, be given to the faithful for veneration by a priest who has just concluded Mass—before he leaves the Altar.⁵ This custom will be quite familiar to those who have often assisted at Mass in Continental churches. But there are other relics of a less important character which are in the possession of private individuals, and if it is asked whether these may be lent by one person to another, there is, of course, no

¹ *Cerem. Epis.*, ii., c. 11, n. 10: Decr. S.R.C., n. 2888.

² n. 2682. ³ nn. 3157, 3185, 3237.

⁴ Decr. S.R.C., n. 3764.

⁵ Decr. S.R.C., n. 2704, v.

objection *per se* to the practice, as long as there is no superstitious virtue attached to the presence of the relic, and as long as it is treated with all due reverence and care.

WINE AT SECOND ABLUTIONS; REVERENCE TO ALTAR
AT ABSOLUTION

REV. DEAR SIR,—1°. Suppose a priest inadvertently takes the *last drop* of the wine at the first ablution, is he obliged to send for more for the *second ablution*, or may he purify the chalice with water alone?

2°. Should the priest bow profoundly to the cross when he passes around the coffin at the Exequial Absolutions, and then immediately after genuflect to the altar, if the Blessed Sacrament is in the Tabernacle; should he genuflect again to the Blessed Sacrament before taking the censer for the incensing?

SACERDOS.

1°. There can be no doubt that the use of wine at the second ablutions is required. The words of the Rubric itself make this clear: '*deinde vino et aqua abluit pollices et indices super calicem*,' etc. The quantity of wine, however, need not be very great; and if there is any draining at all left in the cruet it would be sufficient. Otherwise additional wine should be procured.

2°. The Blessed Sacrament, strictly speaking, should be removed from the High Altar of the church in which the Exequial Functions are being carried out.¹ If this is impossible, then, where the remains are those of a priest, since the head will be next the altar, the subdeacon with the cross-bearer will stand between the bier and the altar. The question, then, is whether in this case the celebrant should salute the cross first with a profound inclination and immediately afterwards genuflect to the altar? Authors generally say that in this case the celebrant should be content with the reverence to the cross alone, since the altar, being intercepted by the position of the cross-bearer and acolytes, is not supposed to be *in conspectu*.² If the hypothesis be that the cross-bearer is between the bier and the door of the church then a genuflection should be made each time one passes before the altar in which the Blessed Sacrament is present.

P. MORRISROE.

¹ Martinucci, *Ceremoniale*, ii. c. 9.

² O'Loan, *Ceremonies*, etc., p. 127.

CORRESPONDENCE

SCHOLASTICATES FOR NUNS AT THE NEW UNIVERSITY

REV. DEAR SIR,—You would render very great service to the cause of Education in Ireland, and to the Irish Sisterhoods in Ireland in particular, if you would write in the I. E. RECORD, or cause to be written, an article on the following lines. In a few years, University degrees will become 'as plenty as blackberries' in Ireland. It is, then, a matter of urgent necessity that the teachers as well as the people should have University degrees, and that teaching orders of Nuns, as well as secular ladies, should have University degrees. For this purpose it is necessary that the teaching orders of Nuns should have scholasticates in one or other of the University college centres—Dublin, Cork, or Galway—in which the aspirants and young Sisters should live during their training. From these various scholasticates the Sisters could be trained in various branches.

They could attend a *day* women's training college—going out to such a college in the morning, in time for school, and returning each to her respective scholasticate after school hours. There is in London a day women's training college, worked by and owned by the London School Board, in which several religious women take out their certificates. Several of the professors teaching in this day women's training college are men. Could nothing of the kind be done in Dublin, Cork, and Galway?

Some of the Sisters living in the scholasticate would attend the University college lectures and proceed to degrees. Some of the Sisters would attend the hospitals, and become trained certificated nurses. This would be most desirable now that the Nuns have charge of so many poor-house infirmaries; other Sisters from the scholasticate could attend lectures on cookery, bee-keeping, laundry work, poultry-rearing, vocal and instrumental music, drawing, painting, languages, including Gaelic, etc. Thus the Nuns could keep themselves *au courant* with all the various branches of education. This is necessary, and can only be carried out by having a scholasticate in one or other of the University college centres—Dublin, Cork, or Galway.

But how is each convent in the country to carry this idea out? Is each to have its own scholasticate in a University centre? No. In order to carry out this scheme of education for religious women it is necessary for those who are not already centralized to close

n their ranks as soon as possible, and then the difficulty at once disappears. Take, for instance, the Sisters of Mercy, who are so numerous, and who are doing such excellent work in Ireland. If the Sisters of Mercy in each diocese, or in several adjoining dioceses, or, better still, in each ecclesiastical province, or, best of all, in the whole of Ireland, amalgamated, then the difficulty is at once solved.

The studies of the Sisters could then be specialized, and Sisters who are specialists could be drafted to any convent in which their special services are most urgently required. The Sisters if united would have a common novitiate—a common training, a uniform spirit, and a common purse.

The advantages of union are evident. I hope you will interest yourself in a matter of national importance. Ventilate the subject and you will at once set Bishops and Nuns thinking.
—Yours respectfully, M.

[We do not think we could improve on this letter.—ED. I. E. RECORD.]

THE PRIESTS' EUCHARISTIC LEAGUE

REV. DEAR SIR,—About a year ago you kindly inserted in the I. E. RECORD a short notice of the Priests' Eucharistic League. The result was very successful. More than fifty priests, who then heard of the Arch-Confraternity for the first time, gave in their names, and were enrolled. Of these new members, seven were from outside Ireland—from Australia, South Africa, Newfoundland, and Canada; a gratifying testimony to the universality of the I. E. RECORD.

Once more, therefore, *Duc in altum, et laxate retia vestra in capturam*. All that seems necessary in order to increase the membership is to make known the existence and the nature of the Arch-Confraternity.

The Priests' Eucharistic League was blessed and approved of by His Holiness Leo XIII, and on the 8th of May, 1897, it was raised to the rank of an Arch-Confraternity, having for its centre the Church of St. Claude in Rome. Its object is to bring priests into closer communion with our Divine Lord in the Most Blessed Sacrament. This object is carried out by each priest spending once a week one continuous hour of adoration before the Most Holy Sacrament, exposed or in the Tabernacle. In case of sickness, the hour may be made in one's room; and, if too busy one week, the hour may be made up the following week or weeks.

There are many privileges granted to the members. (1) A

plenary indulgence each time they make one hour of adoration before the Most Blessed Sacrament. (2) A plenary indulgence on the day of admission, on certain feasts, etc. (3) The innumerable indulgences called 'della Stazione del Santissimo Sacramento' for each time they visit the Blessed Sacrament, and recite six *Paters*, *Aves*, and *Gloria Patris*. The plenary indulgences included in these can be gained only once a day on the ordinary conditions. All the above-mentioned indulgences are applicable to the Holy Souls. (4) To anticipate Matins and Lauds from one o'clock p.m. (5) To bless and impose the Scapular of St. Joseph; to bless with indulgences the little crown of the Immaculate Conception; to admit members to the Third Order of St. Francis. (6) To attach to Rosaries the Crozier Indulgences, by which the owner is entitled to 500 days' indulgence for each *Pater* and *Ave* (Pius X to Bishop Maes, May 29, 1907). (7) All the Masses said for deceased members are *privileged* Masses (Pius X, February, 1905). A simple sign of the cross suffices to attach the Crozier indulgences, and to indulge the chaplets of the Immaculate Conception.

During the past year just 6,000 new members were received into the Arch-Confraternity. There are two monthly publications, one in English the other in French; and each member receives a copy each month of whichever publication he selects. The annual subscription is 2s. 6d.

It is surprising how easy it is 'to watch one hour with Me.' Like the two disciples going to Emmaus, the time seems too short. Some members—very busy priests—not satisfied with one hour, make a full hour's adoration before the Tabernacle almost every day. They *make* time. The Director for Ireland will be very glad to answer any inquiries that may be addressed to the Rev. Director, Priests' Eucharistic League, Blackrock, Co. Dublin. With many thanks for your kind assistance,—Yours, etc.,

THE DIRECTOR.

DOCUMENTS

CONGRATULATIONS OF POPE PIUS X ON SUCCESS OF
EUCCHARISTIC CONGRESS IN LONDON

ACTA SUMMI PONTIFICIS

EPISTOLA

QUA PIUS PP. X GRATULATUR DE FELICI EXITU CONVENTUS
EUCCHARISTICI IN ANGLIA HABITI

VENERABILI FRATRI

FRANCISCO ARCHIEPISCOPO WESTMONASTERIENSUM

WESTMONASTERIUM

Venerabilis Frater, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Solatium Nos, illudque tam grande quam fuerat ante expetitur, ex habito istic conventu Eucharistico cepimus, quem non Anglis modo, sed universo pene adspectanti orbi extitisse pietatis vestrae tum testem tum laudem accepimus. Allata enim publice nuncia gratusque multo et luculentius Venerabilis Fratris Nostri Vincentii S. R. E. Cardinalis Vannutelli, Legati Nostri, enarratio sic descriptum exhibere congressionis exitum ut sive celebri illustrium virorum frequentia, sive profunda disceptandi decernendique gravitate, sive praebitis fidei cultusque Eucharistiae testimoniis, sive denique comitantium splendore caeremoniarum, debeat is coetus, uti Anglis aetate et ordine prior, ita Ecclesiae universae amplitudine princeps existimari. Congressum cessisse tam prospere, a Deo primum repetendum. At non opera Nobis praetereunda illa est quam ipse, Venerabilis Frater, sollerter, prudenter studioseque contulisti, hoc demum digno recreatus praemio, catholicos vidisse tuos nobilitate fidei mirabiles. Eum vero commemorare insimul placet, cuius, quemadmodum ab omni catholicae Angliae gloria non seiunctum est nomen, ita huic adiunctum conventui manet: Ducem, id est, de Norfolk, qui coetu apparando et perficiendo atque etiam excipiendis honestissime primoribus laudem promeruit.—Utique singulorum heic afferre velimus nomina, quum ex ordine nobilem, tuum e civibus ceteris, qui variis modis celebrando prospere congressui adiumentum praestitere, delatisque liberaliter hospitiiis, Angliam monstrarunt peregrinis splendide urbanam. Id vero quoniam expleri per Nos nequeat, tibi libenter demandamus ut gratias iis laudesque nomine Nostro persolvas.—Ad haec, iucundi beneque affecti animi Nostri testimonium iis etiam e saeculari regularique clero dare par est, qui diligentiam studiumque congressionis bono impenderunt, optime propterea de religione, de Nobis, de Eucharistico cultu promeriti.—Omnes

denique filios ex Anglia Nostros cum amore et grati animi sensu complectimur, eos publice dilaudantes quod, professione fidei, exemplo ceteris existant. Deum postremo vehementer adprecari ut Eucharistici conventus fructus uberes reddat velitque pro utilitate patriae perennes, auspicem caelestium gratiarum Nostraeque dilectionis pignus Apostolicam benedictionem tibi, Duci de Norfolk, cunctisque Regni catholicis peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae die 15 Octobris 1908, Pontificatus Nostri anno sexto.
PIUS PP. X.

NEW APOSTOLIC VICARIATE IN MOROCCO

SECRETARIA BREVIUM

PRAEFECTURA APOSTOLICA MAROCHIENSIS ERIGITUR IN

VICARIATUM APOSTOLICUM

PIUS PP. X

Ad futuram rei memoriam

Romani Pontifices qui universa in Ecclesia sibi divinitus commissa auctoritate pollent, catholicas Missiones non modo ubique gentium instituere, sed prout maior regionum humanitas vel auctus fidelium numerus postulaverint eas potioribus iuribus honoribusque ditare consueverunt. Cum vero Missio Marochiensis, curis apostolicis Fratrum Ordinis Minorum S. Francisci Assisiensis iamdiu concredita ac plurium Martyrum sanguine decorata, tales fructus dedisset ut res catholica in praesentiarum ibidem prospere se habeat : Nos, supremi eiusdem Ordinis Ministri precibus benigne exceptis atque omnibus rei momentis cum Venerabilibus Fratribus Nostris S. R. Ecclesiae Cardinalibus negotiis Propagandae fidei praepositis attente perpensis, Apostolicam illam Praefecturam in Vicariatum Apostolicum evehendam esse censuimus. Quare omnibus et singulos quibus hae litterae Nostrae favent, a quibusvis ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et poenis, si quas forte incurrerint, huius rei tantum gratia absolventes, motu proprio ac ex certa scientia et matura deliberatione Nostris, de Apostolicae potestatis Nostrae plenitudine, praesentium tenore, Praefecturam Apostolicam Marochiensem in Vicariatum Apostolicum eiusdem nominis, iisdemque servatis confiniis erigimus atque instituimus. Decernentes praesentes litteras firmas, validas, efficaces existere ac fore, suosque plenarios et integres effectus sortiri atque obtinere, illisque ad quos spectat et spectabit in omnibus et per omnia plenissime suffragari, sicque per quoscumque iudices ordinarios et delegatos iudicari et definiri debere, ac irritum et inane, si secus super his a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel

ignoranter contingerit attentari. Non obstantibus Nostra et Cancellariae Apostolicae regula de iure quaesito non tollendo aliisque Constitutionibus et ordinationibus Apostolicis ceterisque omnibus etiam speciali ac individua mentione ac derogatione dignis in contrarium facientibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die 14 Aprilis 1908, Pontificatus Nostri anno quinto.

R. Card. MERRY DEL VAL, *a Secretis Status*.

**LETTER TO FRENCH ARCHBISHOPS ON THE ATTENDANCE
AT STATE UNIVERSITIES IN FRANCE**

SECRETARIA STATUS

LITTERAE CIRCULARES AD GALLIAE METROPOLITAS DE NON PERMITTENDA CLERICIS FREQUENTIA UNIVERSITATUM CIVILIUM

Monseigneur,

VATICAN, 30 *Septembre*, 1908.

Au milieu des tristesses que le cœur paternel du Souverain Pontife éprouve en présence des innombrables difficultés et des maux qui affligent l'Eglise, une consolation on ne peut plus précieuse—il est bien doux de le dire encore une fois—lui est toujours venue du zèle et de la fidélité inébranlable de l'Episcopat français.

Il a trouvé, dans ces nobles pasteurs des âmes, des collaborateurs insignes dans l'œuvre entreprise contre les erreurs qui menaçaient d'entamer la pureté de la foi, surtout parmi le clergé, et il ne saurait se réjouir assez des efforts que les évêques ont faits pour mettre en exécution les mesures édictées par le Saint-Siège à ce sujet.

Ces prescriptions toutefois, notamment en ce qui concerne la défense faite aux clercs de fréquenter les Universités civiles, n'ont pu avoir partout, dès l'année passée, une application complète, plusieurs ecclésiastiques se trouvant déjà inscrits aux Facultés de l'Etat.

A présent que cette circonstance spéciale, qui avait conseillé, dans des cas particuliers, quelques tempéraments transitoires, a cessé, le Saint-Père désire vivement, pour le bien de l'Eglise et des âmes, que les instructions contenues dans la lettre-circulaire du 10 octobre 1907 soient strictement observées.

C'est pourquoi je serai très reconnaissant à Votre Grandeur si elle voulait bien rappeler à ses vénérés suffragants toute l'importance des instructions susmentionnées, et leur signaler en même temps, dans cette constante sollicitude du Souverain Pontife, une preuve nouvelle de la grandeur de son amour pour l'Eglise de France.

Agréez, Monseigneur, l'assurance de mes sentiments dévoués en N.-S.

R. Card. MERRY DEL VAL.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA. Vol. IV. London : Caxton Publishing Co. New York : R. Appleton

THE farther the *Catholic Encyclopedia* advances the more we become convinced of the enormous benefits it will confer on the Catholic public, and more especially on the Catholic clergy. Nobody apparently has ever yet come across an 'encyclopedia' that was perfect in every detail; and there are few who have their eyes about them and are widely read who will not detect faults and deficiencies in this one; but when all is said it must be recognized as a splendid treasure-house of knowledge to which on the whole not only the ordinary reader but the scholar may safely refer. For whilst he may not always find exactly what he seeks he will be pretty sure to be put on the way of getting it by turning to the list of works of reference at the end of each article. This list, when carefully made out, is one of the most valuable features of the *Encyclopedia*. Volume IV brings us from *Clandestinity* to *Diocesan Chancery*. It is a well-filled volume, containing many well-filled articles, theological, philosophical, liturgical, historical, artistic. Both in the letterpress and the illustrations Ireland is well represented.

The editors are to be particularly congratulated on the success of their illustrations. Some of these are admirable reproductions of the originals. They make the work doubly valuable and interesting. Nothing finer of its kind can be seen than the reproduction, in miniature, of Perugino's 'Crucifixion,' the 'David' of Ensiedlen, and the famous Bargello portrait of Dante. The last-mentioned is much better than the article on the poet, which is by no means free from questionable statements.

I think the clergy who wish to have at their elbow a veritable mine of information will do well to become subscribers to this great work, if they have not done so already.

J. F. H.

THE SACRED CEREMONIES OF LOW MASS. By Rev. M. O'Callaghan, C.M. Dublin : Browne & Nolan, Ltd. 1909. Price, 3s. 6d.

THIS is the latest reprint of Father O'Callaghan's English edition of Zualdi's *Ceremoniale Missae Privatae*. To observe that it is the seventh edition is to emphasize the extensive popularity

it has enjoyed among the clergy in different parts of the English-speaking world. For years past it has been used as the text-book for the Ceremonies of Low Mass in practically all the ecclesiastical colleges of the country, and its value as a practical, reliable, and comprehensive authority on this important subject cannot easily be exaggerated. In the latest impression some features have been introduced which make for the more general usefulness of the book. Its worth is enhanced by valuable notes in the body of the work taken from the most approved sources, and especially by an enlargement of the Appendix, or rather by the addition of new Appendices, in which a good deal of interesting information will be found. In one section the painstaking and energetic compiler has collected together a number of the Decrees and Decisions of the Congregation of Rites bearing on the Mass, and a glance over them will be helpful to many priests in solving doubtful points and calling attention to mistakes and errors of common practice. Finally, a copious Index gives the book its crowning completion.

Having said so much of the general excellence of the *Ceremonies of Low Mass*, it will not be taken amiss if attention is called to a few details where the directions given by Zualdi for carrying out the Rubric differ slightly from those given by other authorities. In uncovering the chalice before the Offertory he recommends (*Ceremoniale*, p. 73, *Ed. Sep.*) the priest to lay the pall on the folded veil beside the burse. Others (Appeltern, Van der Stappen, De Herdt, etc.) direct him to place it against the gradus. Either way may, of course, be followed. Again, at the offering of the Host, the priest is recommended to hold the paten with the thumb, index, and middle finger of each hand, the fourth and little fingers being joined underneath (O'Callaghan, p. 77), while others direct the priest to hold the paten with the thumb and index finger only of each hand, the other three being joined to their fellows underneath (Schober, Martinucci, Appeltern, etc.). Having poured the wine into the chalice and wiped the latter, Zualdi (*Ceremoniale*, p. 78) directs the celebrant to lay the purificator beside the corporal when he has arrived at the centre of the altar, while other Rubricists (Martinucci, Van der Stappen, Appeltern, etc.) recommend him to place the purificator in its place *before* he proceeds to go to the centre. In regard to these two points, no exception can be taken to either method. Agreeably to the Rubric of the Missal (tit. x, n. 4) almost all authorities direct the priest before the *Domine non sum dignus*, etc., first to take the Host and then put the paten under it between the index and middle fingers of the left hand. Many follow what appears to be the more convenient procedure of first taking

the paten with the Host and afterwards adjusting the latter between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand. Coppin and Stimart (*Compendium Liturgiae*, p. 439, *note*) say this method is rather common in some places. The Rubric of the Missal also suggests to some a rather awkward way of purifying the paten, in the words: *Patenam quoque cum pellice et indice dexteræ manus super calicem extergit*. This is often taken to imply that the thumb and forefinger should be joined while rubbing the paten. If this is so, then the particles will adhere to the *under* sides of both these fingers, from which it will be almost impossible to detach them by mutual friction. It is hard to think that this is the meaning of the words quoted. At all events, Rubricists say that the thumb and forefinger may be disjoined while purifying the paten, and that the rubbing may be done by the inner or fleshy side of either finger. A fault common to many is to hold the chalice over the altar steps while receiving the second ablution, instead of, as Father O'Callaghan observes, resting it on the altar. In fact, the Rubric appears to contemplate the taking of the ablutions without leaving the centre of the altar, as is done at a High Mass. The priest may, however, take the ablutions either at the centre of the altar or at the Epistle angle, but he should keep the chalice *super altare*, unless the server is so small that it is necessary for his convenience to lower the chalice. Father O'Callaghan's book has been the occasion of suggesting these few observations, and it cannot be read with care and attention by priests, even of long missionary standing, without helping to enable them to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice with greater exactness, becomingness, reverence and devotion.

SOCIALISM : IS IT LIBERTY OR TYRANNY ? By Rev. Bernard Vaughan, S.J. London : George Allen & Sons.

FATHER BERNARD VAUGHAN'S lecture on 'Socialism' makes a very useful pamphlet. It puts before the man in the street the principal issues involved, as far as religion is concerned and as far as the welfare and happiness of men in general are affected by them.

'My concern with Socialism,' he says, 'is the curiosity of a plain, blunt Christian man, who wants to know what Socialism really means and what it really involves.'

With great success he proceeds in his oratorical fashion to satisfy his own curiosity and that of thousands of others much more plain and not less blunt. He makes quite clear what Pope Leo XIII taught about the collectivism of productive possessions. It is rather a pity to see, both in England and

America, encouragement given to young Catholics to join socialist organizations by telling them that Leo XIII did not condemn the socialism which admitted property in consumable goods, though it denied the right to stable and productive material. It is a poor compliment to Leo XIII, the most alert and luminous intellect of his age, to suggest that he was beating the air, condemning the old cry of Proudhon, *La Propriété, c'est le vol*, and ignoring the socialism that was seething around him. People who say so cannot have read his Encyclicals. No; Leo XIII had perfectly grasped what is called the principle of scientific socialism, and clearly condemned it. Those who admit property in consumable goods, whilst they deny the right of productive property, have arisen, we are told, since Leo XIII wrote the *Rerum Novarum*. Have they, indeed? If they have it is wonderful what prophetic insight the Pope had into the future. But indeed they have not. They were there in Leo's time and are expressly refuted by him. Man, he says, is a rational being, and on that account:—

'Bona homini tribuere necesse est, non utenda solum, quod est omnium animantium commune, sed stabili perpetuoque jure possidenda; neque ea dumtaxat quae usu consumuntur, sed etiam quae nobis utentibus permanent.'

He insists upon the natural right of man to look to the future and make suitable provision for himself and his family:—

'Ex quo consequitur ut in homine esse non modo terrenorum fructuum, sed ipsius terrae dominatum oporteat, quia e terrae fetu sibi res suppeditari videt ad futurum tempus necessarias. Habent cujusque hominis necessitates velut perpetuos redditus, ita ut hodie expletae, in crastinum nova imperent. Igitur rem quamdam debet homini natura dedisse stabilem perpetuoque mansuram unde perennitas subsidii expectari posset. Atqui istiusmodi perennitatem nulla res praestare nisi cum ubertatibus suis terra, potest.'

Then, as if to meet the very point that is now sought to be made, he says:—

'Horum tam perspicua vis est argumentorum ut mirabile videatur dissentire quosdam exoletarum opinionum restitutores, qui usum quidem soli variosque praediorum fructus homini privato concedunt; at possideri ab eo ut domino vel solum in quo aedificavit, vel praedium quod excoluit plane jus esse negant. Quod cum negant, fraudatum iri partis suo labore rebus hominem, non vident.'

Now, evidently those who admit property in the fruits of the earth, in consumable goods and such things, do not, as everybody knows, fall under the condemnation of the Encyclical unless they deny at the same time property in productive goods. This, of course, the qualified socialists do. It is a mere quibble

to put forward half the proposition without taking into account its correlative and completing part. Father Bernard Vaughan keeps closely to the sound principles of *Rerum Novarum* in his lecture, which is, moreover, lighted up with brilliant flashes of wit, and that sort of common sense which is likely to appeal to reasonable people of every class. It is full of good things and meets fairly, though necessarily not fully, all the main arguments of the school.

AN EXAMINATION OF SOCIALISM. By Hilaire Belloc.

London: Catholic Truth Society.

THIS is a booklet which deserves attention. As far as it goes it is admirable. Mr. Belloc gives us what he gathers to be the essential principle of socialism. His refutation of it is excellent. Once it is admitted, good-bye to liberty and prepare for tyranny of the worst kind. But Mr. Belloc, in my opinion, is not justified in restricting socialism as a school to the principle he so admirably refutes. How does he do it? What warrants him? Where is his authority? Mr. Belloc tells us that socialism is a doctrine, not an organism; that if it were an organism it would express its doctrine in the terms and in these only which he embodies in his pamphlet; that it would be entirely different from what it appears in its disorganized state. We should like to know how he can show that. Socialism has its international congresses still, and we do not think these congresses have ever limited their programme to the principle set forth by Mr. Belloc. Its leading exponents certainly have not. It may not have official organs in the Press, but it has a great many organs exclusively devoted to its propaganda. We do not know of any that limits socialism to the principle and its derivatives to which Mr. Belloc confines it. Perhaps Mr. Belloc would tell us on what authority he so restricts it. If, as he says, there is no organic authority, then it must be derived from some other source. Whence? Where? How? These are the questions we should like to have answered.

J. F. H.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE BEFORE THE BAR OF REASON. By the Rev. L. A. Lambart, LL.D., author of *Notes on Ingersoll*, etc. Edited by Rev. A. S. Quinlan. New York: Christian Press Association, 26 Barclay Street. Price, \$1 net.

THIS is quite an instructive and entertaining little volume of some 200 pages. The running comments on Christian Science

statements are fresh, vigorous, and breezy. Their logic is crushing and merciless. They kill the pretensions of Christian Science by the ridicule to which they expose it. They convince one that Christian Science lives and flourishes not on sane reason and sound common sense, but on a sort of sickly, hysterical, and morbid sentiment that feeds on delusions. They make very short work of Mrs. Eddy's absurd and self-destructive dogmas about the unreality of Matter, of sickness, of medicines, etc., as well as about the pantheistic unity of all Mind. They are quite up to the high level of the well-known author's previous apologetic achievements. They leave no doubt in the mind of the impartial reader that Christian Science is in fact neither 'Christian' nor 'science.' They likewise help to realize how it has come to pass that this twentieth-century aberration has caught hold of so many millions of apparently sincere and sensible people: partly because it deludes them by posing as Christian through a dishonest jugglery with the meanings of words that embody the religious ideas of the ordinary believing Christian, words such as 'God,' 'Spirit,' 'Creator,' 'Infinite,' 'Divine,' etc. (cf. p. 108); partly because, owing to the lack of any definite religious teaching outside the Catholic Church, the modern mind must satisfy its innate hungering after religion by attaching itself to some such perversions of religious truth as Christian Science or some of the other passing fashions have to offer it. But with the causes of the spread of Christian Science the author does not profess to deal. He merely takes its disconnected and inconsistent teachings as he finds them and examines them impartially 'before the Bar of Reason.' And there they cut a very sorry figure indeed. P. C.

A MANUAL OF MORAL THEOLOGY. By Rev. Thomas Slater, S.J. Vol. II. New York: Benziger Brothers. Price, 11s. net.

THESE volumes by Father Slater are the first attempt, as far as I know, to give to the public in the English tongue a complete Manual of Moral Theology from the Catholic standpoint. Naturally opinions will be divided as to the wisdom of this new departure. The necessity for it, or the good to be gained by it, is not indeed apparent. But whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the necessity or utility of such a venture, all will agree that the task of producing for the first time in the English language a satisfactory text-book of Moral Theology is not an easy one. A text-book, to be satisfactory, must be confined to the narrowest possible limits compatible

with solidity and adequacy of treatment. Now, partly owing to the absence from the English language of suitable equivalents for the very numerous terms and phrases of a highly technical character in which our Latin text-books abound, and partly owing to the fact that English does not lend itself to condensation to the same extent as Latin, it is difficult to secure satisfactory results in a first attempt to produce a text-book in English. An author will be liable to succumb to one of two dangers. He may allow his work to run to an abnormal length, and thus to be unsuitable for a text-book, in an effort to secure that solidity and adequacy of treatment that can be had within very narrow compass in a Latin Manual; or while aiming at keeping his work within due limits he may sacrifice the other qualities that a good text-book should have. Father Slater has succumbed to this latter danger, and this constitutes the great defect of his work. He has succeeded, indeed, in keeping his volumes within the limits of an ordinary text-book, but this result has been attained at the sacrifice of solidity and adequacy of treatment. The treatment is so meagre and inadequate as to render the work not only practically worthless for the purposes for which it was intended, but sometimes even misleading. Further, it has all the appearance of having been written in a hurry and in circumstances in which the author was compelled to sketch from memory, without extrinsic aid, the baldest outlines of Moral Science.

It is a pity, I think, that Father Slater allowed himself to be persuaded to publish these volumes in their present form. As those who have read his occasional articles on moral questions well know, he is capable of much better things. The volumes are well turned out by Benziger Brothers. P. M'K.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF HENRY VAN RENSSELAER, Priest of the Society of Jesus. By Rev. Edward Spillane, S.J. New York: Fordham University Press. 1908.

THE Jesuit Fathers in New York have recently lost two of their most distinguished members, Father H. Van Rensselaer and Father William O'Brien Pardow. The present volume gives us a very interesting account of the life and labours of Father Van Rensselaer. Let us hope that a similar honour will be paid to Father Pardow. Both of these men held a high place in the esteem and affection of the Catholics of the United States. Both of them deserved it.

Father Van Rensselaer belonged to one of the old Dutch

families of New York. The founder of the family in America was Kilian van Rensselaer, one of the *Patroons*, who settled on the banks of the Hudson away back even before the days of Rip van Winkle of Sleepy Hollow. His ancestors were distinguished in war, commerce, politics, and civil life, and he was intended for the Church from an early age. Business, however, interfered for some time with the project; but ultimately the young man was set free to follow his bent, and entered the Protestant Theological Seminary of New York. From here he went for some time to Germany, then to Oxford. His letters from Oxford are very interesting; for he was there in the later days of the Oxford Movement, and was greatly shocked at the constant defection of prominent men from Anglicanism. He thought it 'sickening.' How could one account for first class men behaving in such a way? 'Where was it to stop?' Well, it did not stop until it had caught him too in the whirl. Many things converged in forcing him onward. It is interesting to note that the reading of the chapter on 'Papal Supremacy' in Döllinger's *Church History* convinced young Van Rensselaer of Papal Infallibility as well as of Papal Supremacy, whilst the author of the chapter had already renounced 'Infallibility' altogether. *Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes*. In September, 1877, he leaped over the wall, bringing his sister along with him.

Once a Catholic, young Van Rensselaer thought at once of becoming a priest. The Dominicans, the Oratorians, the 'White Fathers of the Sahara,' all had attractions for him. But ultimately the Jesuits took the prize. Father Van Rensselaer wanted to work in the midst of the surging multitudes. Benedict loved the mountains, Dominic the towns, Bernard the valleys, Francis the fields, but, *Magnas Ignatius urbes*.

From 1878 to 1889, he was a Jesuit Novice and Scholastic, reading, studying, working. In 1889 he was ordained a priest. From this forward, Father Van Rensselaer led the busy and ardent life of a Jesuit, preaching, lecturing, giving missions, hearing confessions, giving retreats to nuns and priests, organizing clubs and societies. He was indeed too ardent, too unsparing of himself. He wore himself out before his time, and died in October, 1907. He was a picturesque and interesting figure, binding Catholic New York of to-day with the New York of the olden times. The life is neatly written by Father Spillane, S.J., without needless diffuseness, and for the most part letting Father Van Rensselaer speak for himself.

J. F. H.

THE SCIENCE OF ETHICS. By Rev. Michael Cronin, M.A., D.D. Vol. I. General Ethics. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd., 1909.

IN his *Science of Ethics* Dr. Cronin gives an admirable exposition of the Christian Aristotelian morality. His account of it is lucidity itself; and his criticisms of other thinkers are equally clear, able, and interesting.

The first volume (which, by the way, is the only volume ready for publication) treats of the general principles of Ethics; the second will deal with the application of these general principles to special cases. The opening chapter is devoted to the definition of Ethics, a discussion of the *method* of the study, and a justification of its claims to rank as a science. Adopting the traditional Thomistic account of Morals as the 'science of human conduct as directed by Reason to man's *ultimus finis*,' the second chapter expounds the meaning of Conduct, and its distinctive features as human. A consideration of the *ultimus finis* occupies the next chapter. Chapter IV considers these two ideas in relation. Chapter V assigns the criteria of Moral good. Then follows a discussion of three most important questions concerning the Moral good: its relation to freedom (Chapters VI and VII); whether the 'good' *ought* to be done—a dissertation on duty—(Chapter VIII); and whether duty ought to be done for duty's sake (Chapter IX). Next we have a discussion of three outstanding modern theories as to the nature of moral goodness—Hedonism, Utilitarianism, and Evolutionary Ethics. To the consideration of this latest theory Dr. Cronin has devoted two chapters. Chapter XIV puts the question: How do we know the good? and Chapter XV: Whether it is known by intuition or by a process of reasoning and study? Chapter XVI considers the old problem: Whether the first principles of good action are known to all, and whether the knowledge of them can be lost or impaired? Two remaining questions concerning Morality are treated in Chapters XVII and XVIII. These are the questions of the consequences of morality, and of the means whereby morality is attained and nurtured.

So comprehensive a work calls for a fuller and more adequate criticism than the short time which has elapsed since its publication would allow. We hope to have the pleasure of examining it as it deserves in a future issue.

W. M.

OTHER NEW BOOKS

WE have 'on our library table,' *Little Angels* (Burns and Oates), a book of prose and poetry by Fr. Matthew Russell, S.J.,

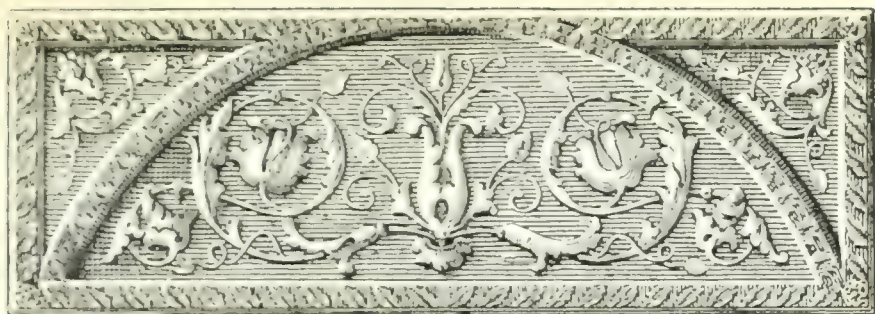
full of the mellow autumn fruit which has such a pleasant taste, and makes, of itself, a banquet. There is just here and there a sad note as if the autumn were advancing: but we remember that a great dignitary in the South of Ireland was accustomed to tell the priests of his diocese for many years at the annual retreat that he expected each occasion was the last on which he would have an opportunity of addressing them. Let us hope that Father Russell's warnings will last as long, and that each succeeding year may give him a similar opportunity of renewing them.

There is no trace of a warning of that kind in the *Dangers of the Day* (New York Press) by Mgr. John Vaughan, the eight chapters of which are, according to Mgr. Moyes, in his Preface, so many danger signals. The signals are: 'Our Environment,' 'The Encroachments of the World,' 'Calling Good Evil and Evil Good,' 'The Inordinate Love of Money,' 'Indiscriminate Reading,' 'Knowledge that *Puffeth up*,' 'Intemperance,' 'Impurity.' An excellent book for young and old.

A different class of book is *A Textual Concordance of the Holy Scriptures* (New York: Benziger Brothers) by Rev. Thomas David Williams. All Concordances are more or less useful, and this one has its advantages—it has also its drawbacks. We had occasion to test it this very day in seeking for the chapter and verse in St. Matthew of the text, 'power is given to Me in heaven and in earth,' etc. We looked for it under the headings of all the principal words in the text, but looked for it in vain. One would imagine that it is the principal text one should expect under the heading 'power.' However, in other cases we were more fortunate. The price is \$3.50.

How I came to do it, by the Rev. J. Blackswite, edited by Mgr. John Vaughan (London: Burns and Oates; 2s. 6d. net). One never knows how a book will turn out until one reads it. We have had the above on our table for some months past, without attaching any particular importance to it. It was by the merest chance we took it up a few days ago, and having once begun it we could not let it go till we had reached the end. It is decidedly one of the most amusing books we have read for a long time. How opinions are modified by external circumstances, and how conveniently 'private judgment' comes to the aid of nature was never more wittily demonstrated. Those who want a good few hours' recreation should read this book. It is full of refined and genial humour. Towards the end of the book a good deal of instruction is blended with the mirth. *Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci.*

J. F. H.



THE POPE AND THE PRIESTS OF MARY

THE most consoling as well as the most significant event in the progress of the young Society of the Priests of Mary occurred on December 29, 1908, when His Holiness Pius X consented to have his name inscribed on its roll of members. This gratifying incident took place at an audience granted to Father Gebhard, the Director of the Association at Rome, and is best recorded in his own words :—

I had been long expecting the privilege of a private audience from the Pope, but owing to his indisposition my hopes were disappointed until last night the ticket of admission came, and I was received by our kind and Holy Father this morning, the Feast of St. John, December 29.

The principal object of my audience was to present to His Holiness a beautiful copy of the new Italian translation of Blessed de Montfort's Treatise on *True Devotion to the Blessed Virgin*, and also of the *Manual of the Priests of Mary*. Before publishing this new Italian translation, I was obliged to submit it to Mgr. Lepidi, P.P.A., for the *imprimatur*. After reading it, Mgr. Lepidi told me he had been very much edified and that he would say a word about it to His Holiness. So, when I presented the book to the Pope this morning, I said : ' Perhaps your Holiness remembers having been told about this new translation of the *True Devotion*, by Mgr. Lepidi ? '

' Yes,' he said, ' I remember.'

' Your Holiness knew Blessed de Montfort's Treatise before, I think ? '

' *Securo*—certainly ; and I told Mgr. Lepidi that before

writing my Encyclical Letter, *Ad diem illum*, for the Jubilee in 1904, I read it over, and while composing I tried to quote some passages from memory.'

Then I presented my request, *supplica*, in which I asked His Holiness to deign to address a word of encouragement to such as practise and endeavour to spread this devotion. Pius X took his pen and wrote:—

'Juxta preces Tractatum de vera Devotione erga Beatam Mariam Virginem a Beato de Montfort amabiliter exhibitum enixe commendamus et ejusdem Tractatus lectoribus Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter impertimus.'

Dat. 27 Decembris, 1908.

PIUS PP. X.

When he gave back to me the *supplica*, with the kind word from him, I said: 'This little book, Santo Padre, has already done so much good. . . .'

'*E tanto bello!* And it is so beautiful,' he said.

Then, with the *Manual of the Priests of Mary*, I reminded him that at the end of his Jubilee letter to his clergy he recommended Associations of Priests, and I asked him that on the occasion of his Golden Sacerdotal Jubilee he might deign to have himself inscribed in our Society of the Priests of Mary, which he had already blessed, granting to its members the concession of a privileged altar. Pius X accepted willingly. He is now one of us—a member of our Association.

Needless to say, that Father Gebhard's satisfaction and gratitude for this gracious condescension of the Holy Father will be widely shared by his numerous friends, and that those who have hitherto stood aloof will no longer hesitate to join the young army of ecclesiastics thus highly favoured.

The *Treatise of True Devotion*, so highly commended by the Pope, is a work of intense and fiery zeal, bearing evidence on every page of the inspiration of a prophet and the fervour of a saint.

Its author, Grignon de Montfort, was a man with a mission, not so much for the time in which he lived as for those later ages when Mary's place in the work of redemption is becoming more clearly defined, more triumphantly confirmed. He seemed to fully realize this feature of his work, since he predicted that the *Treatise on True Devotion*, destined to accomplish so much in the cause of the Blessed Virgin, would be concealed from the eyes of man by the

enemies of salvation for a long period, but would come to light in God's own time. 'I clearly foresee that raging brutes will come in fury to tear with their diabolical teeth this little writing, and him whom the Holy Ghost has made use of to write it, or at least to *envelope it in the silence of a coffer*, in order that it may not appear.' His words came true. He died in the year 1716, and the manuscript was accidentally discovered by one of the priests of the Congregation which he established at St. Laurent-sur-Seine, in 1842. The handwriting was attested by the existing Superior as being that of the venerable founder; the autograph was sent to Rome, to be examined in the process of canonization, and on May 12, 1853, the decree was pronounced declaring his writing to be free from all error.

His life was not without a share of crosses, disappointments, and humiliations, borne with uniform resignation and patience. After his ordination, in 1700, he longed to cross the Atlantic, and devote himself to the distant missions of Canada; but his call was nearer home, and by the directions of his Superiors he set himself to labour in different parts of his native France. It was while engaged in his arduous duties in the city of Poitiers that he conceived the idea of founding a community of religious women, which, after a period of trial and sufferings, developed into an important and useful society, now well known as the Daughters of Wisdom, with many branch establishments in France and Belgium. The Sisters devote themselves to the instruction and care of the sick, and to all the other good works performed by female communities.

In the year 1706, he made a pilgrimage to Rome, and Clement XI appointed him as a Missionary Apostolic, assigning him France as the scene of his labours, and giving him the special task of combating the promoters of the Jansenist heresy.

On his return he worked most zealously and fruitfully in a number of dioceses, and before his death, in 1716, he succeeded in establishing a society of Missionary priests imbued with his spirit and trained to his methods. It was, however, some years after his departure from them

to another world that the Congregation became firmly established. It was formally approved of by the Holy See in 1853, by a brief which recognized it as the Company of Mary. Its sphere of usefulness rapidly increased, and the practice of giving missions, especially among the poorer classes, rendered its work popular and productive of lasting effects. It was in this way similar to the Congregation of the Holy Redeemer, founded at a later period by St. Alphonsus Liguori, proving that the spirit that guides the saints renews the movement it inspires at different times, and in different places. What Blessed de Montfort did for France, St. Alphonsus accomplished in Italy. The results, however, cannot be compared as to extent and number of branches, since the children of St. Alphonsus are no longer confined to his native country, but are to be found in every part of the Catholic world, ever true to the spirit of their founder, never weary of gathering in a rich harvest of souls in the many fields of labour where God has placed them.

Those lasting and fruitful effects of de Montfort's life and example do not, however, constitute his only claim upon our admiration and gratitude. It is by the legacy he bequeathed in his *Treatise on True Devotion to Our Lady*, so mysteriously concealed, so miraculously discovered, that we are to judge his merits, not only as a saint and a worker in the vineyard of the Lord, but as a chosen herald of Mary's triumph in later times.

When this production of his inspired pen was published for the first time after its long disappearance it would seem that a dispensation of Providence had arranged it to fall into the hands of another and a later advocate of real and solid devotion to the Blessed Virgin, one eminently qualified to give practical effect to the teachings it contained.

Father Faber tells us that it was in the year 1846, or 1847, he first studied the life and spirit of the Venerable Grignon de Montfort. The impression left upon him then, glowing with the fervour and zeal of a soul just freed from the darkened atmosphere of Anglicanism, was deep and permanent, and probably contributed to a great extent to

the chivalrous and outspoken defence of Our Lady's privileges that formed a characteristic feature in the treasures of devotional writings which he afterwards gave to the Catholic world, intensely poetical, but strictly and theologically correct, and full of consolation to stricken souls.

To him we are indebted for the first English translation of the *Treatise on True Devotion*. In his Preface to it he says :—

There are few men in the eighteenth century who have more strongly upon them the marks of the man of Providence than this Elias-like Missionary of the Holy Ghost and of Mary. His entire life was such an exhibition of the folly of the Cross that his biographers unite in always classing him with St. Simon Salo and St. Philip Neri. I have translated the whole *Treatise* myself, and have taken great pains with it, and have been scrupulously faithful. At the same time I would venture to warn the reader that one perusal will be very far from making him master of it. If I may dare to say, there is a growing feeling of something inspired about it, as we go on studying it. And with that we cannot help experiencing after repeated readings of it that its novelty never appears to wear off, nor its fulness to be diminished, nor the fresh fragrance and sensible fire of its unction ever to abate.

So wrote Father Faber in 1862. *E tanto bello* ; ' and it is so beautiful,' re-echoes Pius X in 1908.

In the year 1892 the Archbishop of Westminster, in a letter to the publishers of the translation just mentioned, says :—

I have recommended the work to the clergy of the Diocese of Salford, and I distributed copies of it to the priests who attended the First Synod which was held in July last. I should be glad to see it in the hands of every priest, as experience has taught me the power of this most persuasive *Treatise* in propagating a solid devotion to the Mother of God.

In 1889 a remarkable book termed *The Virgin Mother according to Theology*, by the Rev. J. Baptiste Petitalot, was published in London, with the *imprimatur* of the Bishop of Southwark. In the course of this exhaustive and erudite production the learned author proves from many sources that Mary fills the Scriptures ; that she fills tradition ; that

she fills the liturgy, and the history of nations. Dealing with the accusation so often brought against Catholics of being too lavish in her praises, in speaking too often of her privileges, and of attributing to her titles which only belong to Jesus Christ, he says :—

It is indeed true that Mary receives great honours, but those who know her well never find her too much honoured. Resting on an immovable foundation, as ancient and not less solid than Christianity, and incorporated into the constitution of the Church, the cult of Mary has nothing to fear from the closest investigation, and far from paling under this increase of light it shines with even greater splendour. *We do not believe it is yet at its zenith.*

In proof of this latter striking statement he refers to the predictions of the Blessed de Montfort, and as confirmation he quotes some passages from the *Treatise on True Devotion*, notably that in which the writer says : ‘ Mary has produced, together with the Holy Ghost, the greatest thing which has been, or ever will be : which is a God-Man ; and she will consequently produce the greatest things that there will be in the latter times.’ Father Petitalot, commenting on this passage, says : ‘ De Montfort insists upon this idea with the conviction of a prophet ; ’ and he gives another quotation :—

I have said that this would come to pass, particularly at the end of the world, and indeed presently, because the Most High, with His Holy Mother, has to form for Himself great saints, who shall surpass most of the other saints in sanctity as much as the cedars of Lebanon outgrow the little shrubs, as has been revealed to a holy soul whose life has been written by a great servant of God.

But the power of Mary over all the devils will especially break out in the latter times when Satan will lay his snares against her heel ; that is to say, her humble slaves and her poor children whom she will raise up to make war against him.

These few extracts which the author of *The Virgin Mother according to Theology* puts before his readers suggest strongly that we are on the eve of wondrous revelations of God’s designs regarding Mary’s later and most glorious

conquests. The standing miracle of Lourdes, as manifest and as incontestable to-day as it was fifty years hence, when its healing waters first gushed forth at the command of the Virgin, confounding the infidel, encouraging the faint-hearted, bringing health and strength to the weary and afflicted, and extorting unwilling testimony from the scientist and the physician, is a confirmation and a fulfilment of the prediction of the servant of God made two hundred years ago, and jealously, but unsuccessfully, concealed by the malice of the evil one.

A further proof, if proof be needed, of the onward march of events in the triumphant progress of the extension of the reign of Jesus through Mary is evident from the fact that the same illustrious Pontiff, who has for the first time extended to the Universal Church the Mass and Office commemorative of the apparition at Lourdes, and who has invited his children to chant the praises of her who has appeared 'Quasi arcus refulgens inter nebulas et quasi flos rosarum in diebus vernis, et quasi lilia in transitu aquae,' has indicated his desire to take part in promoting the designs of God in her regard by allowing his name to be inscribed on the roll of the Priests of Mary, to whom may be applied the words of de Montfort:—

They shall be a burning fire of the ministers of the Lord, who shall kindle the fire of divine love everywhere. They shall be the sons of Levi, well purified by the fire of great tribulation, and closely adhering to God, who shall carry the gold of love in their heart, the incense of prayer in their spirit, and the myrrh of mortification in their body.

There is, then, every indication of a great future in store for this youthful Society, thus blessed and distinguished by the Father of the Faithful.

The true devotion to the Holy Virgin, which should form the leading feature of the lives of its members, will be a short road to Jesus, removing all anxiety and uncertainty, since of them de Montfort says: 'They will sleep without gold or silver, and what is more, without care—in *medios clericos*—in the midst of other priests, ecclesiastics, and

clerks.' Their obligations are light; their privileges notable; their spiritual progress assured as long as they are faithful to their Mistress and Queen.

It is not desirable in this paper to refer to its rules and constitution. A brief summary has already appeared in a former number of the I. E. RECORD,¹ and full details are furnished in the *Manual*,² now published in English for the first time. It would be more pertinent and more profitable to take a glance at its progress during the short time of existence, and thus to form an estimate of its prospects of support from the clergy.

No man is more qualified to give us information on that point than Father Gebhard, the Superior at Rome; and as he has kindly left a mass of correspondence bearing on the subject at my disposal, it may be instructive to submit a few extracts that will be quite sufficient to give an idea of the sympathy and interest awakened in different parts of the world by the new movement. Writing towards the close of the last year, Father Gebhard says:—

Thanks especially to the article published in the May number of the I. E. RECORD, the Association of the Priests of Mary has recruited some devoted members in the following English-speaking countries:—Ireland, England, the United States, Newfoundland, and l'Ile Maurice. They are not yet a multitude, but each of those countries having received the good seed shall no doubt give an abundant harvest, when the appointed time comes.

Some priests knew of the Association before May, and hastened to give their names. The following letter, for instance, is dated March 30, 1908:—

Optimam quidem notitiam de erectione Canonica Societatis Sacerdotum Mariae Regina Cordium, ad me misit Rev. N.... Rector Ecclesiae Sanctae Mariae in Civitate X . . . atque ideo tamquam servus Iesu per Mariam festino ut nomen meum inscribam inter alumnos ejusdem Confraternitatis. Gaudeo valde quod tandem aliquando desiderium Beati Montfort hac in re impletum fuerit foundatione hujus Societatis quam profuturum esse multum ad diffusionem Spiritus verae Devotionis animo

¹ May, 1908. ² *Manual of the Priests of Mary*, Browne & Nolan, Ltd., Dublin.

sincerissimo spero. Ut igitur gaudeam omnibus privilegiis hujus excellentissimae Societatis te Domine precor nomen meum inscribere in catalogo ejusdem. . . . Plures inveniuntur sacerdotes in hac parte orbis terrarum, qui jam actum Consecrationis fecerunt, quique etiam desiderant unionem vobiscum in hac nova Societate ab Ecclesia approbata.

Father Gebhard continues :—

For the most part such as were inscribed after May simply mention the article read in the I. E. RECORD, and ask for a diploma of admission. Some priests, however, could not help expressing their satisfaction, and promised to promote the Association. Let them forgive me for quoting parts of their letters.

‘ June 5, 1908.

‘ VERY REV. FATHER,—I would like very much to become affiliated to the Priests of Mary, concerning which pious Society an article appears in the May number of the I. E. RECORD. . . . I made the Act of Consecration on November 16, 1904, and since then I have persuaded many to make it. . . .’

‘ June 14, 1908.

‘ MY DEAR FATHER,—I read in the May number of the I. E. RECORD an article on the ‘Priests of Mary. I have since read Blessed Grignon de Montfort’s work on *True Devotion to the Blessed Virgin*. A companion priest, Rev. N. . . . and myself desire to be enrolled as members. We should like to make our Act of Consecration on the Feast of the Sacred Heart of Mary, which we celebrate on June 28. I believe that the *Manual* of the Society is being translated into English, and will soon be published. On its publication I shall at once procure it.’

‘ June 18.

‘ VERY REV. FATHER,—I have been directed to write to you for a diploma of the Priests of Mary. I was at our retreat this week . . . and Rev. N. . . . gave me the I. E. RECORD to read, with its article on the Priests of Mary. Having practised for years the excellent Devotion of the Blessed Louis Marie Grignon de Montfort, I rejoice indeed to find that there is now an Association of Priests of Mary. May it grow and flourish. Immense good must come from its establishment. . . .’

Letter of an old Irish priest to His Eminence Cardinal Vincent Vannutelli, Protector of our Association :—

‘ May 30.

‘ YOUR EMINENCE,—I am an old priest, near the end of my

time in this life, and having lately read about the Association of the Priests of Mary, and the privileges bestowed upon it by our present Holy Father, I am most anxious before my death to be enrolled as a member. I have been practising the duties and sacrifices in honour of the ever Blessed Virgin ever since I read about it. . . .’

Father Gebhard says :—

His Eminence can read English, and was very pleased with the letter. The first time he gave me audience he read it to me aloud, slowly of course, and manifesting his satisfaction. He commissioned me to reply, and convey his regards and affectionate blessing to the veteran priest.

On the very same day I received this letter addressed to me :—

‘VERY REV. FATHER,—I am now an old man, nearly sixty years doing duty as a Missionary Priest. Forty-two years of that long length of time I have been acting as Parish Priest of this parish. . . . I feel my course is coming to an end, as the infirmity of age is on me. As I have during life received innumerable favours from God through the intercession of the ever Blessed Virgin, I now wish to end my life by putting myself, and all I possess, entirely to be disposed of, into her care, and into her hands. I am now prepared to comply with all the rules required by the Association, and will feel for ever grateful if you, in your charity, would have me regularly enrolled as a member, and kindly send me the diploma of enrolment. Hoping to be excused for this trouble, I subscribe myself,

‘Yours sincerely in J. C.’

As I know by a third letter, the Act of Consecration of the oldest and most deserving member, as we may believe, of the Association was made on July 16, Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. There are other communications in this correspondence, all cheering and sympathetic in their tone, but there is no need to quote them.

Perhaps to us in Ireland the most interesting and the most welcome is the characteristic letter of an old Irish priest. All who read it cannot but wish that the span of life left him is not yet run, and that the grand old *soggarth* will live to see his words and his example bear fruit a hundred-fold. He has realized the all-important place given to Mary in the plan of salvation, and he proves that

devotion to her must ever increase, and not, as Father Faber observes, remain a thing which, like the possession of a book or a rosary, we have once for all, final and complete.

A few more extracts from Father Gebhard's letters and our task is ended. Dealing in general terms with the different countries in which the Association has already taken root, he first mentions

Canada.—Here [he says] one of our Fathers is local Director, and therefore to me no priest of the Canadian clergy has applied for enrolment. The fact, however, that 1,000 copies of the new English translation of the *Manual* have been ordered for distribution among priests is sufficient evidence of the progress of the movement in the Dominion.

In *Portugal* a clerical student of the English College, SS. Peter and Paul's, Lisbon, having read the article in the I. E. RECORD, had his name inscribed here, and will begin to promote the Society in the College after the re-opening of studies.

Rome.—Some students of the English Colleges, thanks to the zeal of the Rev. Mother-General of the Little Company of Mary, have become members. When the *Manual* is published in English, something more can be done.

In *France* the Association is prosperous, not so much as it should be indeed owing to the persecution ; but still vigorous and full of promise.

Ireland seems to have no place on this roll of honour, and yet if we are to judge from her ancient glories, her name should be first amongst the nations associated with the object that the Director of the Priests of Mary has at heart. Scarcely had she emerged from the darkness of paganism when she made the love of Mary a vital element of her religious life—the bright spot that illumined the gathering clouds of her future, the one glorious image that could not be dimmed by persecution.

No wealth of imagery, no appellation of endearment, was spared in her outpouring of loyalty to the Virgin and Mother. There is no lack of evidence in the monuments of the early Irish Church to prove the variety and the earnestness of those tokens of the love the children of Ireland bore their Mother. There is, for instance, in preservation that famous Litany in the *Leabhar Breac*, dating

from the eighth century, styled by Petrie the oldest and best manuscript relating to Church History now existing, with its touching enumeration of her titles and prerogatives, addressing her as 'the woman replete with the grace of the Holy Spirit, 'the Temple of the Living God,' 'the Crimson Rose of the Land of Jacob,' and concluding by appealing to her as 'the Ladder of Heaven,' 'who would listen to the petition of the poor, and who would not spurn the wounds and the groans of the miserable.'

Then there is the hymn of St. Cuchumneus, composed towards the end of the sixth century, and deemed worthy to be placed in the liturgy of the early Church, foreshadowing the great privileges of Our Lady that were only to be fully revealed in centuries to come; a theme again taken up by Sedulius in his *Carmen Paschale*, so faithfully and so beautifully paraphrased in our own time by a gifted child¹ of the historic diocese of Meath, a poet-priest, a learned theologian, and an enthusiastic advocate of the definition of the Immaculate Conception as an article of faith.

There is, however, no occasion to dwell further on those treasures of the past to find incentives for the future. The same spirit that moved the monks and clerics of long ago to keep alive in the hearts of their people their childlike affection for Mary, and even, as in the case of Columbanus and his contemporaries, to bring it with them in their missions to foreign lands as a sacred trust and a precious safeguard, is still to be found vigorous and fervent in their successors of to-day.

If, perchance, they are awaiting a call to action from some authoritative source, they will find it in the words of him who sits on Peter's Chair, whose strong, unerring voice is ever heard rebuking sinners, guiding the doubtful, confirming the strong. In the concluding portion of his celebrated exhortation to the Catholic clergy of the world, on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of his ordination, Pius X says :—

One other recommendation we make from the heart, that

¹ Rev. M. Tormey.

priests should form, as it becomes brothers, a closer union amongst themselves which the episcopal authority may confirm and direct. It is surely praiseworthy that they should *form an Association* for rendering mutual aid in adversity, for the protection of the honour of their name and office against the craft of enemies, and for other causes of a similar kind.

This final note of the fatherly summons of the Chief Priest of Christendom to his sons who are to fight the battles looming up before the Church in the future is timely and instructive. To the Priests of Mary it bears a message of encouragement, since their Association seems to be an anticipation of his wishes and a prompt answer to his appeal. He has shown his approval by enriching them with valuable privileges, by blessing their Manual of Rules, and by allowing his name to be placed on their roll of members. What more is needed? When Pius leads who will hesitate to follow? Has he not come 'to restore all things in Christ'?

THOMAS M'GEOY, P.P.

HISTORIC PHASES OF SOCIALISM—II

SOCIALISM AND PROTESTANTISM

THE last solemn scene in the life of our Lord, described by St. Matthew in his Gospel, is that in which Jesus, risen from the tomb, triumphant over death, met His Apostles in a mountain of Galilee, and taking leave of them for ever, said ¹:—

All power is given to Me in heaven and in earth. Going, therefore, teach ye all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you : and behold I am with you all days even to the consummation of the world.

And the Lord Jesus, after He had spoken to them [says St. Mark ²] was taken up into heaven and sitteth at the right hand of God.

Another detail is added by St. Luke,³ who says that ‘ He opened their understanding that they might understand the Scriptures ; ’ that He sent the promise of His Father upon them, but told them not to leave the city till they had been indued with power from on high. Then ‘ He led them out as far as Bethany, and lifting up His hands He blessed them ; and it came to pass that whilst He blessed them He departed from them and was carried up into heaven.’ Some other details are added by St. John. When the disciples saw the risen Lord standing on the shore of the lake of Tiberias, St. John⁴ himself was the first to recognize Him, and said to Simon Peter : ‘ It is the Lord.’ Peter, in his eagerness to prostrate himself at the Master’s feet, girt his coat around him, and cast himself into the sea. The others came by the ship. The

¹ Matt. xxviii. 18-20. ² Mark xvi. 19. ³ Luke xxiv. 45. ⁴ John xxi. 3, 19.

whole company had then the immortal privilege of hearing from the Master's lips the words, 'Come and dine.' It was at the close of that final banquet that Jesus addressed Simon Peter three times, asking whether he loved Him, and whether he loved Him more than the others did. On Peter's repeated protestations of love he got the commission given to him and to him alone : 'Feed My lambs,' 'Feed My lambs,' 'Feed My sheep.'

We have in these events and in these commands all the essentials of an organized Christian Church. The authority of Christ Himself, to whom all power is given in heaven and on earth, power to influence emperors and kings and governments, authority to teach all nations and all individuals, to bring the truths of Christ into the remotest recesses of society, to mould legislation, to regulate morals, to teach with authority the whole Christian code, was imparted to the Apostolic College ; and at the head of the divine commission was placed the Supreme Pastor to feed the lambs and the sheep, with the promise that He who had all power in heaven and on earth, and stood before them triumphant over death, would be with him and them to guide and strengthen them, even to the consummation of the world. And in the act of blessing them He ascended gloriously into heaven.

It was against the mighty fabric raised on that immortal promise, against the authority that had enabled it, in the language of Gibbon, to construct European society as surely as the bees construct a honeycomb, that Martin Luther directed the engines of his revolt. For him the lambs and the sheep were to choose their own pasture. The voice of the shepherd who got the supreme commission was to be ignored and reviled. Every man was to be the judge of his own doctrine. Anarchy was introduced into the Christian organization. Each individual was to be a law unto himself. He got his charter of freedom liberating him from the power and influence of those whom the risen Christ had commissioned to teach him. It was in vain apparently that their 'understanding was opened that they might understand the Scriptures.' Henceforth every

one was to interpret the Scriptures on his own account. Faith alone was now to justify, and observance of the Commandments was relegated to a place that was more than subsidiary. Indeed, some of Luther's disciples—I should perhaps call them rather his rivals—introduced the awful doctrine that all men were predestined either to be damned or saved, independently of their strivings. What a loosening of the flood-gates that restrain men's passions was involved in the overturning of authority in the first place, and in generating indifference to human conduct in the next. This new doctrine struck at the very roots of Christian society, whether it intended it or not, and laid open the way to the ultimate destruction of Christianity. The fact that grave evils were rampant both in Church and State is no excuse for endeavouring to shatter the power that, rightly understood and suitably directed, was alone capable of coping with them. But, as has been truly said, there was never yet a religious Luther that did not bring a political Luther in his train. Subversive doctrines applied to the Church to-day are applied to the State to-morrow. When men began to exercise their private judgment, without reference to the guiding light of the Church, they made strange and contradictory discoveries. Münzer, Nicholas Storck, John of Leyden, and their Anabaptist followers, found, for instance, that property was a myth :—

We are all equal [said Münzer¹] and we have all one common father—Adam. Whence comes the difference of rank and wealth which tyranny has introduced amongst us? Why should *we* groan in poverty whilst our equals swim in delight? Give us back, rich ones of the world, greedy usurpers, the goods that you have robbed us of! The Almighty calls upon us to destroy the tyranny of magistrates and to claim our rights with arms in our hands. No taxes should be paid and everything should be held in common. . . . It is to our feet that all goods should be brought, as they were to the feet of the Apostles. Yes, brethren! to have everything in common was the watchword of Christianity at its birth. To refuse to pay tribute to princes

¹ Catron, *Hist. des Anabaptistes*, quoted by Blunt.

who oppress us is to rid ourselves of the servitude from which Christ has set us free

Nor was this the only liberty claimed by the Anabaptists. John of Leyden, a tailor by trade, became a sort of king in the new sect, and, asserting all the prerogatives of an oriental potentate, took to himself no less than fourteen wives. 'For twelve months,' says the Protestant historian, Blunt, 'the city of Münster (where John reigned) was a scene of fanatic lawlessness and revolting profligacy.'¹ In a word, the 'Peasants' War' was now gathering, and Luther was reaping the first harvest of his revolt. Cruel and fierce were the methods he adopted to crush the first outcome of his preaching. He called upon all men to take up arms against them; proclaimed that they deserved death of soul and body, and should be exterminated without being particular as to the means:—

Therefore, dear Masters [he says], come hither to deliver, hither to the rescue! Have pity on the poor folk: stab, smite, throttle who can; and if you perish in the work it will be a blessed death, a better than which you will never accomplish.²

As a matter of fact, Luther had encouraged the peasants at the start; but his religious policy required that he should not forfeit the good-will of the powerful ones of the world. Erasmus wrote to him:—

We are now reaping the fruits of your principles. . . . You disavow the rebels; but they recognize you as their father and teacher. Now we know that those who go about with the Gospel in their mouths are in reality the instigators of frightful insurrections.³

In every form of Protestantism, whether Lutheran, Zwinglian, or Calvinistic, there is an element of pantheism, a tendency to throw upon God Himself responsibility for everything, whether good or evil. Luther's theory of original sin and the destruction of free-will in man; Zwingli's

¹ *Dictionary of Sects, etc.*, p. 26.

² Luther's works, Walch's Ed., xvi. 91.

³ Auguste Nicolas, *Protestantisme et Socialisme*, p. 386.

determinism ; Calvin's predestination, all more or less absorb man in the divinity or the divinity in man. Free-will was sacrificed on the one hand, and 'free thought' set up on the other. By the destruction of free-will man's responsibility was annihilated, and by the doctrine of free 'examen' God and all that appertains to God were subjected to man's reason. The finite disappears in the infinite, and the infinite is measured by the finite. We have noticed the same tendency in many of the old errors, and we find it in many of the new. God and man, subject and object, thinker and thought, are fused together in one indistinct and vaporous conception. Here we have the link with rationalism and naturalism which have become so closely blended with Protestantism. Socinianism was one of the phases that marked the transition, the denial of Christ's divinity, and the reduction of Christianity to a matter of mere human speculation. That was to be expected as a result of 'private judgment' and 'free enquiry,' such as they were understood and proclaimed by the Reformers.

It is little wonder that we should find modern socialists proclaiming their indebtedness to those disruptive principles, which 'levelled' religion, and practically made every man his own pontiff, and that they should recognize as their ancestors the founders of the Reformation. According to Louis Blanc¹ (one of the pioneers of socialism in its pre-Marxian phase), Luther established only a half-way house. In the revolutionary the monk remained. In his treatise on *Christian Liberty* he dealt principally with spiritual and interior liberty, and left untouched the servitude of the other half of man. He was frightened by the alliance of kings, nobles, and prelates. He separated the soul from the body and left temporal tyranny inviolable. But what he refused to do his disciples did and will do. In the tumult of camps, in the 'Peasants' War,' in the scenes of the Reign of Terror, the principles 'of heavenly origin' will prevail :—

La révolution française s'annonce dans la guerre des paysans.

¹ *Histoire de la Revolution Française*, tome i., pp. 17-57.

Voilà par quelle trace enflammée nous avons à suivre dans l'histoire l'esprit de nos pères.

Indirectly, indeed, the same compliment is paid to the Reformation by Marx himself, by Engels, and Lassalle. Nobody will say that the majority of Protestants in Germany, or England, or the United States, are not opposed to socialism at the present day, and I should be the last to claim that :—

Si Lutherus non lyrasset, Carolus Marxius non saltasset.

Nevertheless, it seems clear enough that the flourishing school of materialism which arose in England, became acclimatized in France, and supplied Marx with the atheistic foundation of his social programme in Germany, was a product of the seed that gave us Luther himself. Here is what Marx says of the English branch of the tree :—

Hobbes had systematized Bacon, without, however, furnishing a proof for Bacon's fundamental principle, the origin of all human knowledge from the world of sensation. It was Locke who, in his *Essay on the Human Understanding*, supplied this proof. Hobbes had shattered the theistic prejudices of Baconian materialism. Collins, Dodwell, Coward, Hartley, Priestley, similarly shattered the last theological bars that still hemmed in Locke's sensationalism. At all events, for practical materialists, Theism is but an easy-going way of getting rid of religion.¹

Yes ! the evolution of the principle made headway in religion in Germany, in philosophy in England, and in politics in France.

From Socinianism to Theism there is but a step, if it be a step ; and Bolingbroke, Shaftesbury, Toland, Herbert, Woolston, were not slow in taking it in England, as Nicoläi, Reimar, and Lessing did in Germany. What these speculators did for their respective countries Voltaire and Rousseau did not only for France but for the world at large. Though Rousseau was not a socialist in the modern sense, his *Contrat Social* and *Émile* were stepping-

¹ *Die Heilige Familie*, pp. 201-204.

stones towards it, and are gratefully acknowledged as such by the leaders of the school.

Whilst Protestantism in principle thus paved the way to socialism, in practice it reacted for a considerable time in the opposite direction. The power of kings, princes, lords of the aristocracy, industrial magnates and middle-class burghers, was necessary to break the power of the Church, and was accordingly strengthened. Let those who wish to see what the Church had done in Germany and England for the working-classes before the Reformation read Janssen's *History of the German People*, particularly his chapter on the 'Condition of the Artisan,' and Abbot Gasquet's works on *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, and *The Eve of the Reformation*. Certainly Janssen does not minimize the abuses and scandals introduced into the Church by worldly bishops and grasping Churchmen. He attributes to the pretensions and encroachments of feudal families the greater part of the abuses that heralded the break-up. But he shows how the pure spirit of the Church, working by itself, and uninfluenced by political or worldly pressure, had covered the land with a vast network of institutions destined for the benefit of the poor—hospitals, refuges, schools, shelters, meal-houses, brotherhoods, guilds, companionships, corporations of apprentices and journeymen, associations and societies of all kinds.¹ In addition to these the monasteries and religious houses never turned away a poor man from the door, never saw a fellow-man die of hunger whilst a rib remained in the larder. It was the same in England. Speaking of the confiscation there, Abbot Gasquet says:—

The monasteries were, moreover, given to the king and his heirs in 'as ample a manner' as they were possessed by the religious superiors. These were trustees for common purposes and never regarded their property in any other light than as held for the support of religion and the poor. Further, the purpose for which the monastic property was diverted by this act from its possessions, and given to the king, is stated to be 'that his

¹ *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages*, vol. ii., pp. 1-43, 285-302.

highness may lawfully give, grant, and dispose them, or any of them, at his will and pleasure, to the honour of God and the wealth of this realm.' However uncertain and vague the terms of this grant may appear, they can hardly be supposed to comprehend those purposes, private, secular, and even vicious, upon which Henry squandered the property thus obtained. It was ordered also that the king should provide occupation and pensions for the monks not transferred to other monasteries. It was further enacted, that on the site of every dissolved religious house the new possessor should be bound under heavy penalties to provide hospitality and service for the poor, such as had been given them previously by the religious foundation. By this provision not only is the patrimony of the poor recognized as being merged in the property of the monasteries, but a testimony is afforded as to the way the religious had hitherto discharged their obligations in this respect. The repudiation of these rights of the needy by those who became possessed of the confiscated property is one of the greatest blots on our national history. It has rightly caused the spoliation of monastery and convent to be regarded as the rising of the rich against the poor.¹

It has to be remembered that it was not alone the goods of the monasteries properly so called that were confiscated by the Reformers, although they contributed the substance of the patrimony of the poor; the monies left by will for the special benefit of the poor, and entrusted for administration to the religious houses, were swept away as well:—

It has been frequently asserted [writes Dr. Gasquet] that though grave injury was undoubtedly done to the poor of the land by this wholesale confiscation, it was done unwittingly by the authorities, or that, at the worst, the portions of revenue derived from the property which had been intended for the support of the sick, aged, etc., was so bound up with those to which religious obligations (now declared superstitious and illegal) were attached, that it was impossible to distinguish the latter from the former, and all perished together, or rather passed undistinguished into the royal pocket. Such a view is not borne out by the facts, and however satisfactory it might be to believe that this robbery of the poor by the crown was accidental and unpremeditated, the historian is bound by the

¹ *Henry the Eighth and English Monasteries*, pp. 106-107.

evidence to hold that the pillage was fully premeditated and deliberately and consciously carried out.¹

Now, I notice a good deal of bitterness in the socialist comments on this robbery, and I confess I am not surprised at it. The aggrandizement of a few worthless individuals and the expansion of the royal pocket made but a poor return for the work of charity and mercy carried out by the Church ; and if the poor were of any account to the new society it is strange that their patrimony should have been wrested from them, and that they should have been left, as a poet of the day expressed it,

To lie and die in corners
Here and there about.

The industrial development of a later age ground the poor more harshly even than feudalism. The competition of mills, factories, workshops, foundries, dock-yards, became an engine of oppression not much milder than slavery itself. The condition of the working-man was never worse than it had become since industrialism in the full sense had set in.

I am certainly no defender of the principles or the excesses of revolution ; but whatever may be said of them I think it cannot be denied that they have brought ample retribution on those who proved false even to their own teaching, and were not ashamed to take the bread out of the mouths of the poor whilst professing to introduce a more perfect form of Christianity. This turning of fortune has not yet run its course. Before it is complete I hope the working-man, the artisan, the poor man, will find himself in a better position than ever he was before. In these countries in particular much arrears are due to him. But I do not think it would be for his good or for the good of any country that society should be disrupted in order to give him things to which he has no real claim. His chance of advancement and of indefinite prosperity is worth much more to him than an assured existence on the brink of

¹ *The Eve of the Reformation*, p. 383.

poverty for him and his to the end of time. It is a case of liberty *versus* slavery, of indefinite growth, expansion, and perfectibility as against a monotonous and hide-bound servitude in mediocrity and squalor. The principles of the Catholic Church are in perfect harmony with the nature of man, his liberty, his dignity, his perfectibility. They will not set mean and paltry limits to his powers, and they provide for the public at large innumerable advantages from the efforts each individual makes to perfect himself. They give full play to man's natural faculties, and they ask no man to close his eyes and accept what his judgment and conscience refuse. They have always asserted the rights of the poor and claimed for labourers and artisans, who are sober, industrious and skilful, the opportunity to advance their condition and lift their families to a higher grade in the social scale. It is evident that the energies of the Church in discharging her mission to the poor must be directed now on somewhat different lines from those on which they worked in the Middle Ages. The conditions are entirely changed. But one form which they must assume will be to urge, and, where possible, to compel, those States who wrecked the beneficent provision made in former days by the Church for the poor and the labouring classes to discharge the duties which they took over. Nobody will say that they can fill the place of those whom they dispersed or that their beneficence will be accompanied with that healing grace and soothing kindness which oiled the social wheels of Christian States. It is not the debt alone that remains, however, but the pretension to fill the place of the institutions that were dissolved and of the machinery that was wrecked. Catholics can only raise their voices and remind the civil powers of these obligations. The State authorities can do their best, and if they do so honestly the oil and wine will not fail. Charity in the technical sense cannot possibly cope nowadays with the evils of industrialism in large cities, with the social condition of slums and their moral outcome. It can do its share and no more. The State also must do its part ; and so far it has not done its part, or done it but very imperfectly.

In the Protestant Church several ardent workers have

endeavoured in recent years to remind the State of its duties in these matters, and have taken to themselves the rather incongruous name of Christian Socialists. The famous Court chaplain, Pastor Stöcker of Berlin, translated their theories into practice during a long and on the whole beneficent life of independent activity. But, in so far as they are socialist they are not Christian, and in so far as they are Christian they are not socialist.¹

The necessity for a change of policy was felt by the paper-socialists of the Established Church many years ago, when Maurice, Kingsley,² Jowett,³ and their followers sketched tentative and purely theoretical proposals in the direction of socialism.⁴ Modern clerical socialists in England and America, mostly dissenting clergymen, have committed themselves to more definite schemes and more energetic measures for the benefit of the needy and the poor. They have felt, at least, the necessity of doing something. But in many cases they have gone off into extravagant and outlandish proposals which show an unbalanced perception of the relations of things. The Rev. G. D. Herron, Professor of 'Applied Christianity' in the University of Iowa, is dissatisfied, as he has a good right to be, with the social results of the Reformation.⁵ The Catholic Church of the fifteenth century, in its splendid social development, had, he thinks, institutions of which modern Protestants may well be jealous. But then he wanders into all the extremes of socialism, proclaiming it the essence of Christianity,⁶ and making Christianity identical with the crudest humanitarianism. The Rev. F. G. Peabody, Professor of 'Christian Morals' at Harvard University, is more moderate, but still regards the Gospel as a 'working-man's programme,' an anticipation of the modern

¹ *Socialism*, by Robert Flint, Professor in the University of Edinburgh, p. 294. 'Maurice and Kingsley,' he says, 'did not teach a single principle or doctrine peculiar to socialism.'

² *Politics for the People, The Christian Socialist, Yeast*, Alton Locke.

³ *Plato's Republic*, Introduction.

⁴ For a full account of this movement see "*Christian Socialism in England*," by Arthur V. Woodworth.

⁵ *The Political Advent of Christ*.

⁶ *International Socialist Review*, January, 1901.

movement of social democracy.¹ Wilfrid Monod, the well-known French Protestant, thinks that

Protestant Christianity has lost contact with humanity. By exaggerating its own principle to begin with, and then developing the defects of its qualities, carried away by its temper against Roman uniformity, it has pushed individualism beyond all bounds and proved itself incapable of solving the problem of the Church. . . . Protestant ecclesiastical individualism has as its corollary social individualism. . . . The Christianity of yesterday was dogmatic. The Christianity of to-morrow will be social. The person of Jesus after having been looked upon dogmatically in the past, will be looked upon socially in the future. After having been expressed in *credos* it will be expressed in institutions. After having been the monopoly of the Church it will become the patrimony of humanity.²

With these portentous deliverances, a source, we may be sure, of delight to their author, the social question is solved.

The Revs. John Clifford, D.D., Stewart Headlam, and Percy Dearmer have associated themselves with the most advanced form of English socialism, in their Fabian Essays.³ The Rev. R. J. Campbell, of the London City Temple, has proclaimed his socialist sympathies in his own tabernacle. From none of them does one get a coherent or systematic reason for the new faith. Rhetoric, platitudes, exuberant and unctious phrases you get in abundance ; but a line of thought or argument, or anything more than suggestion, you can scarcely trace. I do not think it necessary, therefore, to go more closely into their prophecies. I will leave them to the common sense of the manly ex-President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, who says :—

On the social and domestic side, doctrinaire socialism would replace family life by the free-lunch counter and the State foundling asylum, deliberately enthroning self-indulgence as the ideal, with absolute abandonment of morality between man and woman,

¹ *Jesus Christ and the Social Question.*

² *La Fin d'un Christianisme*, pp. 74, 75, 188.

³ *Socialism and Religion*, Fabian Socialist Series, No. 1.

⁴ *The New Theology*, pp. 232-256.

while in place of what the socialists are pleased to call 'wage slavery' would be created a system necessitating the death of the community through starvation, or iron despotism over all workers. Compared with such despotism any system of the past seems beneficent because it is less utterly hopeless. As for the so-called 'Christian Socialists' who associate themselves with this movement, they either are, or ought to be, aware of the pornographic propaganda of the movement. That this criminal nonsense should be listened to eagerly by those bowed down by the cruel conditions of much of modern toil is not strange, but that men who pretend to speak with culture of mind and authority to teach—men who are or have been preachers of the Gospel or professors of universities—should affiliate themselves with the preachers of such criminal nonsense, is a sign of grave mental or moral shortcoming.¹

The movement in the direction of sympathy for the poor and fair play to the labourer and the artisan is welcome from whatever source it comes; but as far as we are concerned we should do our best to see that it does not overbalance the power of the State by giving it an authority which, intended for one thing, might be very freely and very fatally wielded for something that was not dreamt of when it was conferred. That the State should regulate the army, the navy, the postal arrangements, and, within proper limits, the education of the country, is in the nature of things.² But that it should get control of the staple means of production and become the 'universal provider' would bring about a condition of things worse than negro slavery. The balance and equilibrium of rights and duties would be swamped for ever, and the competition for power and authority in the State, with all the corruption it would entail, would be worse than the competition in industrial pursuits of which we now complain.

If the Protestant conception of society does not contemplate provision for the poor from private sources, it is evident that provision must be made somehow; and where Catholics are in the minority they must only endeavour to exercise such power as they possess in the right direction.

¹ Article in the *Outlook*, quoted in the *Tablet*, March 27, 1909.

² I doubt if it would be wise to add railways to the monopoly.

I have the fullest sympathy with the socialist objection to the workhouse as a satisfaction of the claims of the poor both on the part of the State and on the part of individuals. Nothing could well be more opposed to the dignity of human nature and the benevolent intention of the Gospel. The State has undoubtedly both the right and the duty to regulate and decide according to natural and divine law, and the principles of fundamental justice, the claims of all its citizens to interfere in the management of industrial concerns in so far as it is necessary to secure these rights ; but having done that it may be said that its function ceases. In discharging its duty it has to keep in view the general welfare of the community and must not seek to oppress or defraud any section of it ; and the community should see to it that power to work injustice is not a prerogative of government. Its life, liberty, and happiness depend on its wisdom in fulfilling this duty to itself.

SOCIALISM AND REVOLUTION

The Catholic writers of thirty or forty years ago frequently insisted that the eighteenth century is contained in the sixteenth ; that the one is an undoubted product of the other ; that when the organization that was invested with the interests of Christianity was shattered it was but natural that Christianity itself should perish in those parts that were cut off from the source of life ; that Luther begat Voltaire as truly as Voltaire begat Danton and Marat. Protestant writers, of course, resent this imputation, and I cannot enter into the merits of the controversy here. It cannot be denied, however, that the age of Voltaire was an age of doubt and unbelief. Around him the angels of the *Encyclopædia* set themselves to dethrone the Almighty, as Luther had dethroned the Pope. All things were now thrown into the melting pot. A regular *tabula rasa* was made of all accepted doctrines and traditional beliefs. Social rights and duties were discussed, recast and rearranged, as well as those of politics and religion. The old

order was doomed and the mines were laid which the very touch of revolution was to explode. It is said that the unbelieving aristocracy of France welcomed the first edition of Rousseau's *Émile*, and that the second edition of it was bound in their skins. There is but little sympathy for them to-day; and if the legislators of the Revolution had been content to remodel and recast on lines more suited to the public weal the system of property that then prevailed, without associating the work with principles that no Christian can touch, they would find among Christians and Catholics but very few to blame them. Abuses will always bring their punishment; and in the eyes of legislators and statesmen the public good must always take precedence of private interests.

Before the explosion came, however, plans and constitutions were sprouting in all directions. Morelly,¹ Mably,² Quesnay,³ Mercier de la Riviere,⁴ served as a clump from which Rousseau⁵ arose, overshadowing them all. The *Contrat Social* made society itself a mere convention or bargain according to which each one was to have his share and derived all right from the authority set up by the contracting parties. Natural rights are supposed to be bought out under the contract; but on the whole the contract was a mistake.

The first man who enclosed a piece of land, took it into his head to say, *this is mine*, and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society. What crimes, wars, murders, miseries, and horrors might have been spared the human race by one who, courageously dragging up the stakes and filling the hole, had warned his fellow-men to beware of that impostor. You are lost if you forget that the fruits of the earth belong to all, the earth itself to nobody.⁶

In his *Émile*, he says :—

When the poor agreed that there should be rich people the

¹ *Code de la Nature.* ² *Principes des Loix.* ³ *Gouvernement de la Nature.*
⁴ *La Paix Perpetuelle.* ⁵ 'Chose singulière,' says Proudhon, 'c'est à l'anathème fulminé par l'auteur d'*Émile* contre la société que remonte le Socialisme moderne.'

⁶ *Discours sur l'Origine et les Fondements de l'Inégalité.*

rich undertook to feed all who would not have whereon to live either in goods or by their labour.¹

The principle that all right came from law had been already elaborated by Montesquieu.²

Voltaire put his own gloss on the teachings of the *Social Contract*. It made no provision whatever for the starving poor. If they could not by hook or by crook get what they needed, they had only to go under and disappear.

You come [he says] to ask us when all is divided to give you your share. *I am a man, you say, as well as you. I have two hands and two feet, the same pride that you have, a mind as disordered, illogical, and contradictory as yours: Do me justice!* Give me my share of the land. We tell him to go and look for it amongst the Kaffirs and the Hottentots. Here the shares are already allotted. If you wish to stay amongst us, to eat and drink, to be lodged and kept warm, work for us as your father did. Serve us, amuse us, and you shall be paid. If you are not prepared to do that, go and beg.

This was the aristocratic interpretation of the *Contract*.

Rousseau's theory had such far-reaching effects not alone during the great Revolution, but in the law and life of countless movements and States ever since, that it becomes necessary to give it closer attention. According to him, man lived for an indefinite period in the state of nature before he reached the stage of civil society. That period was marked by different phases and developments, beginning in solitude and silence, advancing by nomadic experiments through the hut, the cabin and the village, learning to speak, to converse, to love. By degrees men, hitherto nomad, settled down in fixed places, formed into groups or tribes, and finally constituted a nation in which there were neither rules nor laws, but mere units and collections of units. Natural gifts being unequal, unequal benefits were the result of them. As the groups approached nearer to what is called civilization, jealousy was engendered by the difference in beauty, eloquence, skill, courage, strength. In this state, however, the individual man was independent

¹ *Émile*, bk. ii.

² *Esprit des Lois*.

and free. It was his happiest stage. There was substantial though perhaps not absolute equality. He was free from care and concern for the morrow.

As soon, however, as it was perceived that it was profitable to have possessions for more than one, property crept in, and labour became mercenary. Property once established, inequality began. An evil day now opened for the race. The state of nature was good, sound, wholesome ; the state of society, even in its incipient stage, was wholly bad. Competition and rivalry poisoned the very source of life. The right of the strongest still prevailed :—

The good old plan,
That he should take who has the power
And he should keep who can.

The principle was applied to those who had appropriated large tracts of land. When they pleaded that they had built walls and reclaimed desert wastes, they were asked : ‘ Who gave you the boundary line ? We did not impose this labour on you, and we do not intend to pay you for it. Multitudes are perishing whilst you have a superfluity.’ The rich then saw that their possessions were threatened, and they conceived a project, the most astute that ever entered into the mind of man :—

Let us unite [they said] to guard the feeble from oppression, to check the ambitious, and to assure to each one the possession of what he has. Let us institute laws of justice and of peace, to which all will be compelled to conform, which will make no distinction of persons, and which will repair to some degree the caprice of fortune by subjecting equally the powerful and the weak to mutual duties. In a word, instead of turning our forces against each other, let us join them in one supreme power over all which will govern us by wise laws, protect and defend all our members, repel the common enemy and maintain us in eternal concord.

It was in this way society was formed, putting new fetters on the weak, and giving new authority to the strong. The formation of one such society necessitated the formation of others for the purpose of self-defence. The fearful results of this organization are witnessed in wars and

butcheries, and ever-growing inequalities, till we see a handful of rich and powerful people in possession of vast wealth, whilst the crowd crawl beneath in obscurity and misery, the rich not really valuing the things they possess, unless in so far as others are deprived of them. They would cease to be happy if the people ceased to be miserable. The fundamental bargain of the *Contrat Social* was

Each of us puts in common his goods, his person, his life, and all his powers, under the supreme direction of the general will, and we collectively receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole.

The people are the sovereign power, and are governed by laws made by themselves, to which all are subject. Liberty, equality, and the contentment of the general good are to be the aims of the legislators. The people may delegate the executive power, but the legislative power they should always retain. Otherwise the executive officials, instead of being their servants, would become their masters. Regard should always be had in making laws to the national tendencies and the genius of the people. Virtue and morality consist in conforming to the general will as expressed in the laws (*Economie Politique*). Man should never have left the state of nature and the primitive communism ; but, having done so, he can no more return to it than an old man can return to childhood. It was an irreparable mistake, and can only be remedied now by endeavouring to bring about equality of conditions ; and this may best be done by taxing the rich, by taxing superfluities, luxuries, enjoyments, useless occupations. There is an ever-increasing tendency to inequality, and this tendency should ever be counteracted in wise laws. Education should be a function of the State, not of the parent.

This is but a brief summary of the teaching of Rousseau. It is not socialism in the modern sense of collectivism ; but it is State socialism, which subjects all private and personal rights to the general will of the community ; and the general will of course is identical with the will of the majority. The majority may then do as they please in following out the

conception of equality. The whole theory of the primitive state of man is pure fiction, for which there is no warrant in nature, in history, or in physical science. It is a mischievous romance. The elaborated theory of society is a mixture of truth and falsehood, blended in the flashlight of genius. There are certain rights which the Author of nature intended for every man which no society and no majority is entitled to deny him. They are part of his being, or belong to the attribute of his being. And the right to take and to hold what does not belong to others is one of these. The right to have and to keep what has been obtained by his labour is another. The right to improve his condition by industry and skill is another. The right of the parent to provide for the child, to guard, guide and direct it is another. These are, indeed, antecedent to the social state, and no social state can annul them, no majority can ignore them. The majority that does so abuses its rights, and deserves to be annihilated in return if its offence is widespread and serious. They seem, indeed, to be admitted in the state of nature, whilst in the social state they are lost or become absorbed in the contract. The tendency to equality is good enough in its way as long as it does not become a hindrance to progress and production. The moment it does so it should be arrested. For the happiness of millions is provided for and increased by progressive enterprise and the enlightened direction of talents, good, middling, or indifferent.

The theory of Rousseau has this advantage in the eyes of free-thinkers, that it is incompatible with revelation. The Almighty has certainly no share and no place in it, and man has usurped His prerogatives. But the main principle with which I am concerned here is the central doctrine that the majority can regulate rights and confiscate and confer them at its pleasure, provided it does so in the interests of equality. That is a principle which got a ready application in the early days of the Revolution, and a readier still in its later days. When the question of the disposal of the goods of the Church came up for discussion in the 'Assemblée Nationale,' a resolution was moved

that they should be declared national property. One of the most interesting and momentous debates of that famous assembly followed, lasting from the 20th of October to the 2nd of November, 1789. Some proposed that the expropriation should be absolute and irrevocable ; others that an indemnity should be paid wherever property was taken for public use ; and others that the motion should be negatived. There were eloquent defenders of the Church and its possessions, amongst them the Abbé Maury, the Jansenist Camus, the Abbé de Montesquiou, de Boisgelin, Archbishop of Aix. Mirabeau had tacked on to his resolution a provision that the State should provide annuities for the secular clergy, and every parish priest should receive twelve hundred *livres* a year. This was a sop to the poorer clergy, and won over many of them, including two curés in the Assembly, one of whom bore the familiar name of Dillon. It was eloquently contended that if the goods of the clergy were confiscated, no property would be safe. What rights were more sacred than those of the clergy ? They went back for fourteen hundred years.

We possessed [said the Abbé de Montesquiou] before the invasion of Clovis. In addition to our original title we have upwards of ten centuries of possession, during which we have bought, sold, alienated, mortgaged, and changed our property in a thousand different ways. You cannot reject these titles without rejecting all others.¹

Ecclesiastical property had the same origin as all other kinds of property : reclamation, purchase, donation, acquisition with onerous charges, cultivation, and improvement.

We have acquired our goods [said the Abbé Maury] by labour, reclamation of wastes and forests, the protection and favour of the law. If you take them, what property will be safe ? You will soon have the *agrarian laws*. They threaten you already, and you will have made them legitimate beforehand.²

On another occasion he had said :—

Every time you go back to the origin of property the nation

¹ *Moniteur*, 31st October, 1789.

² *Ibid.* 31st October, 1789.

will go back along with you. It will take its stand at the point when it issued from the forests of Germany, and ask for a new division. Tell me what properties are anterior to social conventions. Is it those acquired by the right of the first occupant? Well, the clergy have that right. Can you take from them goods which they possessed before you existed?¹

Mirabeau, seeing that the discussion was going against him, and that his motion was in danger, then enunciated in formal terms the doctrine on which he grounded his proposal. It was simply the doctrine of Rousseau, of Montesquieu, and of the article in the *Encyclopædia*, entitled 'Fondements':—

What is property in general? [he asked]. It is the right which *all* have given to *each one* to possess *exclusively* a thing to which in the natural state *all* had an equal right. What, then, is private property? It is a possession acquired in virtue of the laws. I come back to this principle, because an honourable member who spoke a few days ago has not presented the question as precisely as he has other truths and principles, the consequences of which he so ably developed. *Yes, gentlemen, it is the law that constitutes private property*; because it is only the public will that can express the renunciation of all, and give a title as a guarantee of enjoyment to an individual.

Backed up by his eloquent periods and appeals to the rapacity of his hearers, the doctrine of Mirabeau was favourably received, and the tide of opinion changed.

'If ever non-proprietors should dominate in this Assembly,' said Mgr. de Boisgelin, Archbishop of Aix, 'do you think the rights of other proprietors will be respected? They will reject your decrees, which were the only guarantees of possession in the future.' Mirabeau, placed in this dilemma, felt it necessary to reassure other proprietors, making a clear distinction between ecclesiastical property and the property of secular citizens. He held that the law, being the unique source of right and of property, could not have given the clergy the enjoyment of a part of the original common possession, except with an implied clause that the

¹ *Histoire de l'Eglise de France pendant la Révolution*, par M. l'Abbé Jager tome i., p. 317.

nation might take it back if it thought well to do so ; whereas the concessions made to other citizens must, in the public interest, have been perpetual. He was asked, If the law was the only source of right, what was to prevent it from withdrawing the concessions to other citizens as well as of the clergy ? and he was confronted with Article 17 of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man*, which he himself had proposed to the Assembly on the previous 17th of August. It declared (without any exception of the clergy) that the rights of property were sacred and inviolable. ' But the clergy,' said Mirabeau, shifting his ground, ' is a body which exists only by law, and the power that can deprive it of existence can *a fortiori* deprive it of its goods.' Then,' said Maury, ' you want to inherit the goods of those whom you assassinate.' But all reasoning and remonstrance were vain. All Souls' Day (*le Jour des Morts*) brought an end to the discussion. The resolution was carried by 568 votes to 346.

The natural result of this decision was not long delayed. The warning of those who stood for property rights was soon verified. If Robespierre had been in power a little longer he would have carried the principle to its legitimate conclusion. His work was cut short ; but his disciples are numerous nowadays. Here is how he formulated his theory :—

Citoyens, je vous proposerais d'abord quelques, articles nécessaires pour compléter notre théorie de la propriété. Que ce mot n'alarme personne. Âmes de boue qui n'estimez que l'or je ne veux pas toucher à vos trésors, quelque impure qu'en soit la source ! Pour moi j'aimerais mieux être né dans la cabane de Fabricius que dans le palais de Lucullus. Mais en définissant la liberté, ce premier besoin de l'homme, le plus sacré des droits qu'il tient de la nature, nous avons dit avec raison qu'elle avait pour limite de droit d'autrui. Pourquoi n'avez-vous pas appliqué ce principe à la propriété qui est une institution sociale ; comme si les lois éternelles de la nature étaient moins inviolables que les conventions des hommes.

' Property,' he added, ' is the right which each citizen has to enjoy and to dispose of the portion of goods which

is guaranteed to him by the law ; and that right is limited by the rights of others.'

Now it is clear that all this is not socialism in the modern sense of collectivism ; but it is essentially socialistic in its fundamental principle, and not only makes collectivism possible, but naturally leads to it. It is needless to say that there is a certain amount of truth mingled with the falsehood in Rousseau's works, and in some of the *dicta* even of Robespierre. But law is made exclusively by the sovereign people according to them ; and the people can change and modify the law whenever and however they please, keeping in view only the general principles of equality and liberty.

Two disastrous consequences follow from the general theory in the economic and social order, to mention no others. The first is that the uncertainty and instability of property weaken the eagerness for work, and thereby diminish the productiveness of the earth and of the other materials of wealth. For if the law can be changed and rights transferred from one year to another ; if there are to be new divisions and adjustments whenever some new theorist gets into power ; and if equality becomes the main ideal to be secured, then the competition as to who will do most work will be changed into a competition as to who will do least. The motive for exertion is removed. There will be as many possible combinations and permutations of possession as there are parties and theorizers in the State. No man will know when what he has may be taken from him. Labour, capital, commerce, industry will be dealt a fatal blow, and the spring that moves them all put out of action. The State would then deserve the definition given it by a famous French economist¹: ' The State is that vast fiction through which every man endeavours to live at the expense of the public at large.'

The other is that when law makers possess such authority the struggle for office and for power to make laws becomes a struggle for life. Men who wish to give effect to their

¹ Frédéric Bastiat, *Traité d'Economie Politique*, vol. i., *Propriété et Loi*, p. 326.

own particular kind of spoliation will stop at nothing in their efforts to get into power. Hence bribery, corruption, jobbery, favouritism, party spirit, sectional spirit, squalid bargains, and unjust services ; in a word, the things that eat into the vitals of a State and of society, and finally bring them to ruin.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

THE PULPIT OF NOTRE DAME IN PARIS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

AT the close of the fourth century Gaul, according to the testimony of St. Jerome, was already famous as the nurse of eloquent men.¹ France has inherited that characteristic. But in no department has French eloquence been so remarkable as in the pulpit. St. Bernard in the twelfth century, Bossuet and Bourdaloue in the seventeenth, rank as preachers with St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Chrysostom, and St. Augustine. In the nineteenth century French eloquence has not been unworthy of the traditions of the past. Preachers of renown have been numerous in the provinces. But as in other things, so in eloquence, the Capital led the way; and the pulpit of Notre Dame was remarkable throughout the century for a succession of preachers of pre-eminent ability. It is the purpose of the present article to give a sketch of them and of their preaching.

I

When the nineteenth century dawned, France was slowly recovering from the disasters of the great Revolution. The social atmosphere was still charged with the spirit of indifference or of hostility to religion. To combat that spirit, the Abbé Frayssinous, subsequently known as Bishop of Hermopolis, delivered, in the Church of St. Sulpice, between 1806 and 1809, and again between 1814 and 1822, a series of discourses which he afterwards published under the title, *Discours sur la défense du Christianisme*. The preacher was a man of talent, but he had grown up in the tradition and methods of a past generation, and the errors which he combated were those of the philosophers of the eighteenth century rather than those of his own time.

¹ Letters of St. Jerome to Rusticus and to Vigilantius.

His chief title to remembrance is found in the fact that he was a pioneer in the field of modern apologetic preaching in France.

The Revolution of 1830 was followed by a new movement of ideas. Public men, scholars, and students, no longer hostile to religion, began to look on it as the greatest moral force in the country. With a view to enlighten the minds of such men, a group of earnest young Catholics, with Frederic Ozanam at their head, waited on Mgr. de Quelen, Archbishop of Paris, and asked him to substitute for the sermons at Notre Dame a course of conferences on those questions where religion and public order meet. The Archbishop appointed six or seven preachers to deliver a course of conferences during the Lent of 1833. The experiment was not a success. The sermons were delivered, but there was not found in them the unity, the originality, the enthusiasm which attracts and retains a great audience. Ozanam and his companions renewed their request. At last, after much hesitation, Mgr. de Quelen entrusted the Lenten conferences in 1835 to a young priest whose preaching was beginning to attract attention, namely, John Baptist Henry Lacordaire.¹

Born, in 1802, near Dijon, a country already famous as the birthplace of St. Bernard and of Bossuet, Lacordaire, on completing his studies, had embraced the legal profession. Coming to Paris at the age of twenty, he began to plead with such success that the highest honours at the Bar seemed open to him. But Divine Providence called him to another field of labour, and in 1824 he entered the Seminary of St. Sulpice, and was ordained priest in 1827. In the years which followed he filled the post of chaplain, first at the Convent of the Visitation, and then at the Lycée Henri IV. In 1830, together with Montalembert, he became the associate of de Lamennais as editor of the *Avenir*. With those two remarkable men, he advocated in that journal a policy of separation between Church and State which filled the French episcopate with alarm, and

¹ *Lacordaire*, par le Comte de Haussenville; Paris, 1904. *Lacordaire : Conférences de N. D. de Paris*, 1858; 6 vols.

which the Holy See eventually condemned. From Rome, where he had gone to plead the cause of the policy of the *Avenir*, Lacordaire, more docile than his chief, returned to France, and subsequently severed his connexion with de Lamennais. Returning to Paris, he soon found a field for his zeal in the chapel of the Collège Stanislas, where his preaching attracted a brilliant audience, including such men as Victor Hugo, Lamartine, Berryer, and Maurice de Guérin. The tone and teaching of those conferences did not find favour with all, and the preacher was denounced to ecclesiastical authority. At length, however, the cloud passed away, and Mgr. de Quelen, at the instance of Ozanam, appointed Lacordaire to preach the Lenten Station at Notre Dame. From the outset his conferences attracted the *élite* amongst the learned and amongst the young men attending the schools of Paris. Men only were admitted, yet the concourse was so great that in order to secure a seat in the vast cathedral many arrived at eight o'clock in the morning to await a conference to be delivered at one o'clock in the afternoon.

After two Lents preached with extraordinary success, Lacordaire withdrew for a time from the public gaze, and entered the Order of Friars Preachers at Rome. Now a friar, he returned to France, and re-established the Dominican Order in that country, from which it had been driven at the close of the eighteenth century. The Archbishop of Paris, now Mgr. Affre, invited him to resume his place in the pulpit of Notre Dame. Lacordaire accepted, and from 1843 to 1851 he preached either during Lent or during Advent in the great cathedral of Paris, with a success unknown in France since the days when all Paris crowded around the pulpit of Bourdaloue.

The novelty of the preacher's manner—the semi-philosophical, semi-religious nature of the subjects he treated—attracted large audiences, and the elevation of his eloquence captivated them. In the course of centuries the paternal and homiletic style of preaching adopted by the Fathers has undergone a change. Scholasticism had accustomed men to define, to distinguish, and to arrange. From the

professor's chair scholasticism passed to the pulpit, and preachers learned to confine themselves to treat of one thesis or subject at a time, to define it, and to arrange in formal array the exposition of it. In course of time the sermon, with its division into three points, reached its apogee, and became the classic form of pulpit eloquence. Lacordaire's education was legal. His training and his genius inclined him to a style of oratory less formal than the sermon. In 1833 he had attempted to preach in the classic form of the sermon, in the Church of St. Roch, and in the judgment of his friends the effort was a failure. Called to the pulpit of Notre Dame, Lacordaire adopted a style of eloquence more akin to that of the Bar. Dispensing with the formalities of the sermon, he inaugurated the method now known as the *Conference*.

There was novelty, too, in the selection and arrangement of the subjects of his discourses. Before his time, apologetic preachers usually started from a point on which all concerned in the question of religion agree, namely, the existence of God. From this they went on to show the necessity of Revelation, the fact of Revelation, the Incarnation, and the establishment of a Church with authority to teach mankind. Lacordaire adopted the inverse method. He began by showing that in the midst of widespread doubt man needs some authority to be his guide. That authority is not to be found in the contradictory systems of philosophers, but in the Church.

Having established the necessity, the existence, and the constitution of the Church, he went on to set forth her doctrine, its nature, and its sources. Next he dwelt on the effect of Catholic doctrine on the intellect, on the soul, as manifested in the practice of humility, chastity, and charity; and then its effect on society. These subjects occupied the preacher during the stations of 1835 and 1836, and again in 1843, 1844, and 1845. In 1846 he passed on to treat of the Founder of the Church. In the celebrated conferences of that year, on Jesus Christ, he ably refuted the mythical theories of Strauss, whose work on the life of Christ had recently been translated into French. From

Jesus Christ he passed on to treat of God the Father, His existence, the creation of man, gifted with intelligence, a moral and a social being. Then he dwelt on the relations of man with God ; the fall and the redemption ; the union of man with God ; the distribution of grace, and the divine government of the world. Thus setting out from the fact of the existence of the Church, he came back, after a series of seventy-three masterly conferences, to God and His government of mankind.

The manner and the matter of the conferences were novel, and none understood it better than Lacordaire himself. In the Preface to the published edition of his sermons he writes :—

What is the object of this singular style of preaching, half religious and half philosophical, which affirms and debates, and which seems to move on the confines of heaven and earth ? Its object, its only object, is to prepare souls for the faith, for faith is the principle of hope, and charity, and salvation ; and because that principle, weakened by the corrupting influence of the literature of the last sixty years, shows signs of re-awakening.

The impression Lacordaire left upon his audience can best be learned from one who heard him :—

I remember, as if it were yesterday [writes M. Caro, a French philosopher of the nineteenth century], the impression made on me by Lacordaire when I heard him for the first time. Those impressions, made at the age of sixteen, have a vivacity which nothing can efface. It was about 1843, at one of the most brilliant moments of his oratorical career. He had just come back to France wearing the habit of St. Dominic. In those restless years, agitated by a secret uneasiness, the young, more eager than ever for emotions and ideas, crowded around that pulpit in search of them. Those young men used to point out to each other, with curiosity, amongst the audience, some illustrious personage, a celebrated philosopher, writers of the first rank, Berryer, Cousin, Lamartine, Tocqueville, and, greatest of all, Chateaubriand. The preacher made his appearance. The novelty of his costume, the white robe, and above it that ascetic head, the chiselled beauty of that countenance made pale by fasting and labour, the flash of his eye, the metallic vibration of his voice, charmed the eye and the imagination, and prepared

the way for the victory of his eloquence. In the broad nineteenth century we were face to face with a monk, a real monk. That monk, too, though by his robe he belonged to the Middle Ages, was of our own time, and our own country, by his education, his ideas, his soul, his language, a language, new, picturesque, free, bold, daring even in its candour. It was the inauguration of Romanticism in the pulpit, beneath the ancient roof of Notre Dame. . . . Great subjects naturally attracted his eloquence. He took them up with that intensity of feeling and that ardour which devours true orators and thrills great audiences. Boldly he announced the struggle with all forms of modern incredulity, and attacked objections with all kinds of weapons at once, with the intellect, with the emotions, with arguments. Then suddenly, as if weary of discussion, he mounted to the lofty sphere of ideas, and winging his flight above all obstacles, he soared on high. Then followed bold generalities, immense views, unexpected contrasts. And then religious truth stood forth, demonstrated less by the refutation of the contrary doctrine than by its analogies with the great laws of human nature, with the march of history, or with the plan of creation, of which the Gospel was for him the perfect accomplishment and the divine completion.¹

Such was the eloquence of Lacordaire in the opinion of his contemporaries. Modern French writers mingle a little criticism with their admiration. They remark a certain redundancy in his style, a certain inaptness in his metaphors, a certain want of completeness in his proofs. Nor was he free, in the judgment of his admirers, from a certain tinge of romanticism: a term which expresses the assertion of self in literature: *L'invasion du moi dans la littérature*. Unlike the classic preachers of the seventeenth century, who never referred in their sermons to their own personal history, Lacordaire alluded occasionally to his own experience, difficulties, and trials. His eloquence was uneven, sometimes rising to the highest heights, then descending somewhat, but soon to rise again in bolder flight. But when all reservations have been made, Lacordaire, pre-eminent in that form of preaching styled conference, remains a great Christian orator, speaking of the truths of religion to the men

¹ *Un Siècle de l'Eglise de France*, par Mgr. Bamarl, pp. 89, 87. 3rd edition.

of his own time with the enthusiasm of passion, and in terms which they understood.

In 1851 Lacordaire retired from the pulpit of Notre Dame. The Academie Française acknowledged his genius by admitting him, in 1859, as one of its members. The history of his life, his virtues, his correspondence, lie outside the scope of the present paper. But an Irishman must not omit to mention that one of the noblest tributes paid to the memory of O'Connell was the panegyric of him preached by Lacordaire in 1848 in the pulpit of Notre Dame.

Lacordaire died in 1861. His memory is still held in honour. In 1902 the centenary of his birth was celebrated in the cathedral of Paris, and in a discourse, interrupted by the applause of an immense audience, the Bishop of Orleans, Mgr. Touchet, recalled the memory of the great orator whose voice had been so often raised in that same pulpit in defence of truth and of the liberty of the Church.

II

At the period when Lacordaire's fame was at its height, another great preacher shared with him the honour of occupying the pulpit of Notre Dame, namely, Father de Ravignan, S.J.¹ Xavier-Lacroix de Ravignan was born at Bayonne in December, 1795. Like Lacordaire, he had adopted the legal profession, and when a career of honour was open to him he had abandoned the law, to enter the Society of Jesus, in 1822. For some time he discharged the duties of Professor of Moral Theology. Prepared by legal and by theological studies, he was called to the pulpit of Notre Dame in 1837, at the moment when Lacordaire had withdrawn temporarily from it to enter the Dominican Order. From that date until 1846 he occupied the pulpit of Notre Dame each year, either during the Lent or during Advent. In his conferences he aimed at removing errors and prejudices, and leading men on to the idea of God and of His rights; to Christianity and the Church, outside of

¹ *Vie du R. P. de Ravignan, S.J.*, par A. R. P. Ponlevoy, S.J., 2 vols., 13th edit., 1890; *Conferences du R. P. de Ravignan, prêchées à N. D. de Paris de 1837 à 1846*, 4 vols., 4th edit., 1889.

which salvation is not to be found. Then he went on to the immortality of the soul, to sin, its punishments and its remedies in Penance and the Eucharist. But excellent as were his conferences, Father de Ravignan excelled still more in the retreats which he preached during Holy Week, to prepare men for the Paschal Communion. After ten years of fruitful labour, ill health compelled him to abandon the laborious work of preaching in Paris. He spent his remaining years in doing all the good his strength permitted, and he was called to his reward on February 26, 1858.

Less eloquent, perhaps, than Lacordaire, Father de Ravignan's preaching attracted large audiences. In his letters to the General of his Order he sometimes lamented that the number of those who admired his eloquence was greater than that of those who approached the Sacraments. But he frequently had the consolation of seeing the fruits of his preaching in real conversions. At that time, too, it was considered a sign of religious progress that a large body of intellectual men should be made to take an interest in the question of religion. The professors of the University attended his conferences, and brought with them the students of their philosophy classes.

Of Father de Ravignan it was said, *totus vocalis erat*. The dignity of his attitude, his calm and expansive gestures, his recollected and mortified appearance, inspired the audience with respect. Montalembert, in a speech in the House of Peers, paid an eloquent tribute to Ravignan, and contrasted him with Lacordaire :—

What, gentlemen [he said], is the phenomenon which the Christian pulpit presents to you to-day? Two men, rivals in eloquence, but closely united by mutual affection, by the object of their labours, and by the analogy of their lives. The one whose words, rushing like an impetuous torrent, carry one away by unexpected and invincible outbursts; the other, like a majestic river, pours forth the stream of his eloquence, always harmonious and correct. The one dominates and thrills by his enthusiasm, carrying lightning flashes of faith, humility, and love to the depths of the most rebellious hearts; the other persuades and moves by his charm and gravity, and corrects the understanding by purifying the heart. Both, the Dominican and the Jesuit,

year after year hold successively, at the foot of the most splendid of pulpits, thousands of hearers, attracted, spell-bound, and more than all astonished, to find themselves there. Both give to the pulpit in France a splendour, a popularity, a glory, to which it has been a stranger since the days of Massillon.¹

III

When Father de Ravignan withdrew from the pulpit of Notre Dame, his place was taken by the Abbé Plantier, a priest of the diocese of Lyons, and Professor in the Faculty of Theology in that city. Less eloquent than Lacordaire or Ravignan, Abbé Plantier brought to the pulpit classical culture and a deep knowledge of philosophy, history, and theology. In the Lent of 1847 he treated of the 'Errors of the time on the subject of Religion ;' and in the Advent of the same and of the following year, he dealt with the question of the Church as a doctrinal authority, and of the Church as a divine society. His manner was that of the professor rather than of the orator. But the grace and solidity of his discourses drew and interested large audiences. The Revolution of 1848 put a stop to the conferences of the Abbé Plantier. He returned to the diocese of Lyons, and some years later, as Bishop of Nîmes, he took part in the great Council of the Vatican, and was prominent amongst the supporters of the definition of Papal Infallibility.

IV

In 1848 a new order of things began : the Second Republic, then the *Coup d'Etat*, and the Second Empire. A new era seemed about to commence for France, and the glories which soon followed at the Malakoff, Solferino, and Magenta, filled the minds of men with ideas of progress in science, in art, and in power. At this moment Mgr. Sibour called to the pulpit of Notre Dame a man who made it his object to present to the minds of the leaders of thought in France a standard of progress higher, truer, and more enduring than that which is temporal : progress in the spirit of

¹ *Un Siècle de l'Eglise de France*, par Mgr. Baunard, 3rd edit., 1902, p. 89.

Christianity. The preacher, Joseph Felix, S.J., was born in 1810, at Neuville, in the diocese of Cambrai. Entering the Society of Jesus in 1837, he filled for a time the Chair of Rhetoric, and then of Philosophy, in one of the Colleges of the Society. In 1853 he was invited to ascend the pulpit of Notre Dame, and from that date until 1870 he preached the doctrine of progress by Christianity, progress in personal sanctity, progress in the family, progress in education, progress in intellect through the harmony of faith and science, progress through the Church.

In 1868, when the splendour of an International Exhibition filled men's minds with ideas of Art, the preacher took for his subject Art, its ideals, its purpose, and its laws; and pointed out that the object of true art is to elevate not to corrupt or debase, and that the greatest triumphs of art have been inspired by the spirit of religion. In 1870 he treated of progress by the authority of the Church, and before it had yet been officially defined he preached the dogma of Papal Infallibility.

The conferences of Notre Dame did not consume all the energy of Père Felix. He preached frequently in other churches throughout France and Belgium. His declining years were spent in the retirement of religious life, and in 1891, at Lille, he was called to receive the reward of those who do and teach. The eloquence of Père Felix was clear, forcible, and logical. Other preachers may have excelled him in gracefulness, in imagination, and in emotion. He treated indeed subjects unusual in the pulpit; but he treated them in their bearing on the salvation of souls. His dignity of manner and restraint of expression won for him the esteem of his audience. During his long career as a preacher he maintained his hold upon his audience, and the leaders of thought—political, literary, and scientific—year after year crowded to hear him.¹

While Père Felix held aloft the standard of progress through the Church and her doctrine, another preacher was

¹ See 'Le Père Felix,' par E. Cornut, in the *Etudes Religieuses*, August, 1891, pp. 591-617; *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus*, par Sommervogel, art. 'Felix,' 1892.

rising to celebrity by his Advent conferences in the same pulpit, Hyacinthe Loyson,¹ better known at that time as Père Hyacinthe. Born at Orleans in 1827, Père Hyacinthe enjoyed the favour of Mgr. Darboy and the friendship of Montalembert. But in 1869 he disappointed the expectation of his friends, and the pulpit of Notre Dame knew him no more. The Gospel is not 'the doctrine of men,' and the fall of those who have had the honour of preaching it takes away none of its authority. The war of 1870, and the new order of things which followed, quickly effaced the memory of the past.

V

In 1871 Mgr. Darboy died with the constancy of a martyr by the hands of the *Communards*. When peace and order was restored he was succeeded in the see of St. Denys by Mgr. Guibert. That great and good prelate decided that the conferences should be resumed, and he called to the pulpit of Notre Dame one of Père Lacordaire's spiritual children, the Dominican Father, James Mary Louis Monsabré.² From 1876 to 1890, Père Monsabré showed himself equal to the task imposed upon him. The great preachers who had preceded him had treated subjects which were a preparation for the Gospel rather than the Gospel itself. The preparation had been made; men now desired less of philosophy, and more of the Gospel, in the conferences. It was happily remarked by the Viscount de Melun that the bell had been long ringing for Mass, and that it was time to begin. 'Il y a longtemps que l'on sonne à la Messe, ne serait-il pas temps enfin qu'on la commencât.'

Père Monsabré, so to speak, began the Mass, and during the years he occupied the pulpit he explained the *Credo*, article by article, in a series of masterly conferences. Beginning with the dogma of God's existence, he treated of His

¹ *L'Eglise et l'état au Concile du Vatican*, par Emile Ollivier, de l'Académie Française; Paris, 1879, vol. i., pp. 438-441.

² *Œuvres du T. R. P. Monsabré*, 'Exposition du dogme Catholique,' de 1873 à 1890.'

personality, His government of the world. Then he proceeded to treat of the Incarnation, of the preparation for the Incarnation, and of the person of Jesus Christ, His perfection, His life, and His work. From Christ he went on to explain the grace of Christ and the Sacraments of Baptism and Confirmation. Next he gave an entire Lent to each of the Sacraments of Penance, Eucharist, Orders, and Matrimony. Then followed a series of conferences on the future life, and on the world to come. In 1890 he brought his conferences to a close by an admirable summary of the whole course, pointing out how all the faculties of man find their true repose in the acceptance, or *Amen*, of the *Credo*; the *Amen* of the intellect enlightened by faith; the *Amen* of the heart satisfied with the good things revealed by faith; the *Amen* of the æsthetic sense delighted with the beauty of heavenly truth; the *Amen* of the moral and social life of man elevated and pacified by the teaching of faith; the *Amen* of human history explained in its development by the preparation for revelation and by the sway of religious truth.

Père Monsabré was gifted with a robust constitution equal to the great physical effort of preaching in the immense cathedral of Paris. His strong, manly, resonant voice reached to the extremity of the great audience which filled the nave, transept, and aisles of Notre Dame. His delivery was easy and vigorous, his gestures dignified and moderate. His conferences were real treatises of dogmatic theology, divested of the forms of the schools and expressed in oratorical form. There was in them nothing superficial, or theatrical, or declamatory. An eminent French writer, Jules Lemaitre, of the Académie Française, having assisted at the series on the Sacrament of Penance, declared that their greatest merit consisted in the fact that they were masterly homilies.

On the conclusion of the series of his conferences on the *Credo*, Père Monsabré retired to a convent of his Order at Havre, where he spent the closing years of his life. For the instruction of young preachers he devoted his leisure to the publication of a Treatise on Preaching, published in

1900 under the title, *Avant, Pendant Apres, La Predication*. His last work was a Treatise on Prayer. He died at Havre in 1907.

Like Lacordaire, Père Monsabré has a claim upon the gratitude of Irishmen. When Ireland was suffering the pangs of famine, Père Monsabré pleaded her cause in an eloquent discourse in the Church of the Madeleine, on April 18, 1880. In the presence of the Archbishop of Paris, of the Duchess of Magenta, and the *élite* of the capital, he set forth the claims of Ireland to the sympathy of France : claims arising from her woes, from the bond of religion, from the affection of Ireland for France in 1870, and from the services of Irishmen who, at Cremona, Laufenfeld, and Fontenoy, had been true to the motto on their flag : *Semper et ubique fideles*.¹

VI

When Père Monsabré came down from the pulpit of Notre Dame, there was ready a man well qualified to succeed him, Mgr. d'Hulst, Rector of the Catholic University of Paris. Maurice Lesage d'Hautcœur d'Hulst, born in Paris in 1841, belonged to the old Royalist nobility of France. Bidding adieu to the attractions of society, and to the honours to which his rank entitled him to aspire, he took Orders, and became in due time Professor of Philosophy, and then Rector of the Catholic University of Paris, founded in 1875. Called to fill the pulpit of Notre Dame in 1891, he came to his new post with the prestige of rank and learning. Père Monsabré had explained the foundation of Catholic faith, the articles of the Creed. Mgr. d'Hulst began by a series of conferences on the foundations of morality. The next two years he expounded the duties of man towards God arising out of the first precept of the Decalogue. In the three following years he dealt with the moral duties of man in respect to family life, to the State, and towards society at large. Mgr. d'Hulst was the professor of theology in the pulpit, setting forth clearly and forcibly the reasonableness of the moral law, and of the

¹ *Pour l'Irlande ; Allocution prononcée dans l'église de la Madeleine à Paris, le 18 Avril, 1880, par le R. P. Monsabré.*

duties imposed on man by the Commandments. His distinguished appearance, his clear, accurate, and polished language, gained for him the attention of his audience. His voice was clear and agreeable, but somewhat deficient in volume and power. His gesture was graceful, and his discourses pleased and enlightened. But there was wanting that glow of passion which thrills an audience and makes a truly popular orator. The Bishop of Orleans, Mgr. Touchet, compared the eloquence of Mgr. d'Hulst to the splendour of the morning sun in Alpine regions. In the brightness of its rays the crags and peaks stand out in all their majesty, bathed in light. But the glow of noontide heat is wanting. Such was the estimate of the oratory of Mgr. d'Hulst formed by friendly and admiring French critics—an estimate, if a foreigner might express an opinion, somewhat severe. He was not indeed an orator for the masses. But he filled the pulpit of Notre Dame with efficiency and distinction. He regarded that pulpit as a chair from which to combat the errors which might find their way into the teaching of the State University. It belongs not to our subject to speak of the docility with which, Royalist though he was, he rallied to the Republic at the call of Leo XIII; nor of his career as a member of the Chamber of Deputies. Under the multiplied duties of Rector of the Catholic University, of Vicar-General of Paris, of member of the Chamber of Deputies, and preacher at Notre Dame, his health gave way, and he died in 1896, at the age of fifty-five, amid general regret.

VII

Mgr. d'Hulst was succeeded in the pulpit of Notre Dame by Père Ollivier of the Dominican Order.

Père Ollivier, born at St. Malo in 1849, was already well known in Paris for his fearless and combative eloquence. His work on the Passion of our Lord, published in 1891, and that on *Les Amitiés de Jesus*, published in 1895, had made him known even beyond the confines of France. During the Lent of 1897, Père Ollivier maintained in the pulpit of Notre Dame the high reputation he had already acquired. He chose for his subject the Church, the reason

of its existence, its teaching, and its immutability. Not long after the close of his first station, a catastrophe took place which plunged in mourning many of the highest families in Paris—the burning of the Bazaar de la Charité, May 4, 1897. On May 8, at a requiem service in Notre Dame for those who had perished, Père Ollivier delivered an eloquent discourse on ‘Les Victimes de la Charité.’ The preacher paid a well-merited tribute to the heroism of the noble and charitable ladies who perished in the disaster, and spoke of them as a holocaust for the sins of France. He referred also to the events of 1870—a subject seldom welcome to French ears.

When the next Lent came round, another member of the Dominican Order, Père Etourneau took the place of Père Ollivier. From 1898 to 1902, Père Etourneau dealt in his conferences with a problem which since the days of the Psalmist has been a trial and a stumbling-block to many: the problem of evil, its nature, the providential reason of its existence, and its remedies. Gifted with a pleasing manner, a flexible and agreeable though not powerful voice, a flowing delivery, a clear and easy style, Père Etourneau was an interesting and instructive preacher. He had not the power of Monsabré, nor the passion of Lacordaire, but he acquitted himself with credit of the difficult task entrusted to him. In 1903 he retired from the pulpit, and died in 1907.

His successor, Père Janvier, now known as M. le Chanoine Janvier, year after year, since 1903, attracts large audiences to the Lenten conferences at Notre Dame. He is no stranger to that mine of theological science, the *Summa* of St. Thomas. Beginning the series of his conferences with Beatitude, or the end for which man was created, he has gone on following the *Summa* to treat of the moral law, of the virtues which lead to beatitude, and of the vices which hinder its acquirement. Depth, clearness, and strength characterize his conferences. There is to be found in them, not the emotion and poetry of Lacordaire, but Christian philosophy, pure and undefiled. If, as Cicero teaches, he deserves to be called an orator who speaks *apte, ornate, et copiose*, on grave and difficult subjects, Père

Janvier is worthy of the title. In hearing him the men of France are brought into contact with the best Catholic thought, and may find in it an antidote to prevalent modern errors.

VIII

From the outline above given of the preachers of Notre Dame in Paris, it is evident that the *ubertas gallici sermonis*, of which St. Jerome spoke, is not a lost accomplishment in modern France. It is no less evident that the conferences at Notre Dame, in manner and in matter, cannot be taken as a model of ordinary parochial preaching. The place, the circumstances, and the audience are exceptional. None were more convinced of this than the men who inaugurated the conferences.

In the Preface to the published collection of his conferences, Lacordaire wrote :—

The conferences which we publish do not belong precisely either to dogmatic teaching, or to pure controversy. A combination of both, of instruction and discussion, they are destined to a country where religious ignorance and intellectual cultivation go hand in hand ; where error is bold, rather than learned or profound ; and in them we have tried to speak of divine things in a language calculated to reach the heart, and adapted to the situation of the men of our own time.

Père de Ravignan was of the same mind. In a course of instructions on preaching, given to the young members of his Order, after he had retired from the pulpit, he said :—

Never, or hardly ever, preach conferences. Do not adopt that style, for many reasons : it is too easy, it gives too much scope to vanity, it is too unpractical. In a word, that style would be a danger to the pulpit itself. In truth, ten years ago I know not how low we should have fallen if that style had continued. Everyone wanted to give conferences. No doubt, there are exceptions. Notre Dame is one of them. For it the conferences were established.¹

Parochial preaching must be plain and practical. Even great moral sermons, like those of Bourdaloue, are above the standard for parochial work. Sermons, with all the

¹ *Vie du R. P. de Ravignan*, par le R. P. Ponlevoy, S.J., Paris, 1861, vol. ii., p. 363.

formalities of eloquence, sometimes weary even cultivated minds. None was a greater admirer of Bourdaloue than Madame de Sevigné. Having attended his sermons in the Lent of 1683, she wrote to a friend :—

His [Bourdaloue's] zeal has never been so triumphant I am charmed, I am carried away, and yet I feel that my heart is not warmed, and that all the light with which he has illuminated my intellect is not capable of effecting my salvation. So much the worse for me ! This state often fills me with alarm. But do you know what I have done ? On Holy Thursday and Saturday I heard two good little sermons from our good curé, M. Trouvé, at St. Jacques du Haut-Pas. I am quite pleased with his manner of preaching. It aims at the apostolic simplicity of M. le Tourneur. He has zeal and too much of it, for his poor little chest is exhausted by it. He preaches real homilies, like those of the holy Fathers, and I was quite delighted.¹

The true work of the ministry, the conversion and sanctification of souls, is accomplished not by pulpit oratory, but by simple and instructive preaching. Hence Leo XIII, in the Instruction which he promulgated through the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, in 1894, recommended moral preaching in preference to erudite conferences ; and hence, too, Pius X has ordered that parochial sermons shall be made a kind of higher catechism for the people. But circumstances may arise when it becomes necessary to defend religious truth from the attacks of its enemies, and to provide youth whose lot is cast where error is prevalent with an antidote ; or when it is necessary to attract and interest the indifferent.

But [as the Instruction of Leo XIII remarks] the task of preaching conferences with success, even where they are necessary or useful, is a burden not suited to the shoulders of all ; but only of the most robust. And even the most capable orators require to use herein great prudence, for such apologetic conferences should be delivered only in such places, at such times, and to such audiences as really require them, and when a real advantage may be expected from them ; and of this the Ordinaries are evidently the most competent judges.²

PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

¹ *Lettres de Mme. de Sevigné*, 20 Avril, 1683, vol. vii., p. 230, Paris, 1863.

² *Encyclical On Preaching*, July 31, 1894.

GLIMPSES OF THE PENAL TIMES—VI

OUR readers will remember that in Father Egan's Examination¹ allusion was made to the Bishop of Waterford. He was the right Rev. Richard Piersse. About him a good deal of information is extant. As every ecclesiastic knows, before a person is appointed to be bishop or is preconized, his antecedents are carefully investigated. A transcript of the 'Acta Consistorialia, de sacerdote Richardo Peirs' is lying before the writer of these lines. The document begins by stating that on March 31, 1696, Cardinal Paolucci (Altieri), acting in his capacity as Protector of Ireland, summoned to appear before him as deponents or witnesses these three priests: Rev. Francis Porter, O.S.F., a native of the diocese of Meath; Rev. Antony Sined, O.S.F., a native of Clonmel; Rev. George Withan, a native of England. Then come the questions put and the answers given. From the latter we extract what bears upon our subject. Richard Piers, a native of the diocese of Ardfert, was about thirty-five years of age. In 1686 he had been in Paris, subsequently got the degree of D.D. in the Sorbonne, was Rector of the Seminary at Rheims, and then of the Lombard College² in Paris, and afterwards became one of King James's Chaplains in Dublin. That he held this office is stated elsewhere, namely, in the list of chaplains contained in the work *State of the Protestants in Ireland under King James's Government*, London, 1691, in which he is called Father Richard Pierce. No other person of the name is mentioned.

A letter written to the Secretary of Propaganda by Archbishop Brennan of Cashel, on February 2, 1691, perhaps refers to him. If this be the case, an action of his not known to the Roman witnesses is alluded to by the Archbishop.

¹ See I. E. RECORD, April, 1909, p. 401.

² This was the Irish College, situated in the Rue des Carmes. It had, in 1330, been founded for Italians, hence even after it was bestowed on the Irish by Louis XIV in 1677 it continued to be popularly known as 'Le Collège des Lombards.'

In support of the statement that James II had established in Ireland what might well be called a royal datary, and conferred benefices by his own authority, Dr. Brennan alleges that the King's official promised the cathedral deanery of Waterford to Richard Piers, though in virtue of a Papal Bull Philip Hackett had been in possession of the benefice for four years. The writer observes that he has done everything in his power to put an end to this abuse, and in the present instance has refused to allow Richard Piers to take possession, for an additional reason, viz., that two years before when standing for his doctor's degree in the Sorbonne among the propositions Piers defended were the four Gallican ones condemned by Innocent XI.¹

But to return to what is certain. According to the official documents printed in Brady's *Episcopal Succession*² Richard Piers, who had been presented by James II, was preconized on April 2, and provided on May 21, 1696. Brady also adds that the Bishop a few months after he had taken possession of his see, was forced to fly to France, where he was residing in 1709, and 1710, and 1712 as suffragan (*sic*) to the Archbishop of Sens; and that on December 17, 1715, he obtained from Propaganda six months' additional leave of absence from his diocese.

That he was in Ireland as Bishop in 1697 is evident. In 'A list of the names of Popish Parish Priests (Registered), Nenagh, 11th day of July, 1704,' it is stated that William Kelly, Cloonrush, Diocese of Galway, was ordained by Richard Pearse, Titular Bishop of Waterford, at Thurles, in 1697. It will be remembered that also, according to Father Egan's Examination—(1) 'the said Peirse was in Ireland and sent thence in virtue of the late Act of Parliament for banishing the Romish . . . Bishops;'³ (2) 'but whether he be now in this kingdom this Examinant knoweth not.' Father Egan was examined in 1702. That, however, in the following year Dr. Piersse

¹ *Spicil. Ossoriense*, iii. 300. The Gallican declarations were, as everybody knows, first condemned by his Brief, April 11, 1682.

² ii. pp. 73, 74.

³ This Act was passed in 1697, and came into operation on May 1, 1698.

was in Ireland is made certain by documents preserved in the Record Office. In passing we may observe that in so acting the Bishop showed great devotedness and courage. The first of the papers just alluded to is an order on the Treasury given to one who, if we mistake not, was an ancestral relative of the patriotic Lord Charlemont.

11th October, 1703. Concordatum.

By the Lord Lieutenant and Council.

ORMONDE,

We think fit and do so conclude condescend and agree by these our Letters of Concordatum to grant that Toby Caulfield, Esq., shall have and receive the sum of twenty-three pounds eight shillings being so much expended by him in supporting Richard McEllicod and several men employed to search and apprehend one Pierce a Popish Bishop being three weeks in pursuit of him. These are therefore to will and require you out of such Her Majesty's treasure as now remains under your charge or shall next come to your hands to pay the said Toby Caulfield, Esq., or his Assigns the said sum of twenty-three pounds eight shillings, and for your so doing these our Letters of Concordatum together with his Acquittance or the Acquittance of his Assigns shall be as well unto you as to the Comptrollers of your Accounts and all other persons concerned therein a sufficient Warrant & Discharge in that behalf.

Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin the 11th day of October, 1703.

CHA. FEILDING.
RT. PYNE.
ROBT. DOYNE.

NARCISSUS ARMAGH.
RICHARD COX CANC.
WILL. DUBLIN.
INCHIQUIN.
ST. GEO. CLOGHER.
ABERCORN.
R. MOLESWORTH.

[Endorsed]

£23 8 0

Poundage	..	..	..	0	11	8½
Pells	..	..	..	0	2	4½
Balance	..	..	..	22	13	11½

This claim was duly satisfied, as appears from the entry in the Vice-Treasurer's ledger:—

[1703, p. 78.] Paid to Toby Caulfield for so much expended by him in searching for and apprehending a Popish Titular

Bishop as by Warrant dated the 11th of October, 1793, with Acquittance appears.

£23 8 0

Another document which refers to this occurrence, though it bears no date, is preserved among the 'Petitions to the Lord Lieutenant.'¹

To their Excellencies the Lords Justices of Ireland.

The humble petition of Richard MacElligott.

SHEWETH,

That your Petitioner discovered one Richard Peirce Titular Bishop of Waterford to have returned into this kingdom from France contrary to a late Act of Parliament made here, but the said Peirce being harboured by one Col. John Butler of the County of Kilkenny & Col. Thomas Butler of the County of Tipperary, so that your Petitioner could not prosecute him the said Peirce as the law empowers.

May it therefore please your Excellencies to grant your order to the next sitting judges of that circuit, in order that a fine may be levied on the Col. Butlers aforesaid, which they were liable to by Act above mentioned.

And your Petitioner will pray.

Your Excellencies may be sensible that your Petitioner has lost the favour and friendship of all his friends and relations on this account.

[*Endorsed*] To be recommended to a justice of the peace to assist him, and to put the Act into execution.

MacElligott's inability to prosecute was evidently a cause of annoyance, for he would have been entitled to fifty pounds reward in virtue of the Proclamation, September 13, 1699, had he succeeded in getting the Bishop convicted.²

¹ Carton No. 247, n. 6657.

² As to the two Colonel Butlers whom he desired to see fined, they were in those penal days as distinguished for unswerving attachment to their faith and their country as one of their kith and kin, a well-known General, is at present. It was owing to the Colonel Butlers' zeal that they with several others were punished in the way we learn from the following Proclamation:—

'By the Lords Justices & Council.

'Narcissus Armagh.

R. Freeman.

Whereas by order of this Board the severall gentlemen of the Popish religion following, viz., Sir Stephen Rice, Edward Rice, James Rice, Col. John Butler of Westcourt, Col. Richard Eustace, Patrick Allen, Daniel

In a letter of Dr. Piersse's, which is summarized by the Internuncio in Brussels when sending his report to Propaganda in 1736, the Bishop states that on one occasion he owed his life to the good offices of the Imperial Ambassador. This would presumably be after his arrest in 1703. He does not mention the Ambassador's name, but we know that both Count Auersperg and Count Clam Gallas, who successively represented Leopold I of Austria (the Head of the Holy Roman Empire) at the Court of St. James, were unceasing in their efforts to succour Irish Catholics. The Internuncio's report will be quoted in its place. Another report from the Nuncio in Paris¹ states that Queen Mary Beatrice had made it possible for Dr. Piersse to return to his diocese, and had also obtained from Louis XIV the promise of an annuity of 200 crowns for him. Dr. Piersse expressed his willingness to go back to Waterford—provided the Pope guaranteed an additional sum of 100 crowns yearly. Propaganda would not listen to such a stipulation, and simply said, 'Redeat in Hiberniam et referat statum suae

Byrne, Col. Edward Hussey, Pierce Bryen, Col. Dudley Colclough, Capt. James Eustace, Col. Thomas Butler of Kilcash, Col. John Butler of Garryricken, Col. Walter Butler of Mumphin, Col. Thos. Burke, Councillor Francis Toole, Michael Fleming, John Mapas, Robert Nugent, Garrett Kelly, Col. Wm. Burke, Sir Laurence Esmond, Major George Matthews, Junr., George Butler of Ballyraggett, Mark Baggott, Esqr., Dennis Daly, Esq., John Wogan of Rathcoffer, Mr. Thomas Cooke, and Doctor Patrick Fitzpatrick, were committed into the custody of the Constable of her Maties Castle of Dublin.

It is therefore ordered that they be enlarged they first entering into recognizances of two thousand pounds each with sufficient security to the committee of this board appointed for that purpose to her Maties use, and upon such bond or recognizance so entered into the said Constable of the Castle or his Deputy in whose custody the said severall Gentlemen does (sic) remain is to enlarge and sett them at liberty accordingly without Fees.

¹ Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin the 5th day of April 1708.

' WILL DUBLIN.
' INCHQUIN.
' CHA. FEILDING.
' P. SAVAGE.
' CHA. DERING.
' THO. BLIGH.'

Finally, it may be mentioned here that Christopher Butler, who became Archbishop of Cashel, in 1711, was the son of Colonel Walter Butler of Kilcash, and that this family was the custodian in the penal times of the large relic of the true cross which is at present kept in the Ursuline Convent, Blackrock, Cork.

¹ Archiv, Propaganda, Atti d'Irlanda, 1703, die 16 Aprilis, fol. 101.

Dioecesis et tunc habebitur ratio.' The Nuncio does not state when the Queen's offer was made, so we do not know whether it was before the Bishop's arrest or after it. We find, however, from a letter in the Vatican Archives (Nunziatura di Fiandra), that five years afterwards he had the intention of returning. Girolamo Grimaldi, the Internuncio at Brussels, who was charged with supplying missionaries to Ireland, wrote, on February 23, 1708, to Cardinal Paolucci, its Protector, thus :—

Passó per qua ne'giorni addietro alla volta d'Ollanda Mons. Vescovo di Waterford in Ibernìa, il quale dopo essersi trattenuto lungamente in Parigi, fa ora pensiero per quanto mi ha asserito di transferiri alla propria residenza, ed havendo egli esagerato meco il bisogno che avrebbero i Vescovi d'Ibernìa d'esser muniti di ampie faculta, etc., etc.

If we could believe the most astute and active priest-hunter of the period, Dr. Piersse was once more in Ireland in 1713. This, however, must provisionally be regarded as quite uncertain, for the informer in question was, to say the least, not remarkable for veracity. Several depositions of this notorious individual, Edward Tyrrell, will be quoted in the sequel. They are in the Record Office, and among the many similar papers preserved there they throw most light on the state of Catholic Ireland. The first is endorsed 'Tyrrell's Examinations,' and the last, '6th May, 1713, Tyrrell's Examination in Council this day.' It is as follows :

David Fitzgerald who was brought up from Corke by Edward Tyrrell being examined before the Privy Councill saith he knows Edward Fitzgerald being acquainted with him at Corke, was present when Masse was said in Corke & that Father Dennis Carthy said Masse in Corke and is a Bishop, and says he saw him making a Priest formerly, but did not see him make a Priest that day when Edward Fitzgerald was at Masse. That he heard the two young Priests say Masse severall times before, that his father is called John Fitzgerald, is a poor man, but is not Chappell Keeper nor has any employment about the Chappell, but that one Murphy who is employed by Father Dennis Carthy as Chappell Keeper takes care of the Chappell. That he has heard four Priests say Masse in Corke when Edward

Fitzgerald was there, & their names were Dennis Carthy, Teigue McNamara, Patrick Carty, & Wm. Hennesy.

Edward Tyrrell being sworn & examined saith that he was present in a Mass house near Corke where one Butler Titular Archbishop of Cashel ordained two persons named Shines on y^e 29th of January last, that one Carthy and one Hennesy priests were present when the said Archbishop ordained y^e said Shines, that y^e said two priests did not lay their hands upon y^e persons ordained, that one David Fitzgerald son to the Chappell Keeper of y^e said Mass house was present when the said Archbishop ordained the said men, that a letter of ordination was signed that day in y^e Masse house, & they were apprehended that night the said Shines were ordained.

Edward Tyrrell being examined says he brought one David Fitzgerald with him from Corke to be examined before the Lords Justices & Council & being asked whether this Examinant would have David Fitzgerald examined, he replied that Fitzgerald was an absolute stranger to this Examinant being a discoverer or prosecutor of Popish priests & believes this Examinant to be a Priest & feares his being examined may discover the designe, & therefore he will not goe to Corke.

Believes Christopher Butler Titular Archbishop of Cashel is now at Kilcash which is the place of his residence since he came from France about six months agoe, is brother to Butler of Kilcash. That John Pierce Titular Bishop of Waterford resides at y^e same place. That one Edmund Byrne Archbishop of Dublin was seen last week at Ald^r Reily's house in Dublin. That one Burke a Fryar lately landed from France & lodged at y^e said Reily's house.

Dated this 6th May, 1713.

A reason for thinking that in 1713 the Bishop of Waterford was not in Ireland is that a short time before he had declined to go there. This we learn from a biographical notice published in the *Semaine Religieuse de Sens* (10 Juin, 1899). At the risk of repetition we shall résume some of its contents. 'James Richard Piers of noble origin, was born in 1646. He studied theology in France, and was a D.D. of the Sorbonne. Afterwards he did duty in the Dublin hospitals, and soon became Bishop of Waterford.'

Puis, en 1698, une ordonnance du parlement anglais prescrivit sous les peines les plus sévères, à tous les évêques, prêtres et religieux de sortir du royaume.

L'évêque de Waterford se cacha quelque temps; mais, informé qu'on le cherchait pour le faire mourir, il passa en France. Il vint d'abord à Paris, puis dans les diocèses de Beauvais et de Chartres, aidant les évêques dans les fonctions épiscopales.

En 1710, Mgr. de la Hoguette le pria de venir se fixer à Sens, où, comme l'atteste un acte de 1711 (Archives de l'Yonne, G. 691,) il accepta de faire, dans le diocèse, toutes les fonctions épiscopales.

L'année suivante, il reçut une circulaire de la Propagande engageant les évêques irlandais à tenter de rentrer dans leur patrie, où le zèle des persécuteurs paraissait se ralentir. L'évêque de Waterford s'en excusa par une lettre datée de Fontainebleau, le 27 juillet, 1711, et où il allègue l'utilité de son ministère en France.

Mgr. de la Hoguette le fit reconnaître pour son coadjuteur et obtint pour lui, du roi, une pension de 2,000 livres sur l'archevêché de Sens ainsi que l'abbaye Saint-Pierre au diocèse de Chalons. Il fut successivement vicaire général de MM. de la Hoguette, de Chavigny et Languet; il résida à l'archevêché jusqu'à la mort de M. de Chavigny, après laquelle il alla habiter la maison de MM. Legris, rue du Saint-Esprit.

En 1733, à la mort de M. Moufle, Mgr. Languet pourvut l'évêque de Waterford de la dignité de trésorier de l'Eglise de Sens et le Chapitre le pria d'accepter le titre de chanoine honoraire.

Once more, in or about the year 1735, the Nuncio in Brussels was instructed to ask the Bishops of Waterford and of Kilfenora which of two things they would do: either to return to their respective dioceses or to resign them. Dr. Piersse represented that personally he was so hated by the persecutors of Catholics that James II had obliged him to quit the country lest his presence should exasperate them; that nevertheless after some years he did return, but that he was soon discovered and would have been put to death had not the Imperial Ambassador concealed him, and that Parliament had set a large sum on his head. Finally, that he had provided good priests for his diocese, and that he was prepared to do whatever the Pope and the King willed. The Nuncio adds that Cardinal Imperiali was of opinion that the advanced age of the Bishop, together

with the facts alleged by him, should be regarded as a reason for treating him with great consideration.

The Bishop of Kilfenora referred to in this report was the Right Rev. James O'Daly, appointed in 1732. He was Canon and Treasurer of the Cathedral of Tournai. It was thought in November, 1736, that he would resign Kilfenora, and a Franciscan, Father Laurence Slyne, was recommended as his successor, but O'Daly kept his Canonry in France and his See in Ireland till his death, which happened in 1750.

We quote the parts referring to Dr. Piersse in the Nuncio's report:—

Acta S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide de Anno 1736.
Congregatione del 28 Febraio 1736.
Ibernia.

Trovandosi da molto tempo assenti dalle loro residenze i due Vescovi di Waterford e di Fenibor in Irlanda, fu incaricato dalla segreteria di Stato di N. S. Mons. Nunzio in Bruxelles d'intendere dai medesimi quale intenzione avessero, e precisamente se pensassero di transferirsi alle loro Chiese, ovvero di dimetterle.

Avendo egli eseguita la Commissione ingiuntagli, partecipa le risposte, che ha ricevute, dall'un e dall'altro, con sua lettera de' 30 del passato Settembre, che per mezzo del Sig. Card. Imperiali viene comunicata all' EE.VV.

Quanto al Vescovo di Waterford, che ha in amministrazione anche un' altro Vescovado, significa M. Nunzio, che questi gli ha fatto un lungo dettaglio delle ragioni, per le quali fu astretto ad abbandonare la propria Chiesa, essendo divenuta la di lui persona così odiosa ai persecutori della nostra S. Religione, che lo stesso Re Giacomo II. di gl. M. l'obbligò ad uscire dal Paese, per non inasprire gli animi contro il Corpo tutto de' Cattolici. Che passati alcuni anni di questo esilio, tentò di ritornarvi, ma pochi giorni dopo il suo arrivo fu scoperto, e vi sarebbe perito, se l'Ambasciatore dell'Imperatore non l'avesse seco trafugato; per la qual cosa quel Parlamento ha imposto su la sua testa una taglia considerabile, per cui è stato fin' ad ora forzato a non arrischiarsi di più. Che però non ha mancato di assistere da lungi alla sua Chiesa, provvedendola di Vicarii, e di altri Soggetti più meritevoli e distinti, che hanno così adeguatamente supplito alle sue veci, che fin al presente non solo non è accaduto verun disordine, ma più tosto il governo spirituale di quella

diocesi é passato con ogni regolarita ; Concludendo, che ciò non ostante egli riconoscerà per ben fatto quanto La Stã di NS. opererà per riguardo alla di sua Chiesa, ed all'altra, che, conforme si é motivato, riviene in amministrazione, e si conformerà interamente alle intezioni di Sua Bñe e della Mtã del Ré d'Inghilterra. . . .

‘Il signor Card. Imperiali che ha communicate le riferite Lettere, suggerisce, che in quanto al Vescovo di Waterford, pare, che per ragione della gravissima età, e degl' altri accennati motivi, meriti tutto il compatimento, e condescendenza, per la quale inclina anche la Mtã del Re d'Inghilterra.’

Rescriptum et ad mentem. Mens est, quod scribatur Nuntio Bruxellensi, quod adhortetur utrumque Episcopum, ut accedant ad proprias Dioceses et quatenus ab eis opponantur difficultates insuperabiles eisdem insinuet, ut petant a s. Sede sibi dari Coadjutores sibi designandos, quibus tamen cedere debent redditus suarum Ecclesiarum . . . et quatenus renuant petere Sanctitas Sua Apostolica sua potestate utendo Coadjutores deputabit etiam ipsis invitis.

We do not know in particular what was the result of this rescript, but the aged prelate ended his days in a foreign land. The notice of him in the *Semaine Religieuse* concludes thus :—

Il mourut à Sens le 25 Mars, 1739, âgé de 92 ans. Selon ses dernières volontés son corps fut déposé dans la cathédrale, dans le caveau de la chapelle de sainte Colombe, auprès des chanoines Legris, fondateurs de cette chapelle. Il avait pour cette chapelle une affection particulière et l'avait choisie pour y célébrer la sainte messe dans ses dernières années.

Aucune inscription ne rappelle la sépulture du vénérable évêque : ne serait-il pas juste de ne pas ainsi laisser dans l'oubli la mémoire de ce confesseur de la foi !

Facts such as these enable us to realize the difficulties under which the faith was preserved in Ireland during the penal days.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

To be continued.]

WHEN GAEL MET GREEK—I

WHAT has been Ireland's share in the preservation and promotion of Greek learning? An examination of the ancient Irish glosses on the Scripture and on the methods of calculating the time of Easter, and on the grammar of Priscian, as well as the *Calendar of Aengus*, *Cormac's Glossary*, the earlier part of the *Annals of Ulster*, and various other historical documents, prove indisputably that Latin was known and taught efficiently in Ireland long before the so-called revival of learning. 'The science and Biblical knowledge which fled from the Continent took refuge in famous schools which made Durrow and Armagh the universities of the West.'¹ 'When the schools of Italy closed before the Lombard invasion, the literary passion was kindled in the depths of Irish monasteries.'²

Dr. Döllinger³ says that the schools in the Irish cloisters were the most celebrated in Western Europe during the sixth and seventh centuries. It is said that the English saint, Aldhelm, was taught Latin, Greek, and Hebrew by the Irishman, Maeldubh.⁴ Lecky⁵ says that the knowledge of Greek had been preserved in the Irish monasteries some time after it had disappeared from the other seminaries of Europe. This I can prove to be an historical fact. We must remember that Greek was practically unknown to the West of Europe, except to the Irish, until the thirteenth century. Petrarch had a Homer and some books of Plato, but could not read them. The first Greek Chair was founded in Florence in 1360. Manuel Chrysoloras started Greek classes in 1396, first in Florence and afterwards in Pavia, Milan, Venice, Padua, and Rome. Greek MSS. were

¹ Green, *Hist. of the English People*, p. 21.

² Ozanam, *Hist. of Civilization in the Fifth Century*, vol. i., p. 25.

³ Ap. Newman's *Historical Sketches*, vol. iii., pp. 124, 125.

⁴ Moran, *Irish Saints in Great Britain*, p. 335.

⁵ Lecky, *Rationalism in Europe*, vol. i., p. 316.

brought from Constantinople by John Aurispa, a Sicilian (1370-1459), and by Cardinal Bessarion (1403-1472). Guarini of Verona taught Greek in Venice from 1415 to 1422. After the fall of Constantinople (1453) Greeks emigrated to Italy in large numbers, bringing with them valuable manuscripts, some old and some recent copies. Printing was invented in Europe about 1450. Printing and publishing houses were established by Aldo Manuzio in Venice, by Giunta in Florence, and soon afterwards by various enterprising individuals in Switzerland, Germany, France, and Flanders. It was not till about 1490 that the study of Greek was begun in Oxford and Cambridge.¹

The oldest existing MSS. of the chief Greek classic writers are: for Homer, Venetus A, at Venice. This is a tenth-century MS. The oldest MS. for the existing plays of Æschylus and Sophocles, and the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius is the Medicean MS. of the eleventh century. The oldest MSS. of Euripides are of the twelfth or thirteenth century. A palimpsest at Paris contains part of Euripides' *Phaethon*, written in the fifth or sixth century.² For Aristophanes the oldest MS. is the Ravenna MS. of the eleventh century. The oldest MS. of Theocritus, Bion, Moschus, is of the thirteenth century. Vatican B of the twelfth century contains some of Pindar's *Odes*. Florentinus of the Laurentian Library, Florence, is the oldest MS. of Herodotus, and is of the tenth century. A Laurentian MS. of the tenth century is the oldest MS. of Thucydides, with the exception of the Fayoum Fragments, which contain only two chapters of the dubious eighth book. The eleventh or thirteenth century is the date of the oldest MS. of Xenophon. The earliest MS. of Lysias dates from the twelfth century. The oldest copy of Plato was written in A.D. 896, and was brought from Patmos, which island lay always in the Greek world. Some MSS. of Demosthenes date from the tenth or eleventh century (Paris). The oldest MS. of Lucian was written about A.D. 912. It is found at Vienna.

¹ See *Venice*, by Alethia Wiel, pp. 289-291; Gow's *Companion to Classics*, pp. 27 *et seq.*

² So Gow. But no fragment of a *Phaethon* is given by Dindorf.

We thus see that none of these existing MSS. of Greek writers are older than the tenth century. These tenth-century MSS. are the Homer at Venice, the Florentine MSS. of Herodotus and Thucydides, and the Paris MS. of Demosthenes. The Patmos MS. of Plato does not come within our enquiry, which is to find the work of Irishmen in the preservation and teaching of Greek. Patmos does not belong to Western Europe.

A glance at the valuable maps drawn up by Rev. Timothy Corcoran, S.J., Dublin, and on view in University College, Dublin, will show Western Europe dotted with Irish monasteries, founded at various dates from the seventh to the seventeenth centuries. In the great University of Paris, founded in the eighth century, Alcuin was the first rector. He was educated by Irishmen. The second and third rectors were Irishmen, Clemens from 772 to 780, and Dungal from 784 to 820. Newman in his *Historical Sketches*¹ tells us that Irishmen 'established themselves in Paris, Ratisbon, Padua, Pavia, Naples, and other continental schools.' I subjoin a list of these schools drawn from Rev. Timothy Corcoran's map and other sources:—Peronne, St. Fursa's city, 650-950; Luxeuil, founded in 591, SS. Columbanus and Gall taught there, also Dicuil; St. Gall, founded 612; Bobbio, 613; Strasburg, 685; Chiemsee, 730; Paris, Clemens taught there 772-780, Dungal 784 to 820, Erigena 850 to 860; Angoulême, 876; Verden on Aller, 800; Liège, where Sedulius and his colleagues were, 848-858; Laon, 860-875; Salzburg, 740-783; Pavia, 800-840; Milan, 850; Verdun, 995; Erfurt, 1036; Vienna, St. Maria, 1145; Metz, 992; Vassor, 955; Mayence, 1069-1089; Fulda, 1058-1069; Würzburg, 1030; Ratisbon, 1067-1122; Cologne, S. Martin's, 1145. The *Codex Palatino-Vaticanus*, No. 830, which has been edited by the late Rev. B. MacCarthy, D.D., in the Todd Lecture Series, vol. iii., was brought from St. Martin's Library, Cologne, to Heidelberg.

Numerous classical MSS. have been found in many of these monasteries, which were founded by Irishmen, and in

¹ Vol. iii., p. 206.

which Irishmen taught. The natural inference is that Irishmen were the transcribers of some of these MSS. There is, in fact, a marked similarity in the writing of not a few Latin MSS. to the style of lettering in our own Irish MSS., such as the *Book of Leinster*. I cannot prove that Irishmen read deeply or widely in the Greek classics before the days of Keating. I can prove that they knew the Greek language, and that they taught it. The most valuable evidence is supplied by one particular item on the map already referred to. At Toul, in France, some miles to the west of Nancy, Father Corcoran records : ' Schola Graeca Hibernorum, 963-994'—the Irishmen's Greek School. I think I am fairly justified in the belief that a certain number of those MSS. of Greek writers, which were brought into Italy at the time of the so-called revival of learning, were the work of Irish scribes.

Miss Eleanor Hull, in her *Text-Book of Irish Literature*,¹ says :—

We are fortunate in still possessing a tenth-century catalogue of the manuscripts in the monastery founded by St. Columbanus, about the close of the sixth century, at Bobbio, in North Italy. It contains a list of seven hundred volumes, some of which had been bequeathed to the library by the learned Irishman, Dungal, principal and teacher of Pavia University (820-840). Besides large numbers of the works of the Fathers of the Church and copies of portions of the Scriptures, with commentaries upon them, we find both Greek and Latin authors. There are copies of Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Juvenal, Martial, and Persius mentioned in the list, as well as portions of the works of Terence, Cicero, Demosthenes, and Aristotle. Some of the lost orations of Cicero and other classical works of importance have been recovered from the Bobbio manuscripts. Those which have escaped the depredations caused by time, fire, and thieves, now form part of the most treasured possessions of the Public Libraries of Milan, Turin, Vienna, and of the Vatican at Rome. The great libraries of St. Gall, Würzburg, and Reichenau, all of them Irish foundations, owned manuscripts, both sacred and secular, of no less interest and importance. Valuable texts of Virgil, of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and of Eutychius, have been recovered from them.

¹ Part I., pp. 142 *et seq.*

At page 144 she says :—

There has been much discussion as to whether a knowledge of Greek was possessed by the monastic teachers of ancient Ireland. The earliest ecclesiastical writings leave us uncertain, for though writers like Philo, Eusebius, and Origen, are quoted by early Irish monks, such as Aileran of Clonard (*d.* A.D. 665) and Cumman of Durrow (*circa* 640), it is possible that they had read these writers in translations, just as in the Middle Ages the tale of Troy and other classical pieces seem to have been derived from Latin versions rather than from the originals. But St. Columbanus (*circa* 543), who was educated at Bangor Mor (Co. Down), seems certainly to have known Greek ; he says in his letter to Pope Boniface that he knew both Greek and Hebrew ; he evidently understood Aristotle in the original. In the so-called *Instructiones Columbani*, frequent Greek words and expressions are used. There is no doubt also that John Scotus Erigena (who was at Paris University, 850-860) was a good Greek scholar, for he translated the works of so-called Dionysius the Areopagite for the newly-founded Abbey of St. Denis at the request of Charles the Bald. This work, produced at a time when the knowledge of Greek had almost died out in Europe, excited the greatest astonishment among his contemporaries. The learned Librarian of the Vatican Library, Anastasius, exclaimed when he read it : ' It is wonderful that this uncivilized man, dwelling on the confines of the world, should have been able to understand such things, and to translate them into another tongue.'

The best proof that Greek formed part of the curriculum of Irish-founded monasteries is the fact that copies of Greek as well as of Latin authors were found in the great Libraries of Bobbio in North Italy, and of Reichenau, or Augia Regia, on Lake Constance, where copies of Aristotle, Demosthenes, and other Greek classics have been preserved. Several of them contain Irish glosses, showing that they were studied by Irish students. Among the manuscripts found in these monasteries are Greek vocabularies and Greek paradigms and declensions. They cannot be said to prove any very scholarly or wide acquaintance with the language, but they show that it formed part of the course of study. In Ireland also we have Greek derivations given in *Cormac's Glossary* (ninth century), in the *Cóir Anmann*, and elsewhere.

It is also worthy of remark that from very early Christian times a Greek text of the New Testament, or some otherwise unknown text formed directly on the Greek, was current in Ireland and Britain.

Miss Hull further remarks that one of the praises bestowed by Dallan Forgall on Columbcille in the *Amra* is that 'he spoke in Greek grammar.'

John Scotus Erigena subjoined to his translation of the pseudo-Dionysius Areopagiticus a set of verses in which he extolled the glories of Greece by comparison with those of Rome. Erigena wrote his *περὶ φύσεως μερισμοῦ* somewhat later than A.D. 851. It is Neo-Platonic or pantheistic in tendency.¹ I propose now to examine some of our native documents to discover what traces exist of a knowledge of Greek in early Ireland.

I shall deal first with the evidences afforded by my examination of the two monumental volumes of the *The-saurus Palaeohibernicus*, edited by the veteran scholar, Dr. Whitley Stokes, and by the late Dr. John Strachan, the sound of whose voice as he expatiated enthusiastically on the mysteries of Old Irish still rings in my ears. These splendid volumes contain the Old Irish Biblical glosses and scholia (vol. i.) and the non-Biblical glosses and scholia, inscriptions, etc. (vol. ii.). The habitat of the MSS. from which these glosses are taken is in many cases the same as that of many, if not most, of our MSS. of Latin and Greek authors, viz., Rome, Berne, Milan, Turin, Lambeth, Dublin, Würzburg, Carlsruhe, St. Gall, Leyden, Paris, Nancy, Vienna, and Florence. The editors speaking² of *Codex Ambrosianus* (c. 301), which contains, amongst other Irish matter, the famous Milan glosses on the Psalms, quote, without contradiction, the view of Vallarsi, of Peyron, of Zeuss, and of Count Nigra, who ascribe this commentary on the Psalms to St. Columbanus. They also state that 'some years ago (see Canon Driver in the *Academy* for

¹ See *Dictionary of National Biography*, subject, 'John Scotus,' and works there cited. Also the Right Hon. Mr. Justice Madden's very interesting address on 'Some Passages in the Early History of Classical Learning in Ireland;' also two papers by Rev. George T. Stokes, D.D., on 'Greek in Gaul and Western Europe,' and 'Greek in Ireland A.D. 500 to A.D. 900,' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Third Series, vol. ii., No. 2. *History of Classical Learning*, by J. E. Sandys. *Literary History of Ireland*, by Dr. Douglas Hyde.

² Vol. i., p. xv.

August 1, 1896) it was observed by Mercati that this Latin commentary was not an original work, but a translation of a Greek commentary by Theodorus of Mopsuestia.' ¹

I have already stated that I have not found quotations from or, with very few exceptions, references to Greek classical or post-classical writers, but instances of Greek words written in Greek characters or phonetically in Irish are very numerous.

In the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* (which I shall hereinafter refer to as *T.P.*), vol. i., page 6, we read in glosses on Psalm cxviii., found in St. Caimin's Psalter, Franciscan Monastery, Dublin: 'Josephus autem refert in libris ἀρχαιολογίας hunc psalmum et clxiii. ρταιρηρεμβητο λιβυη historiarum ιριντιβ δαα ρυρελλ ρελ ινο ρεχτο,' .i. 'A writer of a book of histories. In them are the remains of the stories of the law.'²

The Milan glosses (Ml.), eighth century. *T.P.*, i., 9: 'γένοιτο, γένοιτο (in MS. ζενοτο, ζενοτο) id est, fiat, fiat.' I would call attention to the phonetic spelling, and refer the reader to Jannaris' *Historical Greek Grammar*, also to Gow's *Companion to School Classics*, § 35.

Ml. 3a 14: 'illud Horatianum, in siluam ne ligna feras' — αν ΟΡΑΤΙΑΝΘΑΕ ΝΙ ΡΙΝ, .i. ΝΙ ΡΕΑΤ ΞΡΕΙΤ ΛΕΥ ΤΙΝΤΥΔΑ ΡΟΙΒ, .i. ΔΙΡ ΑΤΑΑΤ ΙΛ-ΤΙΝΤΥΔΑΙ ΛΕΥ ΕΝΕ. 'That Horatian maxim [Sat. i., 10, 34], i.e., the Greeks do not need a translation for them, i.e., for they have many translations already.'

Ml. 3a 15: 'Οτι ριρηυαρε ρα ηαο τινταερυ α λλατιν οο Ξρεζαιβ,' i.e., 'Though I have said thou shouldst not translate it out of Latin for Greeks.'

This remark leads us to expect no Greek in the Milan glosses. And we find none.

In the Turin glosses on St. Mark's Gospel, which are found in the MS. of the ninth century, originally in the Irish monastery at Bobbio, we find:—

T.P., i., p. 484: 'Jesu Christi saluatoris uncti; in Ebreo Jesus Missias, in Graeco κοτερ χρς, in Latino saluator

¹ Reference given by Editors to *Migne Patrologia Graeca*, vol. lxvi.

² The translations I give are those given by the Editors.

unctus.' 8. 'α. 1ηυ, χρι.' 'Euangelium Graece dicitur, Latine bona adnuntiatio interpretatur.'

T.P., i., p. 486, 5: 'unde parascuen ante sapatum!' 'parascuen' is glossed 'μεμψυδι' [= παρασκευήν].

T.P., i., p. 492, 9: 'unus id est emisarius apopompeius' [ἀποπομπαῖος]. To 'emisarius' is the gloss '(ε)ρρίτε,' i.e., 'which is sent.'

In the *Book of Armagh*, completed A.D. 807 (*T.P.*, ii., p. xiv.), we find the name of the nineteenth abbot of Iona, sixty-eight of whose monks were slain by Norsemen, A.D. 806,¹ written in Greek characters, 'Κελλακη,' i.e., Cellach' (*T.P.*, i., p. 494).

On fo. 52b, and on fo. 36a of the *Book of Armagh* (*T.P.*, ii., p. xiv.) are two Latin inscriptions written in semi-Greek characters. The second of these inscriptions contains 'αεναΝΓοελιωΝ [for 'euangelion'] κατὰ ΜΑΤΤΗΥΜ.'

In the glosses (Würzburg) on St. Paul's Epistles, which have been assigned to the seventh or eighth century (*T.P.*, i., pp. xxiii., xxiv., xxv.), I find:—

T.P., i., p. 548, 21: 'Hieronymus *THKTONAC* artifices vocat.'

T.P., i., p. 550, 8: 'tamquam purgamenta huius mundi facti sumus, omnium peripsima usque adhuc;' to this is the gloss: 'Ερσαριτ vel perditio: Pelagius: peripsima [περίψημα] graecum est et pessimi interpretatur vel dispecti.'

Ibid., 10: 'pedagogorum' is glossed: 'α. ιννα κορ-
χομέτιοε, α. puer[or]um custodes, α. όιγ φοιρηθε bite
οε βατιθυρ;' i.e., of the foot-protectors; i.e., 'puerorum
custodes,' i.e., the perfect folk [οί τέλειοι, or sponsors,
Olden'] who are at baptism. In the margin is: 'podos
[ποδός] Graecum pés latinum, gogos [άγωγός?] graecum
tectum (!) latinum, α. κορτιςχητ² qui secitur doctorem vel
custos pedum interpretatur.'

T.P., i., p. 586: To St. Paul's citation, 'corrumpunt bonos mores conloquia mala,' is the gloss: 'Mininder [Menander] comicus dixit hoc testimonium, α. poeta de

¹ Reeves, *Columba*, p. 388.

² Is this 'a foot-protector'?

corintis' [Corinthus]. How did an Irishman of the eighth century know that this was a line of Menander?

T.P., i., p. 625. To Gal. iv. 10: 'Dies obseruetis et menses et tempora et annos,' is the gloss on *annos*. '1. τρυφή [Mod. Ir. τρέμρι] vel scenopigia' [σκηνοπήγια], 'the Jewish feast of Tabernacles.'

At *T.P.*, i., p. 653, we find 'Amen' in Greek characters: *AMHN*.

T.P., i., p. 669, 5: 'Intellectu' in 'In omni sapientia et intellectu spiritali' is glossed 'anagogien'; that is *ἀναγωγή*. See also *ἀναγώγιος*, Liddell and Scott.

T.P., i., p. 678: *AMHN ΦINIT*.

T.P., i., p. 709: To 'Jesus;' i.e., Josue is the gloss, 'naue' [*Navή*].

Zeuss considers that the Codex containing the Würzburg glosses was brought from Ireland. Of the author of these glosses we know absolutely nothing. The list of books contained in the Monastery of St. Gall in the ninth century mentions, 'Epistles of Paul, in one volume.' Zeuss¹ speaks at some length of the various Irishmen who went from Ireland to Würzburg:—St. Kilian: 'Gilla na naomh Laighen, uasal epscop Glinne da locha ⁊ cenn manach iar sin Uairisburg [Würzburg] d'éca vii Idus April[es]' [*Four Masters*, A.D. 1085]; Marianus Scotus of Ratisbon, eleventh century, to whom Zeuss rightly assigns the *Codex Paulinus Vindobonensis*. This Marianus was a profuse writer. His works were studied generally in the Irish monasteries in Bavaria and Franconia, as his Irish biographer, a Ratisbon monk, as quoted by Zeuss, tells us. Besides these names there are others recorded,² and some of these men must have brought these Irish codices from Ireland to their settlements on the Continent.

The second volume of the *Thesaurus* affords more positive proof of Greek learning in Ireland:—

T.P., ii., p. 10. Glosses on Beda (Carlsruhe, ninth century): 'Αν ἰ πιν τρά ιρ ὅεν πεμφυαρ διπρεξε ⁊ emblepim.' Is

¹ *Grammatica Celtica*, Praefatio, pp. xx., et seq.

² See above, p. 515: also Zeuss, *op. cit.*; Preface to *Thes. Pal. Hib.*, and Introduction to *Todd Series Lectures*, vol. iii., by Rev. B. MacCarthy, D.D.

emblemum ἐμβόλισμον under the influence of the Irishman's law of accentuation, or is it for ἐμβλησιν with the same meaning, i.e., embolism?

T.P., ii., p. 13: 'Planetarum circuli quos Graeci apsidas [ἀψιδας] in stellis vocant.' In the gloss to this the spelling of the Greek word is 'absidias.' ἄσολ με ἄσολ?

T.P., ii., p. 23. To the words, 'maximae ac mirandi operis fari,' is the gloss: 'mo farus, farus¹ [φάρος] feminini generis est; .i. farus, .i. φορραδ ἀραμβι φοιλλε vel grecum nomen est et interpretatur uisio lucis'; 'of the pharos . . . a station out of which is light.'

These Carlsruhe glosses on Bede quote St. Augustine, Pliny the Elder, Isidore, St. Junilius, Ambrose, Philippus, 'in expositione beati Job aestum maris occiani quotidie bis venire describens,' etc. (p. 14); Basil (24), Hippocrates archiater: 'Onesicretus dux Alexandri scripsit' (25), 'in libris cosmographiorum authenticis ac nobilissimis' (26); 'legimus nanque scribente beato Cyrillo Alexandriae aepiscopo' (27); 'legimus item scribente sancto Paschasino Lillybeo antistite' (27); 'Proterius Alexandrinae urbis antistes' (28); Victorius, a Latin writer (29); Dionisius (28).

T.P., ii., p. 24: 'Hippocrates archiater' is glossed 'ἑυαράλλιεγς,' high physician. ἀρχίατρος is the recognized form.

T.P., ii., p. 25, 10: 'Onesicretus dux eius [i.e., Alexandri] scripsit, quibus in locis Indiae umbrae non sint, septentrionem non conspici, ex eo loco appellari Ascia [ἄσκια].' This last word is correctly glossed, 'νεφρορεασι,' without shadow, shadowless. For this use of the word, Liddell and Scott refer to Theopompus, Strabo, and Heliodorus.

T.P., ii., p. 33: 'horoscopis' is glossed thus: 'ονοαίβ neminoιτιθιb [to which the editors subjoin the note neminoιτιθιοιb ?] hora [ώρα] numerus celum scopin [σκοπεῖν] intendere.'

T.P., ii., p. 34: 'Verbum autem kalo [καλῶ] Graecum est, id est, voco.'

Ibid: 'Ubi .xiii. dies mensis hiberetei² [i.e., ὑπερβερεταῖον]

¹ 'Pharus' is, however, found in Juvenal, Suetonius, and Valerius Flaccus.

² The omission of the syllable is due to a pardonable haplography.

quarta Iduum Octimbrum esse memoratur.' The Greek word here is the name of the last month of the Macedonian year, corresponding to parts of September and October. (See Liddell and Scott, *sub voc.*, who refer to Josephus and Galen.)

T.P., ii., p. 38, from the Codex on the Irish Canons, preserved at Cambridge, Parker, 279: 'Sive clibanus sive chitropedes [χυτρόποδες], .i. vassa vel búnni.' This MS. has been assigned to the ninth or tenth century.¹

Ibid.: In a MS. in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Lat. 12021, 'assigned by some to the eighth century, by others to a somewhat later date,'² occur the words: 'superpositiones due omnis ebdomadis xl ψalmi.'

I have found no traces of Greek in the codices on the calculation of Easter (*T.P.*, ii., pp. 39-41).

We now come to the consideration of the St. Gall glosses on Priscian. 'Traube has shown that the codex was written by some of the friends of Sedulius; he supposes that it was copied in some Irish monastery in the first half of the ninth century, and brought by wandering Irishmen to the Continent.'³ Mrs. Hutton, translator of the *Tain Bo Cuailgne* into English, has pointed out to me that the brief poem found in this St. Gall codex, and printed on page 290 of *T.P.*, vol. ii., would lead one to believe that the writer was near the sea, possibly at Bangor, Co. Down, where SS. Columbanus and Gall had received their first training from Comgall, founder of the School of Bangor. The poem is as follows:—

1r δαχεῖν ἰν γάιτῃ ἰννοχτ,
 βυβυαῖνα βαιμυδαε βινοβόλτ;
 νί δζοῖν βέιμμ μοῖα μινν,
 τονο λάεχμαιο λαῖνν υα λοτλῖννο.

Bitter is the wind to-night,
 It tosses the ocean's white hair;
 I fear not the coursing of a clear sea
 By the fierce heroes from Lothlend,

i.e., Norway. Μοῖα μινν is genitive of Μυμν menn,⁴ which is the name for the Irish Sea.

[To be continued.]

τομάρ υα νουλλάιν.

¹ *Thes. Pal. Hib.*, vol. ii., p. xi.

³ See the Editors of the *Thes. Pal. Hib.*

² Editors of *T. P.*

⁴ This suggestion is original.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

ILLEGITIMACY AND ITS REMOVAL

REV. DEAR SIR,—Recently I was preparing a Conference paper on Irregularities, and I found considerable difficulty in mastering the intricacies of *defectus natalium*. You would confer a favour on me and, I am sure, on others, if you would reply to the following questions in the pages of the I. E. RECORD :
 1. When are children illegitimate? 2. How is illegitimacy removed? Thanking you in anticipation, C. C.

1. Illegitimates are those who were born outside marriage, and who have not been legally legitimized. In connexion with this commonly received definition several questions of practical importance arise.

(a) Are those who were conceived outside marriage but who were born in wedlock illegitimate? According to the principles of English law those who were born in wedlock are legitimate, no matter whether or not the parents were married at the time of conception. Does the same rule hold in Canon Law? In the opinion of Suarez¹ the time of conception and not the time of birth determines the legitimacy of offspring, but the common opinion² of canonists and theologians maintains that the time of birth is the determining factor. This common opinion is based on the Roman Law, canonized by the Church, and also on ecclesiastical practice, which does not insist on the necessity of a dispensation, except perhaps *ad cautelam*,³ from the irregularity of illegitimacy in the case of those who were born in wedlock. We can consequently look on this common opinion as perfectly safe in practice.

¹ *De Censura*, d. 50, s. 1, n. 3.

² Wernz, *Jus. Decr.*, iv., n. 681, note 32.

³ Cf. S.C.C., 22 Feb., 1710.

(b) Has a *putative* marriage the same efficacy as a valid marriage? If the provisions of clandestinity have been sufficiently observed for the validity of the marriage, if the banns have been proclaimed, if the marriage is invalid on account of an occult impediment, and if at least one of the parties is *bona fide*, the putative marriage makes the children legitimate in the eyes of the Church. Suarez¹ thinks that the children are legitimate when the proclamation of banns has been even culpably omitted if the other conditions have been fulfilled. Though the common view, which is opposed to Suarez, is in harmony with the practice of the Roman Congregations in the kindred question of a dispensation for the revalidation of an invalid marriage, the opinion of Suarez can scarcely be called improbable.

(c) Are foundlings to be looked on as legitimate or illegitimate? In the absence of proof to the contrary, foundlings can in practice be looked on as legitimate. Speculatively, the matter is controverted, some authorities holding that *ex communitate contingentibus* these children must be regarded as illegitimate, others maintaining that they must be regarded as legitimate on the principle *defectus non est præsumendus*. In face of this conflict of opinions no dispensation from illegitimacy is needed in the case except at most *ad cautelam*.

(d) Is it universally true that those born in wedlock are legitimate? There is one exception of little or no practical importance: children unlawfully begotten of married people of whom one or both had taken a solemn vow of chastity, are canonically illegitimate.

(e) What is to be said of the legitimacy of children of a married woman when there is a doubt about the identity of the father? In this case the principle holds: *Pater is est quem nuptiæ demonstrant*. Hence, unless the contrary is proved, children born of a married woman are to be regarded as legitimate. In computing the term of gestation in order to prove legitimacy, the ecclesiastical courts follow the old Roman law, which modern physiologists substantially

¹ l.c. n. 10.

accept. According to this law a child born seven months after the marriage of parents is to be looked on as legitimate, and a child born within ten months after the death of the husband is also considered legitimate. These presumptions of law must, however, yield to fact, so that if the illegitimacy of such children is proved beyond doubt, the ecclesiastical courts will refuse acknowledgment of legitimacy.

2. In four ways illegitimates can be canonically legitimized, viz., by the subsequent marriage of the parents, by Papal legitimation, by religious profession, and by dispensation.

(a) Subsequent marriage of the parents legitimizes natural but does not legitimize spurious children. Natural children are those whose parents could have validly contracted marriage either at the time of conception or at the time of birth or at any intervening time; spurious children are those between whose parents there was a diriment impediment of marriage during the whole period of gestation. This is the common acceptation of the terms 'natural' and 'spurious,' as against Suarez,¹ who holds that the state of affairs at the time of conception must alone be considered. The fact that Benedict XIV² does not reject the milder view as improbable is sufficient to warrant us in looking on the common view as probable and safe in practice.

The legitimizing efficacy of a subsequent marriage is expressly excluded in canonical legislation in case of adulterine children, and ecclesiastical jurisprudence has extended this exclusion to all spurious children. Moreover, Sixtus V³ restricted the legitimation of natural children by a subsequent marriage of the parents to this extent that such children are incapable of receiving the dignity of the Cardinalate.

A subsequent putative marriage of the parents probably has the same efficacy as a true marriage, if the conditions already mentioned in connexion with the birth of children

¹ l.c. n. 3.
1586.

² Ep. *Redditæ*, 5 Dec., 1744.

³ Const. *Postquam*, 3 Dec.,

in⁷putative wedlock have been fulfilled. This is the opinion of Sanchez,¹ Gasparri,² and the majority of theologians. Independently altogether of the knowledge or consent of the parents or the children a subsequent marriage has the effect of legitimizing natural children ; the privilege is attached by Canon Law to the marriage itself.

It is worthy of mention that in English Law the subsequent marriage of parents does not legitimize children. Canon Law, however, and not municipal law, has the authority to decide whether children are legitimate or not, since this question implies the question of the validity of marriage. This is certainly true if a question of law is involved ; and, notwithstanding the opinion of some of the older theologians, it seems true also if the question involved is one of fact. The State can, indeed, regulate mere civil matters, such as the right of succession to property, but it has no authority over the Christian bond of marriage and its dependent question of legitimacy of offspring. The most that can be said in favour of the older theologians is that the Church tolerates at times the interference of the State, when the question to be decided is one of fact.

(b) Illegitimacy can also be removed by a Papal Rescript of legitimation, the usual kind being that which accompanies matrimonial dispensations. A recent Decree of the S. Congregation of the Discipline of the Sacraments (January 29, 1909) is of importance in this respect :—

An juxta tenorem formularum Sacrae Congregationis de disciplina Sacramentorum, in concessione dispensationum ab impedimentis matrimonialibus ex causis inhonestis intelligi debeat tacite concessa Ordinario etiam facultas declarandi legitimam prolem susceptam ante executionem dispensationis et celebrationem matrimonii.

R. Negative, sed requiri ut prolis legitimatio ab oratoribus petatur eaque in rescripto concedatur.³

Hence, when legitimation of children is required, and when the subsequent marriage of the parents does not effect

¹ L. III., D. 42, n. 2.

² n. 1123.

³ *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*,

1 Feb., 1909, p. 214.

it, it is necessary specially to request and obtain power to declare the children legitimate.

Bishops cannot on their own authority concede legitimation; but, as they receive from several sources general delegation to grant matrimonial dispensations, they likewise obtain general faculties whereby they can legitimize children. The extent of these faculties can be gleaned from an examination of the various sources of delegation, viz., tacit consent of the Holy See, the Decree of the Inquisition, 1888, and the different Formulæ given to different countries. In general Indults, unless the contrary is stated, adulterine children are excluded, and, in the powers granted by the Inquisition in 1888, sacrilegious children are also excluded. The Formula VI concedes powers of legitimation expressly in case of consanguinity and affinity, and implicitly in other cases.

(c) Religious profession in a strict religious order, and, by special concession, the simple vow of Jesuit novices, give legitimation, which, however, is not complete, since it excludes from promotion to dignities and prelacies, though it permits the reception of Orders.

(d) Finally, by dispensation of competent authority, the canonical effects of illegitimacy can be removed. By common law Bishops can dispense from the irregularity of illegitimacy so far as the reception of Minor Orders and simple benefices is concerned. To enable an illegitimate to receive Major Orders or a benefice to which the care of souls is attached, a dispensation must be obtained from the Holy See through the S. Congregation of the Discipline of the Sacraments in public cases of illegitimacy, and in occult cases through the S. Penitentiary.

These dispensations are of strict interpretation, and as such cannot be extended beyond the terms of the Rescript in which they are contained.

ADMINISTRATION OF EXTREME UNCTION IN CASE
OF NECESSITY

REV. DEAR FATHER,—Will you please favour me with an answer to the following two questions in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD:—

1. When, in case of necessity, a person is anointed in the short form approved by the Holy See, April 26, 1906 (Append. Synod. Maynut., Decr. xxxiv., p. 125), should the Sacrament of Extreme Unction be administered conditionally, as had been done in a similar case before the short form was determined? (Gury, *Casus Conscientiae*, Casus ii., n. 792, R. ad 4^m. Quaes.)

2. If the Sacrament should be administered conditionally in the short form, in case the dying person survives for a sufficiently long time, must Extreme Unction be repeated conditionally in the long form?—Yours sincerely,

INQUIRER.

1. The Decree of the Holy Office, dated April 26, 1906, states: 'In casu verae necessitatis sufficere formam: Per istam sanctam unctionem indulgeat tibi Dominus quidquid deliquisti. Amen.' The fact that the S. Congregation has decided that this short form *suffices* is abundant proof of validity; it is inconceivable that the S. Congregation would make so categorical a statement in so serious a matter if there were any doubt about the validity of the short form. One anointing—preferably on the forehead—is also certainly valid, since the absence of mention of the senses is sufficient guarantee that the old view, which maintained that anointing of the different senses was necessary for validity, is no longer tenable. Hence, in case of necessity the Sacrament of Extreme Unction should be administered absolutely with the short form.

2. Seeing that the Sacrament is certainly valid, it must not be administered again, even conditionally, if the patient lives sufficiently long. Only when a new and distinct danger of death occurs can this second administration take place, for, at least while the same danger continues, the Sacrament already administered retains its efficacy.

J. M. HARTY.

CANON LAW

MAIN ALTERATIONS MADE IN THE ROMAN CURIA AND
SPECIFIC POWERS OF THE VARIOUS ROMAN CONGREGATIONS

IN the last issue of the I. E. RECORD we offered a summary account of the method adopted by the various branches of the Roman Curia in the administration of justice, in the formulation and communication of their decisions, and, generally, in the expedition of affairs of a disciplinary and an administrative nature. We made, in addition, a few practical remarks on the mode of applying to the different departments of the Papal Curia for matters of justice or favour, of the internal or external forum. It is our purpose now to outline briefly the main features of the reforms wrought in these governing bodies of the Church, and to assign the motives and the special circumstances which led to and made the recasting and alterations of the different sections of this great organization absolutely necessary. We will conclude by expounding, *per summa capita*, the specific competency of each board or office of the Curia, in order to know to which recourse is to be had for ecclesiastical affairs of different natures, and what are the limits of the jurisdiction to be attended to by each Congregation for the valid expedition of affairs committed to its care.

In speaking of the Roman Curia, however, we wish to observe that we understand and take it at present, in its strict and restricted sense, to indicate only these offices and officials that are entrusted with the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the supreme ruler of the Church to assist him in the governing of the whole Catholic world ; for in a loose sense the Roman Curia comprises also those officials or persons who are in some way or other connected with the Papal Court and who help the Pontiff in political or domestic affairs, such as acting or honorary members of the Papal household.

III

SALIENT FEATURES OF THE ALTERATIONS MADE IN THE
ROMAN CURIA

In order to gain an adequate idea of the wisdom and extension of this reform, it is well briefly to describe the state of the Roman Curia until it underwent modification. The Roman Curia is at present, and has existed for a long time, in a tripartite section. It is divided into Tribunals, Congregations, and Offices. The cause for this division is to be traced to the Middle Ages, although the complete separation of the different departments was definitely effected after the celebration of the Council of Trent, and, notably, during the Pontificate of Sixtus V.

Offices, such as the Apostolic Chancery and the Secretariate of State or Briefs, are chiefly occupied with the writing of the official correspondence and the expedition of letters and documents for favours already granted by the Holy See. They do not hold ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction, with the exception, perhaps, of the Apostolic Datary, which exercises voluntary jurisdiction, though on a limited scale. Offices in charge of that line of affairs were always in existence since the beginning of the Church, although they were not so many in number and so well perfected in their organization as at present.

For the government of the Church in judiciary and disciplinary matters, the Pope was wont, in the first centuries of the Church, to avail himself of the counsels and services of his presbytery, chiefly composed of the Roman clergy ; but when the amount of affairs augmented with the lapse of time, this help was soon found insufficient to cope with the volume of labour involved in the increased number of ecclesiastical affairs ; hence the system of holding general and provincial councils was resorted to and maintained until the time of Alexander III.

This system, in process of time, proved also defective and unsatisfactory for the purpose for which it was introduced, if for nothing else, because it was difficult to convoke Councils as frequently as the urgency and amount of affairs reason-

ably demanded. Thereupon Councils were superseded by Consistories of Cardinals, who, being men of learning and experience selected from all parts of the world and living in Curia, could at any time be summoned to assemble and expedite with competency and speediness ecclesiastical affairs for the Universal Church.

Cardinals congregated in the Consistory for the decision of cases received information of the circumstances of facts from the Papal Chaplains, who, in addition to their usual work as members of the Papal household, had the duty of hearing cases and gathering information about them and acting as referees in the Consistory of Cardinals. On account of this office they were also called Auditors. When, afterwards, cases of judiciary character became numerous, and Cardinals could not properly and with all solemnities of law deal with them in the Consistory, Auditors acquired powers of trying and deciding them, and thus they formed the celebrated Tribunal of the Sacred Roman Rota.

To Cardinals the power was left of expediting affairs of administrative and disciplinary character; and to have them transacted with due care and accuracy, leaving to the Consistory the decision of most important cases, several groups of Cardinals were instituted, each of them in charge of special kind of affairs; and in this way Roman Congregations came into existence. Sixtus V may be called the founder of the Roman Congregations, as in the Constitution *Immensa*, January 22, 1587, he established fifteen of them, and modified to a great extent those already in existence.

From this brief sketch of the origin of the three sections of the Roman Curia, it is manifest how well defined was the competency attributed to each of them, and how clearly marked the separation between them. But it was not long so. Several causes were instrumental in effecting a change in the original state of the Curia, notably with regard to the special competency of the various departments. In order to avoid heavy costs and the trouble connected with and involved in trials before the Roman tribunals, a practice was started to send cases of contentious matters to the

Congregations. This custom was first tolerated; subsequently, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, political disturbances made its continuance necessary; and finally it received positive approval by ecclesiastical legislation, and rules were laid down to assign the mode of the administration of justice in the Roman Congregations. The Congregations, therefore, became eventually possessed with full legislative, judiciary, and executive powers.

Again, from time to time partial reforms were made in the jurisdiction and working of the Congregations, but the limits of their original competency were not always attended to, nor the equal distribution of business preserved, with the result that some of these governing bodies acquired extensive powers, partially absorbing those of others; while some other Congregations were dying of inanition, so to speak, being deprived of almost all their former importance and powers. Moreover, another source of perplexity and abuse was the fact that many Congregations, besides their *privative* jurisdiction, were possessed with what was known as *cumulative* competency, in many cases different Congregations being equally competent to expedite the same affair. This source of perplexity and abuse was not altogether obviated by the Constitution *Ut Occurratur* of Innocent XII, by which was declared invalid any favour granted by one Congregation after having been refused by another.

Moreover, an additional reason for reform was the crying necessity, always felt, of having some provision made for those who, being in penurious financial circumstances, could not well afford to defray the expenses incurred for trials before the Roman Tribunals, and who were thus deterred to embark in the defence of their legitimate rights before the higher ecclesiastical courts. And, lastly, it was every day becoming more evident that the organic element of the various branches of the Curia needed reform in many ways to eliminate abuses or practices out of keeping with the altered conditions of times and habits of the present generation.

This was, in brief, the state of affairs in the Roman Curia

when the present Holy Father was entrusted with the reins of the government of the Church. He, who has for his programme the 'restoration of all things in Christ,' was not slow to see that a reform in his Curia was imperative, and that times were ripe for its execution ; especially because the all-important codification of ecclesiastical law is now happily nearing completion, and it will demand well-organized and up-to-date boards for its suitable administration, interpretation, and execution.

He began, first, by making those partial reforms which did not suffer further delay. He united the Congregation of Indulgences and Sacred Relics with that of Rites ; he amalgamated the two Congregations on the state and discipline of Regulars with that of the Bishops and Regulars, and entrusted the Holy Office with the exclusive powers of making the usual processes and of carrying out the customary preliminary practices for the election and appointment of Bishops in Italy. While these partial reforms were effected, a more thorough and radical one was in contemplation. A number of the best experts in canonical matters were commissioned to draw plans for that purpose, and their task reached a happy consummation on the third of November of the year just elapsed, when their suggested reform had definite approval from the Holy Father, and was carried into execution.

Some assert that the broad lines of the reform were borrowed from a compilation made, for the same purpose, by Mgr. Sala during the Pontificate of Pius VII, and which at that time could not, for various reasons, be brought into operation ; and they were recently advocated in a *brochure* issued in Rome, in the spring of 1905, with the title, *Pius X, His Acts and Intentions* ; a publication which, at that time, created a great sensation, and which, it was averred, was inspired by the Pope himself.

The first object of the reform was to make a complete separation between Tribunals and Congregations ; thus a line of demarcation was drawn between voluntary and contentious jurisdiction, attributing the exercise

of the former exclusively to Congregations, and that of the latter, together with a more reasonable and practical way of judicature, to the Tribunals of the Rota and of Apostolic Signatura. These two courts of appeal, lying inactive for want of work since the last quarter of the past century, were again properly organized, called into operation, and restored to their ancient importance and splendour; while Congregations were deprived of all judiciary powers in contentious matters.

Again, experience had shown that another division was necessary for the proper use of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, namely, a division between matters of the external and internal forum. The Sacred Penitentiary was, since its institution, exclusively addicted to the exercise of jurisdiction for matters of the forum of conscience; but a number of circumstances, and especially the French Revolution, were responsible for the extension of the powers of the Penitentiary to some determined cases of the external forum. These extraordinary powers of the Penitentiary, being a cause of perplexity to many, were withdrawn, and that Tribunal was made, as it was, exclusively competent in matters of the internal forum.

The reform made in the Congregations and Offices consists principally in the abolition of antiquated branches and offices no longer serving a practical use, or answering the requirements of the present age. So, we will never hear again of Abbreviators, *de parco maiori et minori*, as officials of the Apostolic Chancery; the Secretary of Memorials is now indeed a memory of the past; and the monopoly exercised by some privileged persons to transact affairs with the Roman Congregations and Offices, a monopoly which gave rise to many complaints, was entirely abolished. Again, on the occasion of this reform, an absolutely new Congregation was constituted to take charge of and have exclusive powers on the discipline of Sacraments, powers hitherto exercised by various Congregations and Offices.

But the main feature of the reform was: limitation, exclusiveness, and unity of powers for each Congregation,

as well as more reasonable apportionment and more equitable distribution of business and work between them. In pursuance of that principle all the attributions of the two minor Congregations for the revision of Provincial Councils and of the ecclesiastical Immunity were allotted to the Congregation of the Council ; powers regarding the election and examination of Bishops were taken away from the Holy Office and transferred to the Consistorial Congregation, which has thereby regained its former competency and importance ; the Congregation of Regulars is now, more than before, confined to the affairs of religious Orders and Congregations ; all jurisdiction about Indulgences has been transferred from the Congregation of Rites to that of the Holy Office ; the Congregation of Propaganda has been relieved of jurisdiction over some hitherto missionary countries, where the ecclesiastical hierarchy is now well constituted ; the work of the Congregation of the Fabric of St. Peter is restricted to the administration of affairs connected with the Basilica ; to the Vicariate of the Roman diocese the duties of the Congregation for the Apostolic Visitation are now apportioned ; and, finally, the Secretariate of State has assumed as one of its branches the Secretariate of Briefs and that for Latin Letters and Letters to princes.

Another noteworthy innovation and improvement was the total or partial exemption of poor, or almost poor, persons, respectively, from paying costs and taxes, and the concession of the right to gratuitous legal assistance.

Full liberty for all in the treating of affairs with the Holy See was also secured by the abolition of all sorts of monopolies and exclusive powers of dealing with the Roman Curia.

A better organization of the *personnel* connected with the Curia, as well as more perfected disciplinary rules for them, were likewise the outcome of this reform. Higher officials of Congregations, who, besides the Cardinals connected with them, are the Prefect, the Secretary and Under-Secretary, are nominated by the Pope ; minor officials, such as the Adjutors of Under-Secretaries, the Archivist, the

Accountant, and the simple scribes, are selected by competitive examination. All officials on first entering their office promise under oath to keep secrecy, faithfully to fulfil their duties, and to refuse private gifts in connexion with their official work. They receive a fixed salary, and uncertain stipends, chiefly consisting of voluntary donations, are all abolished. Plurality of offices is strictly interdicted, and advancement by seniority is, as a rule, allowed.

What has hitherto been expounded will, for the moment, suffice to give an idea, though inadequate, of the great work accomplished by the reform of the Papal Curia. In order to know the competent boards to which application is to be made for different ecclesiastical affairs, we shall now proceed to describe in detail and in brief the specific powers of the Congregations, Tribunals, and Offices.

IV

COMPETENCY OF THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS OF THE ROMAN CURIA

The competency of the different branches of the Roman Curia is partly according to territory and partly according to subject-matter. The Holy Office, the Ceremonial Congregation, and those of the Index, of Rites, and of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, have no territorial limits in matters which come within the sphere of their jurisdiction. The Congregations of the Consistory, of the Council, and of Studies, have their powers restricted to the countries under the common law; the Congregation for Religious Families enjoys the power of dealing with matters concerning Religious, *as such*, all over the world; the Congregation for the discipline of the Sacraments exercises jurisdiction, without restriction of territory, with regard to the Sacrament of Matrimony, for the other Sacraments its powers are confined to the countries subject to the common law. To expound the competency of the different Roman Congregations, we think it well to take them separately

and in the order established by the Constitution *Sapienti Consilio*.

1. *The Holy Office*.—This Congregation safeguards the purity of faith and morals; to it, therefore, belongs the judgment of heresy and other crimes leading to a suspicion of heresy, such as misuse of Sacraments, superstitious practices, schism, apostasy, and the like. It may also examine and condemn heretical books, but, as a rule, this work is reserved to the Congregation of the Index.

Although a special Congregation of the Sacraments is established, yet the Holy Office retains powers over the dogmatic teaching of the Sacraments as well as the discipline of the Sacrament of Matrimony, but only with regard to the Pauline privilege and the impediments of mixed religion and difference of worship.

All matters concerning the doctrine and practice of Indulgences are now attributed to this Congregation, which has, in this respect, to observe the Constitution of Clement IX *In ipsius*, which still remains in force; while, on the other hand, the Holy Office has been deprived of all competency with regard to some precepts of the Church, to the election of Bishops and relaxation of vows.

It is a special feature of this Congregation to have the Pope as its Prefect, to preserve the judiciary powers it possessed before the reform was made, to settle questions about its own competency, and to have its officials bound to secrecy by a special oath, the violation of which is punished by an excommunication incurred *ipso facto*, and from which, except *in articulo mortis*, only the Pope can absolve.

2. *The Consistorial Congregation*.—It is the main attribution of this Congregation to prepare all the acts to be submitted to the Consistory of Cardinals for matters which are to be decided in that assembly; such are all documents for the erection or division of dioceses and provinces, for the foundation of chapters, for the election of Bishops. With regard to the election of Bishops, this Congregation has to conduct all practices and institute the usual process on the qualifications of candidates for the Italian episcopal sees, according to the *Motu Proprio* of December 17, 1903. In other

countries the inquiries and the process for the appointment of Bishops are made by Apostolic Nuncios, or by priests and Bishops, who enjoy the privilege of presenting or recommending the candidates. The documents are to be sent to the Secretariate of State, where, in the special branch for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, a *ponenza* is made and sent afterwards to the Consistorial Congregation.

This Congregation has now received powers to exercise vigilance over the administration and government of dioceses and seminaries. Hence all matters, cases, dispensations, and faculties concerning the rights and duties of Bishops and Apostolic Visitors, such as the obligation of residence, of visiting the diocese, of making report of the visitation, etc., are to be referred to or obtained by this Congregation; as well as everything in connexion with the government, discipline, temporal administration, and studies of ecclesiastical colleges and seminaries.

It is a speciality of this Congregation to have the exclusive power of solving all questions of competency for other Congregations, to administer, like the Holy Office, a special oath to its officials, and to have the Pope as its Prefect.

3. *Congregation for the Discipline of the Sacraments.*—This is an entirely new Congregation. It has for its special competency the disciplinary part of the Sacraments, the dogmatic being reserved to the Holy Office, the ceremonial to the Congregation of Rites.

It concedes, therefore, as to the Sacrament of Matrimony, dispensations from impediments, sanations *in radice*, dispensations *super rato*, separations of married couples, legitimization of offspring, etc. For the Sacrament of Orders it grants, only for the secular clergy, dispensations from irregularities or from the title of ordination, permission for *extra tempora* ordination and for consecration of Bishops. In the Sacrament of the Blessed Eucharist, it accords dispensations and faculties with regard to the time, place, and conditions for the celebration of Mass, reception of Holy Communion and preservation of the Blessed Sacrament. For instance, it permits the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice

in private oratories, in the open air, privately on Holy Thursday, on board ship, before dawn or after mid-day ; it allows priests with defective sight to say the Votive Mass of the Blessed Virgin or of the Dead ; it dispenses from the Eucharistical fast and gives permission to keep the Blessed Sacrament in churches and oratories in which common law does not allow its preservation.

To this Congregation, we believe, belongs also the disciplinary part of the Sacramentals, although in the Papal document no mention of them is made.

4. *Congregation of the Council*.—It was first instituted by Pius IV, on August 2, 1564, with the sole object of looking after and securing exact execution of the laws of the Council of Trent ; but, subsequently, by Pius V, Sixtus V, Benedict XIV, and Pius IX, it received extensive powers for contentious and other matters, and it was one of the most important and busiest departments of the Roman Curia.

Now it has been entirely deprived of judiciary powers and its voluntary jurisdiction embraces : (1) All that relates to the discipline of the clergy and of the people, to their rights and obligations as individuals or members of some moral body. Hence it has powers over sodalities, pious institutions and chapters ; powers to dispense from the observance of feast days and of the law of abstinence and fasting, the Eucharist excepted ; powers to dispense, for valid motives, Canons, Parish Priests, and simple priests, from the observance of some of their duties, from the reading of the Office, from the celebration of the conventual Mass, and from the qualifications necessary in the candidates of certain benefices. (2) All that affects temporal ecclesiastical things and properties, such as pious bequests and works, honoraria and funds for Masses, diocesan taxes and offerings, and permission to commute or alienate them. (3) All that pertains to ecclesiastical immunity, real, personal, and local, v.g., claims upon a church—*servitudes* ; questions of habitation over a church, of opening private doors into it, or erecting walls against it, etc. (4) All controversies and regulations regarding precedence of persons belonging to the secular clergy. (5) All that

concerns the celebration of Councils and 'conferences' of Bishops as well as the examination and recognition of their statutes.

5. *Congregation for the Affairs of Religious Sodalties.*—This Congregation has, since the time of Sixtus V, been known as the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars; but it now principally and directly deals with religious communities, and as matters exclusively regarding Bishops were transferred to the Consistorial Congregation hence the reason for the new title of this Congregation.

Its competency with regard to persons extends, directly, to all kinds of religious of both sexes, whether bound by religious vows or otherwise, provided they live in common life and under a rule; indirectly it extends to other individuals or communities which might have cases in common with religious persons or families, and it, likewise, extends to secular Third Orders which are considered as accessory sodalties to religious Orders.

As to subject-matter, this Congregation deals with the state, life, discipline, studies, and ordination of religious, as well as with the foundation of their houses and the approval of their constitutions. It gives, therefore, the members of religious communities dispensations from irregularities to receive Sacred Orders, dispensations from vows, and from the common law of the Church, e.g., from the law of abstinence, fasting, etc.; it grants them indulgences of secularization, permission of instituting new Congregations. It deals with their rights, properties, obligations, and crimes. It, in fine, settles their controversies *in via disciplinari*.

6. *Congregation of the Propaganda.*—This is a Congregation which needs no introduction to this country. It is well known to the Irish priests, as the Church in Ireland was, for many a century, governed by the Propaganda. This Congregation was first established by Gregory XV, and afterwards developed by Urban VIII, Pius IX, and other Pontiffs for the spreading of the Gospel and the ruling of missionary countries. Some of these, however, where the ecclesiastical hierarchy is well constituted, have now been exempted from the exceptional regime of Propaganda and

placed under the common law and the jurisdiction of other ordinary Congregations. The countries recently exempted from the Propaganda are: England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Luxemburg, Canada, United States, and Newfoundland; but Vicariates and Prefectures Apostolic, if existing in those countries, still remain under the jurisdiction of the Propaganda.

Its competency might be better known by stating the powers that are excluded from it than by enumerating those which it embraces; for the Congregation of the Propaganda can, with a few exceptions, expedite for missionary places all the business which can be transacted by all other Congregations for the rest of the Catholic world; hence the curial and curious saying: *Propaganda ceteras Congregationes habet in ventre*. The exceptions are for matters relative to the Sacrament of Matrimony, to ecclesiastical rites, to faith and morals, to the religious *qua tales*, and to the examination and proscription of objectionable books, matters which are reserved to the Congregations of the Sacraments, of Rites, of the Holy Office, and of the Index, respectively.

The law and the practice of this Congregation of not imposing any tax or fee for the concession of rescripts still remain in force.

7. *Congregation of the Index*.—As a Congregation it was established by Pius V, 1571, for before him Paul IV first and Pius IV afterwards had already published lists of condemned books. The Council of Trent framed the ten famous rules for the use of this Congregation. Later on it was perfected by Gregory XIII, Sixtus V, Benedict XIV, and Pius IX, and finally the late Pope in his Constitution, *Officiorum et Munerum*, of 1897, laid down new and clear rules to be used, in the present discipline of the Church, with regard to the censorship and condemnation of books, abolishing, at the same time, all previous legislation bearing on the subject, with the exception of the Constitution, *Solicita et Provida*, of Benedict XIV, which is still in force, and which assigns the practical method for the examination and prohibition of unsound books. In 1900 a corrected Index of condemned

books was also published. The aim of this Congregation is chiefly, as it was, to safeguard faith, morals, and ecclesiastical discipline endangered by unorthodox and corrupt literature. It puts, therefore, under the ban all sorts of publications which are found to be offending in that respect, and gives permission, under certain conditions, for the possession and use of forbidden books. Hitherto this Congregation confined its work to the examination and condemnation of books which were denounced to it as noxious ; hereafter, however, it has also *ex officio* to investigate and adopt special measures for the discovery of objectionable writings and works. The officials of the Index take the special oath of secrecy of the Holy Office, but they are allowed to communicate, if necessary, with the officials of the latter Congregation for the condemnation of books against faith and morals.

8. *Congregation of the Sacred Rites*.—It is within the province of this Congregation to deal with everything that refers to the ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies in the strict sense of the word, and only for the Latin Church. Rites and ceremonies in a loose sense, such as rights of precedence, are foreign to the competency of this Congregation, and belong to the Congregation of the Council ; and, again, in the Congregation of the Propaganda, there is a special branch instituted by Pius IX, which is in charge of the rites and all other affairs of the Eastern Church.

Ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies are chiefly connected with the celebration of Mass, the recitation of the Divine Office, the administration of the Sacraments and Sacramentals, and the practices of divine worship in general. In the ritual and ceremonial part of these subjects it decides questions, corrects abuses, grants privileges and other favours, especially those enumerated in the decree of September 7, 1903 ; save some of them which have been transferred to the Congregations of the Sacraments, of the Holy Office, of the Council, and to other Congregations. At the present, for instance, the Congregation of Rites is deprived of powers relative to the recitation of Divine Office,

celebration of Mass, rights and duties of Bishops or Parish Priests, etc.

It is well known that a special branch of this Congregation deals with the Beatification and Canonization of Saints. This remains constituted as before, with the only difference that minor processes about the virtues in heroic degree and *non cultus*, which formerly used to be tried by Auditors of Rota, are now in charge of a special 'Commission,' established on December 9, 1908.

9. *Other Minor Congregations.*—The Ceremonial Congregation, founded by Sixtus V, and considered as subsidiary to that of Rites, is only competent in ceremonies of the Papal Court or Chapels and of functions performed by Cardinals in Rome, as well as in the deciding of questions regarding precedence of Cardinals, Legates, Ambassadors, accredited to the Holy See, etc.

The Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs decides questions of special importance committed to it by the Holy Father, but ordinarily it deals with questions of public ecclesiastical law, such as Concordats and other relations between Church and State. As said above, acts of processes for the election, presentation or recommendation of candidates to episcopal sees, outside Italy, must be examined by this Congregation, which constitutes a section of the Secretariate of State.

The Congregation of Studies was originally founded by Leo XII, on August 24, 1824, to take care of the studies of the universities and colleges in Rome and the Papal States. Afterwards it acquired and now only maintains jurisdiction over ecclesiastical universities and faculties in countries subject to the common law. Studies of ordinary colleges and seminaries are under the control of the Consistorial Congregation. The Congregation of Studies founds universities and faculties, and approves of their statutes and programmes, furnishes them with powers of conferring academical degrees, and confers degrees *ad honorem*.

Finally, as we remarked above, the Congregation of the Apostolic Visitation for the Roman diocese is now transferred to the Vicariate of the City; the Congregation for

the Fabric of St. Peter's is confined to the administration and affairs of the Basilica ; and all the commissions chiefly established by Leo XIII and Pius X remain in *statu quo*. They are the Commission for the reconciliation of dissident Churches, for the advancement of biblical studies, and those of history and liturgy ; the Commissions for music and ecclesiastical chant, for the administration of Peter's Pence and for the preservation of the faith in the City.

This summary exposition of the principal features and motives of the alterations effected in the Roman Congregations, as well as the brief description of the different competency of each of these supreme ecclesiastical governing bodies, will be sufficient to give an idea, although somewhat inadequate, of the momentous work accomplished and great benefit gained by the recent reform of the Roman Curia ; and, we hope, it will prove of some practical utility and assistance to those who, either in their official capacity or privately, want to communicate occasionally with the authorities of the central government of the Church.

S. LUZIO.

LITURGY

CONDITIONS FOR GAINING THE PLENARY INDULGENCE 'IN ARTICULO MORTIS'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly say what are the conditions necessary, on the part of the sick, to gain the indulgence attached to the *Benedictio Apostolica in articulo mortis*? The question was asked many years ago in your review, and, if I remember rightly, it was answered that the conditions were : to invoke the sacred names, to elicit an act of resignation, an act of contrition, and an act of charity, supposing of course that the person was able to do so. Though the matter is very practical, I have heard different opinions about it, and I know that the practice is not always the same.—Yours very faithfully,

PASTOR.

As this question is of very practical importance, and as some confused ideas seem to prevail in regard to it, a few words of explanation will not be deemed inappropriate.

The *Indulgentia Plenaria et Apostolica in articulo mortis* must not be confounded with the indulgences which have also been granted for, and which may be gained at, the supreme moment of death. The tenderness with which the Church guards the welfare of her children, from their cradle to the grave, is redoubled and intensified when the last solemn instant arrives on which depends their eternal bliss or misery. The usage by which the Sovereign Pontiffs, who have the dispensing of the merits of the saints that are locked up in the treasury of the Church, have been wont to grant these great favours to those who are in their last agony is very ancient. From the time of Pope John VIII, who granted a plenary indulgence to the faithful who fell fighting the infidel, this benign power has been exercised time and again, each Pope bestowing the privilege for some motive that seemed deserving in his eyes, and requiring such conditions as seemed good to him. At the present day, therefore, it is possible to gain a plenary indulgence at the moment of death on quite a variety of titles. Those, for instance, who wear certain scapulars, medals or chaplets, or who say certain prayers, or perform definite works of piety during life, may, when dying, become entitled to a full remission of all their sins in virtue of their compliance with one or other set of the conditions to whose performance the indulgence is attached. For them there is no necessity for the actual ministration of a priest. But the indulgence about which the query is concerned is of a different character. Its original institution goes very far back, and the requirements for gaining it were not always the same. The norm and guide, by which its conferring is regulated at the present day, date from the Bull, *Pia Mater*, issued in 1747 by Pope Benedict XIV. This Constitution clearly defines the circumstances in which the Apostolic blessing *in articulo mortis* may be given, and the conditions necessary in order that the indulgence may be gained.

In the first place, it must be given by someone duly authorized to impart it by the Holy See. Bishops receive special powers for this purpose, and they are also empowered to sub-delegate these faculties to priests, with such

restrictions as they may deem desirable to impose. In regard, however, to Nuns belonging to a religious Order, with solemn vows, the Bishop must sub-delegate their ordinary confessor to give the blessing. In the next place, the indulgence is to be given only to those who are in danger of death. Should the subject recover, the blessing will produce no effect whatever, and if the person does not die immediately when the blessing is given, but survives for some days, the effect of the blessing is suspended until the final moment arrives. Moreover, in order that the full measure of this indulgence may be reaped, it is necessary that death should find the soul perfectly free from the guilt of the least venial sin.

What, then, are the conditions necessary for the fruitful reception of the *Benedictio Apostolica*?

On the part of the priest it is essential that he be fortified with the necessary faculties and that he observe the Formula prescribed by Benedict XIV, which is found in the Roman Ritual. He should also, of course, endeavour to excite proper dispositions in the breast of the dying person.

On the part of the penitent the essential conditions are:—

1°. A state of grace, which is acquired either by the reception of the Sacraments, or, if this is impossible, by an act of contrition or perfect charity. Even those who culpably refused to accept the ministrations of the Church may afterwards on becoming suddenly unconscious get the Apostolic Benediction as long as there is a presumption that they have even an interpretative intention of accepting it in the last extremity. The same rule applies in this respect to the blessing as to the Sacrament of Extreme Unction.¹

2°. In accordance with the express regulations of Benedict XIV, it is necessary that the person willingly resigns himself to death and accepts it as coming from the hand of God: 'Hoc enim praeipue opus in hujusmodi articulo constitutis imponimus et impungimus.'

3°. It is required that the dying person piously invoke the name of *Jesus*, if not with the lips, at least with the heart. As

¹ Cong. Ind., 23 Sept., 1775.

Pastor suggests, there was a considerable amount of uncertainty for a time as to whether this condition was really essential. The doubt arose chiefly from the fact that, although the necessity of mentally invoking the Sacred Name was clearly indicated in responses of the Congregation of Indulgences,¹ and insisted on by most theologians, there was no mention of this condition in some of the Episcopal Briefs, and especially in those sent to the Irish Bishops. After a lengthened discussion in the pages of the I. E. RECORD,² the matter was referred for decision to the Holy See, and the following authentic pronouncement was obtained: 'Invocatio saltem mentalis SS^{mi}. Nominis Jesu est conditio, sine qua non pro universis Christifidelibus, qui in mortis articulo constituti plenariam indulgentiam assequi volunt vi hujus Benedictionis; Juxta id quod alias declaravit haec S. Cong. Sub die 23 Sept., 1775.'³ It has already been stated that the effects of this blessing are suspended until the actual moment of death. From this it follows that if, when the priest goes through the Formula and performs the required rite, any of the essential conditions be wanting on the part of the subject, the indulgence will not be lost, provided all the necessary requirements are subsequently fulfilled and persevere up to the instant of death.

THE 'EXEQUIAE PARVULORUM' AND REMOVAL OF REMAINS TO CHURCH

REV. DEAR SIR,—Might I ask you kindly to answer the two following questions in a future issue of the I. E. RECORD:—

1°. Whether the Church prescribes any ceremonies to be performed on the occasion of the death of an infant, and, if so, how should they be carried out?

2°. In removing the remains of a deceased adult to the church when should the prayers prescribed by the Ritual be recited if they cannot be said *en route*?

My reason for asking both these queries is that in different places different practices prevail in regard to them.

SACERDOS, JUNIOR.

1°. The Church has prescribed ceremonies for the burial of

¹ Cf. *Decr. Auth.*, 23 Sept., 1775.

² Cf.

³ Cf. *Acta S. Sedis*, xxv. 315.

infants, and they will be found in the Roman Ritual, Tit. vi, cap. vi, *De Exequiis Parvulorum*. With regard to the nature of the obligation of carrying them out, it is not grave, and in many places there is a custom of omitting them. But where it is convenient the performance of these rites would at least be very edifying.

By *Parvuli* are understood those who have not come to the use of reason. Parish priests are exhorted to reserve a separate portion of the burial-ground for them, *quatenus commodè fieri potest*. No sign of sorrow should be manifested on the occasion of their death. The bell, if tolled, should be rung in joyous peals; the corpse should be decked out in bright-coloured robes, the head being encircled with a wreath of white flowers; the priest wears a white stole; and all the Psalms recited while the remains are being borne to the church are indicative rather of joy than mourning. There is no Office or Mass included in the *Exequiæ Parvulorum*, and the entire ceremony to be observed is clearly set forth in the Roman Ritual in the section mentioned. The bier should be placed in front of the High Altar with the feet next the sanctuary and the head next the door; the cross should be at the head, and the celebrant's place is at the feet, a little to the side, however, so as to avoid having his back directly towards the Altar.

2°. The directions of the Roman Ritual are sufficiently definite and explicit as to the ceremonies to be performed in transferring the remains from the house of the dead to the Church.¹ It should be borne in mind that this ceremonial contemplates a state of things that rarely prevails at the present day, except, perhaps, at the interment of priests and religious, where the cemetery is in close proximity to the church, and where, moreover, there is always present a rather large body of clergy. In the case of deceased laypersons a priest can do only whatever is possible in the circumstances and dispense with details. In removing the corpse to the church the prayers given at No. 2, in above section of the Ritual, should be recited, holy water being first sprinkled

¹ Cf. *Rit. Rom.* tit. vi., cap. 3.

on the coffin. Then he walks before the remains reciting, either by himself or with other priests, if any be present, the Psalms indicated. But if the way from the home of the deceased to the church is very long, the processional order need not be observed. Again, if it is impossible for the priest to attend at the removal of the remains, and he can only receive them at the church, in that case the bier being deposited before the church door, he might say the prayers which were to be said before starting, and then follow the Ritual from the *Subvenite Sancti Dei*.

P. MORRISROE.

DOCUMENTS

VETO IN ELECTION OF SOVEREIGN PONTIFF

CONSTITUTIO

DE CIVILI VETO SEU EXCLUSIVA UTI VOCANT IN ELECTIONE
SUMMI PONTIFICIS

PIUS EPISCOPUS

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam

Commissum Nobis, Deo sic disponente, universae Ecclesiae regendae munus serio admonet ut pro viribus caveamus, ne ex alienae potestatis incursu ea libertas quidquam detrimenti capiat, qua Christus in commune bonum ipsam donavit, quamque tot evangelii praecones, tot sanctissimi antistites, tot illustres Decessores Nostri verbo, scriptis, effuso etiam sanguine propugnarunt. Quorum exemplis et auctoritate permoti, ubi primum hanc Petri Cathedram, licet impares, ascendimus, Apostolici officii Nostri esse duximus in id maxime incumbere, ut vita Ecclesiae libere omnino explicetur, omni externo interventu remoto, prout ipsam evolvi divinus Institutor voluit, atque excelsa eius missio omnino requirit.

Iam, si qua est in Ecclesiae vita functio quae huiusmodi libertatem postulet maxime, illa profecto censenda talis, quae in Romani Pontificis electione versatur; siquidem *salus, non unius membri, sed totius corporis agitur, cum de capite consulitur*.¹

Huic plenae libertati in Summo Pastore eligendo opponitur in primis civile illud *Veto*, a supremis nonnullarum civitatum rectoribus haud semel prolatum, quo tentatur aditum ad Supremum Pontificatum alicui praecludere. Id si aliquoties accidit, Apostolicae tamen Sedi probatum est nunquam. Quin etiam Romani Pontifices, in iis quae de habendo Conclavi constituerunt, nihil paene maiore contentione studiove conati sunt, quam ut externae cuiusvis potestatis interventum a sacro Cardinalium Senatu ad Pontificem eligendum vocato propulsarent. Rem plane declarant Constitutiones '*In eligendis*' Pii IV; '*Aeterni Patris*' Gregorii XV; '*Apostolatus officium*' Clementis XII; in primisque Pii IX, '*In hac sublimi*,' '*Licet per Apostolicas*' et '*Consulturi*.'

Verum, quandoquidem et experientia docuerit, hactenus constituta ad impediendum civile *Veto*, seu *Exclusivam* non ita

¹ Greg. XV, Constit. *Aeterni Patris* in proëm.

votis respondisse, et ob mutata temporum adiuncta huiusmodi civilis potestatis immixtio nostra aetate multo videatur magis omni rationis et aequitatis fundamento destituta, idcirco Nos, pro Apostolico Nobis commisso munere, et Praedecessorum Nostrorum vestigiis inhaerentes, re mature deliberata, certa scientia et proprio motu, civile *Veto*, sive *Ecclusivam*, quam dicunt, etiam sub forma simplicis desiderii, itemque omnes interventus, intercessionem quaslibet omnino reprobamus, edicentes licere nemini, ne supremis quidem civitatum moderatoribus, quovis praetextu se interponere aut ingerere in gravi negotio electionis Romani Pontificis.

Quamobrem in virtute sanctae obedientiae, sub interminatione divini iudicii et poena excommunicationis latae sententiae speciali modo reservatae futuro Pontifici, omnes singulos S.R.E. Cardinales, tam praesentes quam futuros, pariterque Secretarium S. Collegii Cardinalium aliosque omnes in Conclavi partem habentes, prohibemus, ne, quovis praetextu, a quavis civili potestate munus recipiant *Veto* sive *Exclusivam*, etiam sub forma simplicis desiderii, proponendi, ipsumve hoc *Veto*, qualibet ratione sibi cognitum, patefaciant sive universo Cardinalium Collegio simul congregato, sive singulis purpuratis Patribus sive scripto, sive ore, sive directe ac proxime, sive oblique ac per alios. Quam prohibitionem extendi volumus ad memoratos omnes interventus, intercessionem aliosque modos quoslibet, quibus laicae potestates cuiuslibet gradus et ordinis voluerint sese in Pontificis electione immiscere.

Iisdem denique, quibus Decessores Nostri, vocibus, S. R. E. Cardinales vehementer hortamur, ut in eligendo Pontifice, *Principum saecularium intercessionibus ceterisque mundanis respectibus minime attentis*,¹ sed unice Dei gloriam et Ecclesiae bonum prae oculis habentes, in eum sua vota conferant quem universali Ecclesiae fructuose utiliterque gubernandae prae ceteris idoneum in Domino iudicaverint. Volumus etiam Nostras has Litteras una cum aliis id genus Constitutionibus legi coram omnibus in prima Congregatione post obitum Pontificis haberi solita; rursus post ingressum in Conclave: item cum quis ad purpurae honorem fuerit evectus, interposito sacramento de religiose retinendis iis, quae in praesenti Constitutione decreta sunt.

Contrariis quibuscumque, etiam speciali vel specialissima mentione dignis, minime obstantibus.

Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc paginam Nostrae inhibitionis, mandati, declarationis, innodationis, voluntatis, admonitionis,

¹ Pii IV, Constit. *In eligendis*, § 26; Clem. XII, Constit. *Apostolatus officium*, § 5.

hortationis, praecepti infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, et Sanctorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum Eius se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo nongentesimo quarto, die 20 Ianuarii, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

PIUS PP. X.

**SUMMARY OF INDULGENCES, PRIVILEGES AND INDULTS
GRANTED BY THE ROMAN PONTIFFS TO THOSE
ENROLLED IN THE SCAPULAR OF OUR LADY OF
MOUNT CARMEL**

SUMMARIUM

INDULGENTIARUM, PRIVILEGIORUM ET INDULTORUM CONFRATRIBUS
S. SCAPULARIS B.M.V. DE MONTE CARMELO A ROMANIS PONTI-
FICIBUS CONCESSORUM

Confratres, qui legitime acceperunt S. Scapulare a sacerdote deputato per PP. Generales Ordinis Fratrum B.M.V. de Monte Carmelo aut de eorum assensu a PP. Provincialibus, et illud semper super humeros gestant, consequuntur sequentes indulgentias, et infrascriptis privilegiis et indultis gaudent.

I. INDULGENTIA PLENARIA

Si confessi ac S. Synaxi refectionis sodales ad mentem Summi Pontificis oraverint.

1. die illa, qua, accipiendo S. Scapulare confraternitatem ingrediuntur;

2. in festo commemorationis B.M.V. de Monte Carmelo, die 16 Iulii, vel una eiusdem mensi Dominica, iuxta locorum consuetudinem;

3. eodem die quoties ecclesiam vel publicum sacellum visitaverint, ubi S. Scapularis sodalitium canonice erectum reperitur;

4. in una ex Dominicis cuiusvis mensis, si processioni a confraternitate, de Ordinarii licentia, peragenda interfuerint;

5. in festo Pentecostes;

6. die commemorationis Defunctorum Ordinis Carmelitici (15 Novembris, vel, si Dominica fuerit, die 16);

7. in mortis articulo, si uti supra dispositi, vel saltem contriti, SS. Iesu nomen ore si potuerint, sin minus corde devote invocaverint.

II. INDULGENTIAE PARTIALES.

1. *Quinque annorum totidemque quadragenarum* :

(a) semel in mense, die cuiusque arbitrio eligenda, qua sodales confessi ac S. Synaxi refectioni iuxta intentionem Summi Pontificis oraverint ;

(b) si SS. Sacramentum, dum ad infirmos defertur, cum candela accensa et pro iisdem pias ad Deum preces fundendo, comitati fuerint ;

2. *Trium annorum totidemque quadragenarum* in qualibet ex festivitibus B. Mariae V., quae in universa Ecclesia celebrantur, si sodales confessi et S. Synaxi in ecclesia vel capella confraternitatis refectioni fuerint et ad mentem Summi Pontificis oraverint.

3. *Trecentorum dierum* pro abstinencia singulis feriis IV et Sabbatis per annum.

4. *Centum dierum* quotiescumque aliquod pietatis vel caritatis opus corde saltem contrito ac devote sodales exercuerint.

5. Si confratres, corde saltem contrito ac devote, ecclesiam vel capellam sodalitiis visitaverint :

(a) *septem annorum totidemque quadragenarum* quibuslibet infra annum feria IV et Sabbato ;

(b) *trecentorum dierum* quocumque alio anni die.

Omnes et singulae praefatae indulgentiae, excepta plenaria in mortis articulo lucranda, etiam animabus fidelium defunctorum applicari possunt.

III. PRIVILEGIA.

1. Privilegium, vulgo dictum *Sabbatinum*, Summi Pontificis Ioan. XXII, a Clemente VII *Ex clementi* 12 Aug. 1530, S. Pio V *Superna dispositione* 18 Febr. 1566, Gregorio XIII *Ut laudes* 18 Sept. 1577, aliisque approbatum et confirmatum ; nec non a S. Romanae et Universali Inquisitione sub Paulo V, die 20 Ian. 1613, decreto tenoris sequentis : ' Patribus Carmelitanis permittitur praedicare quod populus christianus possit pie credere de adiutorio animarum fratrum et confratrum sodalitatis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo, videlicet Beatissimam Virginem animas fratrum et confratrum in charitate decedentium, qui in vita habitum gestaverint et castitatem pro suo statu coluerint, Officiumque parvum recitaverint, vel, si recitare nesciant, Ecclesiae ieiunia observaverint, et feria quarta et Sabbato a carnibus abstinuerint (nisi in iis diebus Nativitatis Domini festum inciderit), suis intercessionibus continuis piisque suffragiis et meritis ac speciali protectione, post eorum transitum, praecipue

in die Sabbati, qui dies ab Ecclesia eidem Beatissimae Virgini datus est, adiuturam.'

2. Omnes et singulae Missae, quae in suffragium celebrantur confratrum, eodem gaudent privilegio ac si in altari privilegiato celebratae fuissent.

3. Absolutio generalis cum indulgentia plenaria in articulo mortis sodalibus impertiri potest a facultatem habente, vel eo deficiente, a quovis confessario approbato.

IV. INDULTA.

1. Omnes confratres, si in locis versantur ubi nulla Carmelitani Ordinis reperiatur ecclesia, omnes indulgentias ab Apostolica Sede eiusdem Ordinis ecclesiis concessas vel concedendas lucrari possunt, si, ceteris conditionibus adimpletis, parochialem ecclesiam statis diebus devote visitaverint. Ubi autem existit aliqua confraternitatis ecclesia, hanc tenentur sodales ad easdem indulgentias lucrandas visitare, nisi plusquam unius miliarii spatio distet.

2. Sodales qui menstruae processioni commode assistere nequeunt, *plenariam indulgentiam* sub n. 4 relatam lucrari valent, si, ceteris positis conditionibus, capellam respectivae confraternitatis eadem die visitaverint.

3. Ubi processio praedicta locum non habet, vel confraternitas erecta non reperitur, confratres *plenariam memoratam indulgentiam* Dominica III cuiusque mensis lucrantur, si ceteris adimpletis, quancumque ecclesiam vel publicum oratorium visitaverint.

Sacra Congregatio Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita praesens Summarium ex authenticis documentis excerptum approbavit typisque imprimi ac publicare benigne permisit.

Datum Romae, e Secretaria eiusdem Sacrae Congregationis die 4 Iulii 1908.

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

SHELLEY. By Francis Thompson. With an Introduction by the Right Hon. George Wyndham. London : Burns & Oates. Price, 2s. 6d. net.

THIS is the famous essay which was refused many years ago by the *Dublin Review*, but was ultimately published in that same organ not long ago. It is now presented in a separate and permanent booklet, with a graceful introduction by Mr. Wyndham. Anyone familiar with good poetry and good prose will recognize this as the genuine article. Great thoughts, lofty conceptions, splendid generalizations, are fused together in the furnace of an imagination at white heat, and given to the world in crystals sparkling and glistening through a thousand shades of colour. No one with any taste will mistake this prose for the painted stuff that comes from the intellectual workshop of the literary artisan. It is a splendid outpouring of genius, whose only drawback is that it will make much popular prose of the day flat and unprofitable.

J. F. H.

THE DAWN OF THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL IN ENGLAND, 1781-1803. By Bernard Ward, F.R.Hist.S., President of St. Edmund's College. Two vols.; 8vo. London : Longmans, Green & Co. Price, 25s. net. 1909.

THIS is the most important contribution to Church History, or indeed to history of any kind affecting Catholics, that has been made for many years. The two volumes not only interest but fascinate the reader. On the whole, Mgr. Ward has done his work splendidly, and deserves to be warmly congratulated on it. We are even thankful that he did not accept a bishopric, lest the labours of the episcopate might have deprived us of the rich fruit of his historical investigations.

The author deals with a most interesting period in the history of English Catholics. In bits and scraps here and there we had hitherto got accounts of the *Catholic Committee*, of the *Cisalpine Club*, of the *Protestation* and the *Oath*, of the Rev. Joseph Wilkes, the Rev. Charles Plowden, the two Beringtons, and the venerable Vicars-Apostolic who ruled the Church in England in that day ; but here we get a full and systematic account of all these associations and personages, as well as of the struggles they made for their rights and the battles they waged with one another. The great and haughty laymen, who,

whatever may have been their defects, had kept the flag flying through dark and evil days, stand out before us in these pages in life-like portraits.

A great part of the two volumes is taken up with the internecine quarrels of the English Catholics themselves. We are said to be a quarrelsome people over here ; but we doubt if we could supply two volumes of such bitter controversy within an equal time at any period in our religious history.

English laymen have, and had at all times, an extraordinary tendency to take upon themselves the government and direction of the Church, and, on the whole, an equally strong tendency to deny ecclesiastics any voice whatever in the government or direction of the State.

This volume shows a good number of the Catholic nobility and gentry of the period dealt with to have been afflicted with that tendency. There are, indeed, as Mgr. Ward truly remarks, many considerations to excuse and palliate their conduct. If they were bad men, they had but one step to take, to leave the Church and purchase all the rights and privileges of civil freedom at the expense of conscience. This, to do them justice, was the last thing they contemplated. They and their fathers went unscathed through the hardest trials. They were still victims of horrible penal enactments, which compelled them to witness the gradual destruction of their inherited possessions. Sir John Throckmorton kept a book of fines inflicted on his family, and the wonder is that they succeeded in holding as much as they did. Charles Butler, the distinguished lawyer, was confined to practice in chambers alone, and even there allowed only the practice of a conveyancer of property. The army, the navy, the civil service, the offices of state and of public life, were closed to these sorely tried and brave men. In their castles and manors they sheltered priests, supported and protected them. They looked upon themselves, after a time, as the Church, and if they bullied and browbeat the poor Vicars-Apostolic and the clergy, human nature was only asserting itself in its usual fashion. It was natural enough that they should be anxious to secure relief from oppression ; and if they went a step or two beyond the bounds of orthodoxy in their efforts to secure it, we may safely say that they did so in good faith, and at a time when Papal rights and prerogatives were not so clearly defined as they are now.

Mgr. Ward's account of the emigration of French clergy during the Revolution is the fullest and most interesting we have met with. The story of the foreign colleges and of the origin of Stonyhurst, Ushaw, Oscott, and Old Hall, is also instructive

and illuminating. The strange careers of Bishop Berington, of Father Wilkes, of Drs. Bew and Kirk, and of Dr. Alexander Geddes, will remind the reader of some of the Cisalpines of our own day. Mgr. Ward had several interesting items of information about Dr. Hussey, our versatile founder, and of the no less versatile Capuchin, Father Arthur O'Leary. The two Bishops Talbot, Dr. Walmesley, Bishop of the Western District, Dr. Douglas of the London District, and Dr. Gibson of the North, are sympathetically dealt with. We cannot but think that the author is scarcely fair to Milner. He says hard things of him too frequently. Milner was a man of sound theological knowledge, of energy, and backbone, and we think his good qualities are far less insisted upon than his defects, if they be defects. Milner had a queer and not over scrupulous crowd of opponents. We think it fortunate indeed that a man of his calibre arose in the hour of need. The author likewise leaves an unfavourable impression on the mind of Monsignor, afterwards Cardinal, Eskine. This may be justified. But Mgr. Ward scarcely gives us proofs sufficient of his estimate.

Towards the end of his second volume, speaking of various political events in which Catholics took a leading part, Mgr. Ward, in our opinion, makes a rather injudicious claim. He says ¹:—

'The disproportion between the number of Catholics in Ireland and England was even greater a century ago than it is to-day; yet *naturally* the ecclesiastical authorities in London, together with the influential laymen, had the chief share in directing the course of events. Thus the Veto question was discussed primarily in relation to its effect on the election of the English Vicars-Apostolic, and the Catholic policy was directed by English Catholics; yet there were only four Vicars-Apostolic to be affected by it, while there were twenty-seven Irish Bishops. A similar state of things ensued in regard to all questions concerning the Catholic body.'

This passage requires no comment from us. It speaks for itself. All we will say is that we are sure it will be duly noted by both clergy and laity in Ireland. The worst of it is that declarations of this kind are calculated to do no little mischief to Catholic interests, both in England and Ireland. We would not, however, be doing our duty here were we to fail to call attention to it. Apart from this declaration, which, we suppose must be attributed to the ineradicable old Adam, we have nothing but praise for these two fine volumes. They fill a gap in our historical library, and fill it well.

J. F. H.

THE DARK NIGHT OF THE SOUL By St. John of the Cross.
Translated by David Lewis. With Corrections and Introduction by Benedict Zimmermann, O.C.D. London: Thomas Baker. Pp. xx. and 182; cloth. Price, 5s. net. 1908.

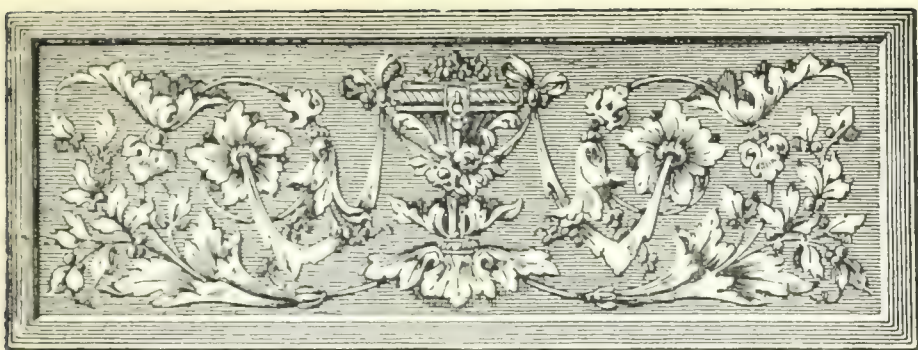
ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS is generally recognized as one of the highest authorities in the spiritual life, and hence his writings stand in little need of introduction to the readers of the I. E. RECORD. A new and up-to-date translation of his works is being published by Thomas Baker; the volume before us is the second of the series, the *Ascent of Mount Carmel* (1906) being the first. The *Ascent* and the *Dark Night* supplement each other, 'The former,' to quote Father Zimmermann, 'deals with the active purgation of the senses, the intellect, and the will, that is, with the need for and the manner of a complete mortification of these powers, so far as, with God's grace, it can be carried out by man's own exertions. The latter treats of the passive purgation of the same faculties, brought about by divine intervention which steps in where human endeavours fail.'

There are two classes of persons to whom the perusal of the pages of the *Dark Night* would render much service. Pious souls who are called by God to rise superior to the routine religious life of the ordinary Catholic, and who aim at reaching the heights of perfection to which Providence leads the chosen few, will find therein the light and guidance so essential to their condition. The way such souls have to travel is weary and dark, and too often very disheartening, because their Heavenly Spouse tries them sorely in the crucible of tribulation in order that He might purify them as gold in a furnace. Hence the need they stand in of every encouragement and enlightened direction, lest, feeling the crushing weight of God's hand, they should mistake His paternal chastisement for divine wrath, and so yield to dissipation and despair. The *Dark Night* takes such persons kindly by the hand; it teaches them the significance of the darkness that encompasses their soul, and guides them securely through the narrow gate and along the straight way to the summit of perfection where, wrapt in divine contemplation, they enter into such a complete union with their Heavenly Spouse as is possible to mortal man on this side of the tomb. From the foregoing it is clear, too, of what invaluable assistance this work would be to confessors and spiritual directors, whose privilege it is to aid devout penitents through the nine degrees of perfection to which favoured souls can attain, the tenth being the possession of the enrapturing joys of the Beatific Vision, but into which they

cannot enter before they are released from the prison-house of the body.

A few of the most practical chapters in the book are those which deal with souls in their first fervour. Such persons believe themselves already wrapped up in the third Heavens, and in their pharisaical self-complacency they despise all others for their failings. The *Dark Night* shows how these same are full of imperfections. He parses them on the seven deadly sins, taken spiritually, and discovers how in each case, when tested by the true standard of spirituality, they are found wanting. Accordingly, before they arrive at that stage of perfection, which in their innocence they believe themselves already to possess, they have to pass through two of the darkest and severest of nights, designated, respectively, the night of sense and the night of the spirit. It is the province of mystical theology to explain how God operates on the soul in the course of these two nights, which may be long or short. After one has been put by God through this chastening two-fold process of purgation he retains little of self, and is so intimately united to his Creator—who is to him now all in all—that with St. Paul he longs to be dissolved to be with Christ: he only awaits the withdrawal of the veil, when at once he enters into the joy of his Lord. Such is but a faint notion of the asceticism expounded in the *Dark Night of the Soul*, by that master of spirituality, St. John of the Cross.

C. F. C.



ENGLISH CIVILIZATION

I HAVE often thought that 'Forgotten Books' would be a good subject for an article, or for a series of articles. The old books are the best. Yet they are seldom read by the multitude of readers who want novelty and excitement. I asked an official at the British Museum what was the best book on the social condition of England in modern times. He said: 'I think that Kay still holds the field.' Yet intelligent men have said to me: 'Who is Kay?' Joseph Kay was an English barrister, who published, in 1850, a book called *The Social Condition and Education of the People in England and Europe*. Kay has a special interest for Irishmen, because he thoroughly sympathized with our people and understood the Land Question. He was also the son-in-law of Thomas Drummond. Writing about Ireland at the time of the publication of the book, he says:—

Let us endeavour to describe the present state of Ireland in as few words as possible. Ireland itself is splendidly situated, in a commercial point of view, commanding the direct route between Northern Europe and America, with some of the finest harbours in the world. Its soil is proverbially rich and beautiful, and has won for it throughout the world the appellation of the 'Emerald Isle.' Its rivers are numerous, large, and well adapted for internal commerce. Its people are, physically and intellectually considered, one of the most active and restless in the world. In every colony of our Empire, and among the motley multitude of the United States, the Irish are distinguished by

their energy, their industry, and their success. They make as good soldiers, colonists, and railway conductors as any other people. They are industrious and successful everywhere but in Ireland. Nearly one-third of this rich island is wholly uncultivated, and is nothing more than bogs, moors, and waste lands, the cultivation of the remaining parts is generally of the most miserable kind. Most of the great proprietors have no capital to invest in the improvement of their estates, or in bringing any of their waste lands in cultivation. Few, even of those who have capital, are energetic enough or intelligent enough to extend it in so rational a manner. . . . Nor is cultivation in Ireland merely stationary. It is actually going backwards. In the last few years hundreds of thousands of acres have actually been thrown out of cultivation, owing, on the part of the landlords, to inability to sell, and to want of capital and activity; and on the part of the farmers to want of security, and to being prevented purchasing any part of the strictly entailed estates. Many of the great landlords know little or nothing of the state of the peasantry, of farming, on their estates: they receive as much of their rentals as possible, in England or abroad, and leave their agents to enrich themselves, too often at the expense of the poor tenantry. The condition of the peasantry is something which none but those who have actually witnessed it for themselves can possibly realize. At the mercy of sub-agents of the agents of the landlords—with no interest in the soil—liable to be evicted from their holdings by the agents—totally uneducated for the most part—they live more wretchedly than any other people on the face of the earth. . . . The miserable tenants are subject to the tender mercies of a bailiff, without any remedy or appeal except to Heaven. . . . More than fifty thousand evictions took place in 1849. More than fifty thousand families were in that year turned out from their wretched dwellings, without pity and without a refuge. Is it a wonder that fathers and husbands and brothers should often be driven to madness, desperation, and revenge?

It is in Kay's book that Bright's famous reference to the agrarian war is to be found:—

The first thing that ever called my attention to the state of Ireland was the reading an account of one of these outrages. I thought of it for a moment, but the truth struck me at once, and all I have ever seen since confirms it. When law refuses its duty, when government denies the right of the people, when competition is so fierce for the little land which the monopolists

grant to cultivation in Ireland, when, in fact, millions are scrambling for the potato, these people are driven back from law and from the usages of civilization to that which is termed the law of Nature, and if not of the strongest, the laws of the vindictive; and in this case the people of Ireland believe, to my certain knowledge, that it is only by these acts of vengeance periodically committed that they can hold in suspense the arm of the proprietor, of the landlord, and the agent, who, in too many cases, would, if he dared, exterminate them. Don't let us disguise it from ourselves, there is a war between landlord and tenant—a war as fierce and relentless as though it was carried on by force of arms.

But it is with England and what Kay says about England that I have now to deal. I think there is a general idea that in England civilization is to be seen at its best, that from the highest to the lowest everyone is happy and prosperous, and holy and contented. Outside England all is wretchedness and misery and irreligious and ungodly. If you tell an Englishman that the masses in his own country, in the nineteenth century, have been steeped in barbarism and vice, he will simply smile, and if you are an Irishman he will say it is Irish exaggeration; yet the story which Kay tells of English barbarism in the nineteenth century is appalling. Let me take this account to be found in his pages, of the bringing up of the English child:—

Let anyone spend a day or two of observation in the back streets of London, or of any of our great towns, and he may perceive that the life of crowds of poor children is passed altogether in the streets, entirely free from all surveillance. The companions they find in their earliest years are of the most degraded character; their pastimes, even from the age of seven, are, many of them, of the foulest and lewdest description; filthy and disgusting practices, and promiscuous intercourse, are common to nearly all of them; they are never accustomed to cleanliness, they are seldom washed; they are, from childhood, habituated to dirt, bestiality, and vice; and, with such a training as this, the young children in our towns grow up to manhood, with abominable habits, with no religious knowledge, with a long-engendered craving for the stimulants of vice, and with the coarseness of barbarians.

Of course the Englishman's statement is that all classes

in his country are better off in every respect than any class anywhere else. This is what Kay says on the subject :—

I speak it with sorrow and with shame, but with not less confidence in the assertion, that our peasantry are more ignorant, more demoralized, less capable of helping themselves, and more pauperized, than those of any other country in Europe, if we except Russia, Turkey, South Italy, and some parts of the Austrian Empire—I speak this with deliberation.

He then quotes the following remarkable passage from Dr. Channing's *Duty of Free States* :—

To a man who looks with sympathy and brotherly regard on the mass of the people, who is chiefly interested in the 'lower classes,' England must present much that is repulsive. . . . The condition of the lower classes at the present moment is a mournful comment on English institutions and civilization. The multitude are depressed in that country to a degree of ignorance, want, and misery, which must touch every heart not made of stone. In the civilized world there are few sadder spectacles than the present contrast in Great Britain of unbounded wealth and luxury with the starvation of thousands and tens of thousands, crowded into cellars and dens, without ventilation or light, compared with which the wigwam of the Indian is a palace. Misery, famine, brutal degradation, in the neighbourhood and presence of stately mansions, which ring with gaiety, and dazzle with pomp and unbounded profusion, shock us as no other wretchedness does.

This statement of Dr. Channing will be a revelation even at the present day to Englishmen, who will still find much difficulty in believing that such a condition of things should ever have existed in their country, much less in the enlightened nineteenth century. The Englishman will tell you to look abroad, to travel over the Continent of Europe, if you want to find a picture of ignorance, misery, and degradation. But those Englishmen know nothing of the history of the labouring classes in their own country. Here is an account of a typical London lodging-house :—

In the Police Reports published in the *Sun* newspaper of the 11th of October, 1849, the following account is given of 'a penny lodging-house' in Blue Anchor Yard, Rosemary Lane :—One of the policemen examined, thus describes a room in this

lodging-house: 'It was a very small one, extremely filthy, and there was no furniture of any description in it. *There were sixteen men, women, and children, lying on the floor, without covering; some of them were half-naked.* For this miserable shelter each lodger paid a penny. The stench was intolerable, and the place had not been cleaned for some time.'

If the nightly inmates of these dens are added to the tramps who seek lodgings in the vagrant-wards of the workhouses, we shall find that there are at least between 40,000 and 50,000 tramps who are daily infesting our roads and streets.

But perhaps the most appalling thing in this volume is the account of the burial clubs, a unique, 'Merry England' institution:—

The account of these 'burial clubs,' and of the extent to which infanticide is practised in some parts of this country, may be found in Mr. Chadwick's able reports upon the sanitary condition of the poor.

It appears that in our larger provincial towns the poor are in the habit of entering their children in what are called 'burial clubs.' A small sum is paid every year by the parent, and this entitles him to receive from £3 to £5 from the club on the death of the child. Many parents enter their children in several clubs. One man in Manchester has been known to enter his child in *nineteen* different clubs. On the death of such a child the parent becomes entitled to receive a large sum of money; and as the burial of the child does not necessarily cost more than £1, or, at the most, £1 10s., the parent realizes a considerable sum after all the expenses are paid! It has been clearly ascertained that it is a common practice among the more degraded classes of poor in many of our towns to enter their infants in these clubs, and then to cause their death either by starvation, ill-usage, or poison! What more horrible symptom of moral degradation can be conceived? One's mind revolts against it, and would fain reject it as a monstrous fiction. But, alas! it seems to be but too true.

The following story is characteristic. A young woman was wet nurse in the service of a lady. The nurse's child was ill. The lady said that she would send her own doctor to see it. 'Oh! never mind, ma'am,' said the nurse, 'it is in two burial clubs.' In one town where there was a population of a little over 36,000 persons, 34,100 were members of burial clubs. In Manchester, out of one hundred deaths,

sixty to sixty-five were of infants under five years of age. Dr. Lyon Playfair showed that children die in Manchester when wages are high. No wonder that Kay should write :—

A great part of the poorer classes of this country are sunk into such a frightful depth of hopelessness, misery, and utter moral degradation, that even mothers forget their affection for their helpless little offspring, and kill them, as a butcher does his lambs, in order to make money by the murder, and therewith to lessen their pauperism and misery. And yet we are sending hundreds of thousands of our savings every year to convert and comfort the heathen, who are seldom so morally degraded.

Let me give Kay's account of the inhabitants of the 'cellars' in the manufacturing districts, the most ghastly picture on which it is possible for any civilized or even uncivilized human being to look :—

The character of the cellars themselves is by no means the worst feature of this miserable class of dwellings. I have already mentioned that they have never more than two, and generally only one room each, and that these rooms are very small; but small as they are, they are generally crowded to excess. It is no uncommon thing for two and three, and sometimes for four, families to live and sleep together in one of these rooms, without any division or separation whatever for the different families or sexes. There are very few cellars where at least two families do not herd together in this manner. Their beds are made sometimes of a mattress, and sometimes of straw in the corners of the cellar, and upon the damp, cold, flag floor; and in these miserable sleeping-places, the father, mother, sons, and daughters crowd together in a state of filthy indecency, and much worse off than the horses in an ordinary stable. In these cellar houses no distinction of sex and age is made. Sometimes a man is found sleeping with one woman, sometimes with two women, and sometimes with young girls; sometimes brothers and sisters of the age of eighteen, nineteen, and twenty, are found in bed together; while at other times a husband and his wife share their bed with all their children.

The poor creatures who inhabit these miserable receptacles are of the most degraded species; they have never learned to read; have never heard of the existence of a Deity; have never been inside a church, being scared from the doors by their own

filth and wretchedness ; and have scarcely any sense of a distinction between right and wrong.

I have heard gentlemen, who have visited these kinds of dens in London, say that they have found men and women sleeping together three and four in a single bed, that they have not disturbed or ashamed them in the least by discovering them in these situations, but that, on the contrary, their remonstrances have been answered only by a laugh or by a sneer.

But the horrible condition of things described by Kay is not confined to the manufacturing districts. He emphasizes the fact that the condition of things in the agricultural districts is as bad, or even worse. He quotes the following extract from the special correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*, describing the rural districts of England in the year 1849 :—

Taking the adult class of agricultural labourers, it is almost impossible to exaggerate the ignorance in which they live, and move, and have their being. As they work in the fields, the external world has some hold upon them through the medium of their senses, but to all the higher exercises of intellect they are perfect strangers. You cannot address one of them without being at once painfully struck with the intellectual darkness which enshrouds him. There is in general neither speculation in his eyes nor intelligence in his countenance. The whole expression is more that of an animal than of a man.

The English plea is that England is the freest country in the world, that she has the most splendid institutions in the world, that she has the finest religion (or set of religions) in the world, and that naturally her people are the most enlightened, the most Christian, and the most holy in the world. But what does Kay say : ' Eighteen hundred and fifty years have passed since the birth of Jesus Christ, and scarcely anything worthy of mention has yet been done for the education of the English poor ! '

Again : ' About *one-half* of our poor can neither read nor write, have never been in any school, and know little, or positively nothing, of the doctrines of the Christian religion, of moral duties, or of any higher pleasures than beer or spirit-drinking and the grossest sensual indulgence.'

He says : ' That the character of the amusements of the

people ; will always show the character of the people ; ' and he quotes the statement of the correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*, who says, speaking of the working-classes in the agricultural districts : ' In nine cases out of ten recreation is associated in their minds with nothing higher than sensuality.'

I shall quote but one more statement from Kay about the condition of the poorer classes in England in the nineteenth century. It is a summing up of the whole case :—

Brought up in the darkness of barbarism, they have no idea that it is possible for them to attain any higher condition ; they are not even sentient enough to desire, with any strength of feeling, to change their situations ; they are not intelligent enough to be perseveringly discontented ; they are not sensible to what we call the voice of conscience ; they do not understand the necessity of avoiding crime, beyond the mere fear of the police and a gaol ; they do not in the least comprehend that what is the interest of society is their own also ; they do not in the least understand the meaning, necessity, or effect of the laws ; they have unclear, indefinite, and undefinable ideas of all around them ; they eat, drink, breed, work, and die ; and while they pass through their brute-like existence here, the richer and more intelligent classes are obliged to guard them with police and standing armies, and to cover the land with prisons, cages, and all kinds of receptacles for those who in their thoughtlessness or misery disturb the quiet and happiness of their more intelligent, and, consequently, more moral and prosperous neighbours, by plunder, assault, or any other deed which law is obliged, for the sake of the existence of society, to designate a ' crime,' although most of those who commit it do not in the least comprehend its criminality.

The story which Kay tells will seem incredible to most English people. But Kay writes with authority ; and the indictment which he has brought against the governing classes and institutions of his country—for these he holds responsible for the appalling condition of things described—is unanswerable.

R. BARRY O'BRIEN.

EARLY MODERN SOCIALISTS

THE various aspects under which men are equal and have equal rights, as well as those under which they differ and are naturally unequal, were fully discussed in the National Assembly during the French Revolution, where everything was supposed to be considered on its groundwork merits, and viewed from the standpoint of natural and eternal justice. Two men, being equally men, as the Abbé Sieyès put it, have in an equal degree all the rights that come from human nature. Men may be unequal in other respects: they may have different endowments, talents, capabilities; but in this one they are all on a level. The declaration does not carry us very far; but it set men thinking ardently on the subject, and numberless proposals were made to determine and adjust in practice the equalities and inequalities. According as advanced thinkers got into power they showed but little inclination to put their fine theories into force. It was not until 1796 that an attempt was made to establish an egalitarian programme at the point of the bayonet.

CAIUS GRACCHUS BABŒUF (1764-1797)

The author of the attempt was François Noël Babœuf, who began by discarding his Christian name (having, as he said, no desire for the virtues of St. Francis, and no need of a patron saint), and taking in its place the significant name of Caius Gracchus. All readers of Roman history will remember how Sempronius and Caius Gracchus fought for the *Agrarian Laws*, which limited every Roman citizen to a certain amount of land, and simply took over the remainder and placed it at the disposal of the State. Caius Gracchus also endeavoured to secure for the State a monopoly of corn to be sold to the people at a reduced and non-competitive price. These precedents appealed to the imagination of Caius Gracchus Babœuf. He even improved on his Roman model, and in 1796 organized the conspiracy of

the *Egaux*. In his republic every citizen was to have enough ; no citizen was to have too much. Privilege and oppression would never be abolished until all property became the possession of the Government, whose duty it would be to distribute his share to each one according to his needs and his just claims. Nor would a mere division of land into small plots for small proprietors satisfy him, as it did his illustrious namesake. Equal division of land would not do. There should be a common right to the produce. There should be no private property. The State should be sole proprietor, sole employer, sole divider, and sole distributor. Anyone who appropriated something that he did not get in the distribution was a robber and a public enemy. All men should work, and each man should take his turn at the disagreeable jobs. If the State was not able to support the whole of the population in comfort under this system, the remedy was very simple. Get rid of the surplus population. Is it by sending them, like Voltaire, to settle among the Kafirs and the Hottentots ? No, simply by sending them to the slaughter-house. Let the great landlords go first ; then those who were particularly useless among the middle class ; and, finally, as many *sans-culottes* as were unnecessary. Nor does he consider the scheme at all impracticable. If the war office can regulate 1,200,000 men, why should not a whole ministry regulate thirty or forty millions ? No doubt a new social hierarchy would have to be established to carry out the plan. But this would gradually tend to disappear.

Babœuf expounded his theories in the *Tribun du Peuple*, and plotted against the Directory, which he regarded as worse than the old tyrants. The Directory, however, caught him. Not to give them the satisfaction of killing him, he stabbed himself, but did not quite succeed in taking his life. As in the case of Robespierre, they finished him with the guillotine. They evidently did not understand revolutionary theories of this extreme type. At all events so perished, under the ægis of liberty, equality, and fraternity, Caius Gracchus the second. When the great man, who was first of that name, perished, Rome was so

torn by factions that the Consul, on the order of the Senate, erected a temple suited to the occasion. The promoters of discord erected a shrine to concord. Here the fanatics of equality sent to the guillotine its most strenuous and consistent, though most deluded, champion. The apostles of fraternity give a lesson in fratricide; the workers of discord send a rival to the Place de la Concorde.¹

Babœuf reminds us of that other bizarre figure in the Revolution, Anacharsis Clootz, the rich Prussian baron, who became acclimatized in France, the 'orator of the human race,' as he was called, who was excluded from the Convention by Robespierre, because no man could be a good *sans-culottes* who had an income of a hundred thousand a year. He had, however, been admitted to the *Fest of Nature*, in the Champ de Mars, as the representative of 'the human race.' Clootz was always glorifying 'the human race' and inveighing against tyranny in high places. He became the victim, in the end, of tyranny in low places, which condemned him to death. On the scaffold he appealed against his sentence to the judgment of the human race, which, as a French writer quaintly observes, was at least in keeping with his antecedents.² The 'human race' is indebted to him for a smile whenever his name crops up. This is the only result of his appeal.

Babœuf was the type of the modern revolutionary socialist. He would have all men equal under Babœuf. He would stop at nothing to effect his purpose. He had a 'black list' drawn up of people to be executed as soon as the conspiracy was successful. Death was to equalize them. For all others earthly happiness was the sole end, and to procure it for as many as possible should be the supreme object of the State. The arts and sciences might decay under his scheme; but perish the arts and sciences if only equality can be secured. Let the world return to chaos that out of it we may create a regenerated humanity.

¹ The Place de la Concorde was the usual place of execution in Paris. As a matter of fact, I believe it was at Vendôme that Babœuf was tried and executed.

² *Hist. de l'Eglise de France pendant la Révolution*. Jager, vol. ii. p. 7.

SAINT-SIMON (1760-1825)

It is with Saint-Simon that modern socialism really begins; for whilst Babœuf was a mere ignorant and turbulent demagogue, Saint-Simon was at least an educated man and a deep thinker. He had a very varied and chequered career and was not always either clear or consistent in the theories he held.

Claude Henri, Comte de Saint-Simon, was a descendant, like the duke of the same name, author of the famous *Memoirs*, of the Counts of Vermandois, through whom he could trace his lineage to Charlemagne. At an early age he went to America to fight in the War of Independence, and on his return became a colonel at the age of twenty-three. He retired from the service almost immediately after, and speculated, with a sharper named Redfern, in the sale of national property confiscated by the Revolution. Redfern swindled him, but he amassed a small fortune all the same; and it was then that he turned his thoughts to science and the reorganization of society. He had conceived the idea whilst in America of connecting the Atlantic and Pacific by a canal. He had also suggested to the Spaniards the feasibility of making a canal from Madrid to the sea. These, however, were mere proposals. He next sought the company of scientific men, and travelled in England, Germany, Switzerland. For a few years he applied himself diligently to study. He also contracted an unhappy marriage, which was dissolved almost immediately. He made various experiments in endeavouring to test the validity of his theories, and, in due course, succeeded so badly that he had ruined himself and was reduced to abject poverty. He made an attempt even at suicide, but only succeeded in destroying one of his eyes.

The remainder of his life was spent in the propagation of his theories. He gathered round him men of no mean capacity, amongst them Augustin, Thierry, Bazard, Olinde Rodrigues, Enfantin, Pierre Leroux and Auguste Comte. This small circle of friends did their best to comfort the unfortunate philosopher; but their efforts were not very successful. To keep the wolf from the

door, he accepted a laborious post at £40 a year, and lived for a while on the generosity of a former valet. As soon as he had finished his best known work, *Le Nouveau Christianisme*, death came to him, this time unsolicited, in 1825.

Saint-Simon¹ was not a clear nor very methodical thinker; yet some definite and original views emerge from the chaos of his thoughts. He was probably the first French writer on social matters to insist that labour was the real standard of value, and that, as a consequence, the labouring classes should take the first place in the State instead of the last. He laid great stress, however, on the value of industrial enterprises, and, taking for granted the principles of the Revolution and the social basis they supplied, he would organize society in industrial associations, which were to be directed by men of science and practical experts in the interests of the community. The 'exploitation of the globe by association' was to be the new watchword. These associations were to be organized and promoted under the supreme direction of the State. The industrial and scientific chiefs would be the priests of the *New Christianity*, whose object would be to honour and lift up the poor. The old forms of Christianity, whether Catholic or Protestant, were tyrannical and antiquated. The belief in God he considered necessary as a sanction and support for a general theory of regeneration. It was on this point Comte parted company with him, having conceived his own theory of Positivism and *the religion of humanity*, which was in reality an outcome of Saint-Simon's speculation. In many forms of what is now known as 'modernism' we are assured that moral doctrine will in future be the essence of religion, that dogmas and formularies will disappear, and that it matters little what men believe provided they are bound to one another in the bonds of love. This is really the doctrine of the *Nouveau Christianisme* of Saint-Simon, who has a much better claim to it than Father Tyrrell; and I suspect that

¹ His chief works are: *Lettres d'un Habitant de Genève*, 1803; *L'Industrie*, 1817; *L'Organisateur*, 1819; *Le Système Industriel*, 1821; *Le Catechisme des Industriels*, 1824; *Le Nouveau Christianisme*, 1825.

when Mr. R. J. Campbell, of the City Temple, published his lectures under the title of *The New Theology*, he felt conscious of being merely the echo of the author of *Le Nouveau Christianisme*.

The fundamental principle of Christianity required a new application, according to Saint-Simon. Love had been turned into hatred by warriors and theologians. It should now be restored. Wars and theological dogmas were the chief cause of hatred amongst men. There should be no more of either. Temporal power should be given to men who were 'useful, laborious, and pacific,' and spiritual power to those who possessed the most useful kind of knowledge. A new morality, resting on a new basis, was essential.¹ The new doctrine was to be supplied, not as heretofore by theologians, metaphysicians, men of letters, and publicists, but by 'positive philosophers,' which was the starting-point of Comte.

The disciples of Saint-Simon formed themselves into a sort of school after his death. They expounded and interpreted his doctrines. They were listened to with attention whilst they confined themselves to the speculative side of the question ; but when they came down to practical proposals and asserted the necessity of establishing a new social hierarchy, proclaimed the absolute equality of men and women, reconstituted marriage, pronounced in favour of a new organization of the family, condemned heredity and the right of transmitting property by will, and boldly suggested a new form of worship, matters became more serious. Their religious doctrine was summed up in 'the promotion of earthly happiness and the rehabilitation of the flesh.' Christian penances and mortifications were anathema. Sacraments would be dispensed with. The priests of the new religion would settle all disputes, heal all moral wounds ; and by their superior knowledge, experience, and kindness generally make the social machine move smoothly on.

The doctrine which Saint-Simon undoubtedly taught—

¹ See Graham's excellent summary in *Socialism, Old and New*, p. 77.

that the transmission of property by heredity was unjust, and that all property should fall in to the State on the death of its actual occupier—would naturally make the State the universal owner in a short time, and oblige it to become in its turn the universal producer and distributor. From this result neither Saint-Simon nor his disciples recoiled. And it is thus they became the forerunners of our modern socialists, although their ideas of what they required were perhaps not so definite nor so vehemently urged.

A split, however, soon occurred in the ranks of the school. Olinde Rodrigues, Saint-Simon's bosom friend, had constituted Bazard and Enfantin chiefs of the sect, as they had the deepest insight into the teachings of the master. They were accordingly recognized by the disciples as *les pères suprêmes*. But the Supreme Fathers soon began to pull in different, if not in opposite, directions. Bazard was the agent and organizer of the *Carbonari* in France, a political conspirator and plotter against the regime of the Restoration. In the works and teachings of Saint-Simon he valued only the subversive and revolutionary ideas. Enfantin, who was an emotional man, was rather attracted by the sentimental and moral aspects of the doctrine. He proceeded, therefore, to codify and simplify it. The result of his efforts was described as the *New Law*.

He naturally laid stress on the features that appealed to himself. Some men were by nature constant and faithful in their affections; some were fickle and inconstant. Some were deep and calm; others were superficial and excitable. It was the same with women. Under a regime of liberty it was absurd that the same laws should bind one class as the other. There should be free play for the emotions. Don Juan could not be bound by the same fetters as Othello. The affections should be free. Marriage, in the light of these sublime principles, often became a burden and a tyranny. In a word, *free love* was to be sanctioned by the new religion. Bazard and his sympathizers did not think this revelation of the secrets of the sect opportune. It called the attention of the public

authorities to every member of the school, a thing to be avoided by plotters. They withdrew and left Enfantin in possession. He became now *le père suprême*. He who was the author of the *New Law* became the *Living Law*. His adherents increased. Neophytes were recruited even in England. Propagators of the doctrine were despatched to various European capitals. Enfantin became a sort of high priest and believed himself, or pretended to believe himself, inspired. Meetings were regularly held at which the principles of the sect were expounded, and to some extent put in practice. The police were watching them, however, and when they considered things had gone far enough, they seized the hall, the books, and the money of the society, and prosecuted Enfantin with forty of his principal followers for illegal meeting and outraging public morality. The trial was a famous one. The chief of the sect was sentenced to a fine and a year's imprisonment, milder punishments being inflicted on the more obscure delinquents. An option seems to have been given them of quitting the country, and the whole company, with the *père suprême* at their head, emigrated to Egypt, where the affections had free play. A large number of them were offered posts under the government of the Khedive, on condition that they would become Mohammedans. The condition was readily accepted by the body, but Enfantin himself returned to France, where he soon found a suitable occupation in a railway office.¹ He died in Paris, in 1864.

CHARLES FOURIER (1772-1837)

The most remarkable thing in the socialism of Fourier is the check which he sought to put on the despotism of the socialist State by strengthening and emancipating the association. With him the State was to be of secondary importance, the local organization the chief one.

¹ His chief works were: *Doctrine de Saint-Simon*, *Religion Saint-Simonienne*, *Economie Politique Saint-Simonienne*, *Colonisation de l'Algérie*.

François Marie Charles Fourier was born at Besançon, in 1772, and being the son of a wealthy draper, got a good education there. He inherited from his father a sum of £3,000, with which he started business in Lyons. During the siege of the city by the Jacobin terrorists he lost all he had and barely escaped the guillotine. For a while he joined the army, but soon returned to civil life. He had been very much impressed by an event which occurred in his early days when he had to superintend at Marseilles the destruction of a great quantity of rice which had been held over during a scarcity of food in order that its value might increase, but ultimately became unfit for human use. His commercial experience had persuaded him of the existence of many abuses and injustices which he thought his destiny had called him to remedy. And thus from being a practical merchant he became a theorizer, a dreamer, a very unpractical philosopher.

His first important work was the *Théorie des Quatre Mouvements*, which is in reality a pantheistic production. God, according to this oracle, pervades everything as a universal attraction which rules the world in all its movements, material, organic, intellectual, and social. Cosmic harmony, which rules from sphere to sphere, from the stars to the worm, would rule society also but for the perverse ingenuity of men. To this we owe the chaos and confusion that surround us, from which men can only escape by giving free and natural development to their passions. Civilization, therefore, such as it has been hitherto conceived, the civilization of Christianity and tradition, must be discarded. New social arrangements must be made. They must start from the *phalange* as a social unit, which was to consist of four hundred families, or eighteen hundred persons, living on a square league of land, ruling, supporting and educating itself. In the *phalange* every seven or nine persons will form a *group*, and every twenty or thirty groups will form a *series*. The dwelling of the *phalange* would be a *phalanstere*, a vast, spacious, and handsome building, to be fitted up with every convenience and material of comfort, where

life could be arranged to suit everyone, whether solitary or gregarious.

In the *phalanstere* restraint would be reduced to a minimum. The officials would be elected. The various phalansteres would gradually federate, and finally combine under a single chief, to be elected by all and to be resident at Constantinople as the universal capital. In the *phalange* the principle of *The Four Movements* would meet with no obstacle. Attraction would be free. Unions could be formed and dissolved at will, but permanent marriage would be allowed to those who preferred it. The chief happiness of life is the gratification of the passions. The means by which that gratification is supplied is labour. Every man has a right to claim his share of labour, and the right to demand remuneration for it. The likes and dislikes, the capacities and tendencies of individuals, must be consulted in the distribution of work. All labour can be made attractive by appealing to motives of fraternity and benevolence. But hard and repulsive work should be best paid, useful work next, and pleasant work last. In this respect there would be no difference between men and women, and even children would be allowed to do their share of work and would get their share of profit. There will be no servants, no valets, no grooms, no housemaids. When work that is now regarded as repulsive is not considered dishonourable, it will no longer repel, and in any case it can be frequently varied and paid on a higher scale.

The product of labour was to be distributed in this way. A minimum of comfort was to be assured to each individual. The capital necessary for future production was to be retained. The remainder was to be divided so that five-twelfths went to labour, four-twelfths to capital, and three-twelfths to talent. Agriculture, industry, sport, amusement, even the arts, were to be ardently cultivated, and the widest liberty and freest development were to be combined with a spirit of brotherhood and union in a way that the world had never yet seen.

The misery and discord of society, as it now exists, are due to the checking and thwarting of natural passions and

impulses which nature intended to be gratified. In the *phalanstere* they should have scope and breathing space. The principle of 'One man, one wife,' was to be relegated to the superstitions of 'the dark ages.' The stock, plant, and buildings of the phalanstery should belong to its inhabitants, and all the energies of the members of the phalanx should be directed to increase production and the general comfort of the corporate body. Any member of the body was to be free at any time to withdraw his individual capital and retire from the phalanx.

Fourier expected the State to supply the capital necessary to start his scheme, which he regarded as the only economic remedy for the evils of competition and capitalism which were crushing small traders and reducing vast numbers of his countrymen to beggary. His phalanstery would compete with private capitalists and companies, and finally drive them out of the market. The advantages and attractions of his establishments would be so great that people would get a distaste for all other kinds of life. He would not touch private property except by this sort of competition. He would borrow a shaft from the enemy and kill competition by competition itself. All would then gradually fall in with his scheme, which would be substantial communism.

In his calculations about competition Fourier was grossly deceived. In the open competition a cotton mill or silk factory, worked on the usual lines, would leave the phalanstery far behind in a short time. Whatever chances the institution had as a humanitarian experiment, it had none in the industrial race. In 1832 Fourier got funds together to make a trial of his plans in the neighbourhood of Versailles. It proved a disastrous failure. This result preyed on his mind, and he died in 1837.

Other trials were made by his disciples; for, like Saint-Simon, Fourier founded a school, and had many admirers. But the trials were always failures. M. Victor Considérant became to Fourier what Enfantin was to Saint-Simon. He even did his master the service of expunging from his doctrine some of its ridiculous features. Thus, for instance,

Fourier taught that at the end of about fifteen thousand years all men would be provided with tails, and that each tail would have an eye at the end of it, so that men could see backwards as well as in front, and be in more immediate contact with the earth. Considérant got into political trouble in 1849, taking part in the insurrection of that year, and had to take refuge in Belgium, where he tried the phalanstery experiment, and failed. Thinking that Texas would prove a more favourable field for his hobby, he went there and tried his hand, having secured the co-operation and assistance of an Englishman named Albert Brisbane. But success failed to shine on him in Texas as in France and Belgium, and he returned to Europe a sadder though not much wiser man.

He devoted the remainder of his life to the exposition and propagation of his master's ideas,¹ softening somewhat their pagan asperities, and endeavouring to reconcile them with Christianity in its purer and earlier form. He died forgotten and poor, in Paris, in 1893.

Perhaps the most interesting of the Fourier experiments ever made was that of Brook Farm, near Boston, in the United States, which was established under the direction of George Ripley, and was patronized by Emerson, Orestes Brownson,² and the statesman Calhoun. Father Isaac Hecker spent some time there. Charles A. Dana, of New York, was likewise an inmate. Nathaniel Hawthorne has immortalized his stay in the 'Farm' in *The Blythedale Romance*, in which, although he disclaims history and reality, he insinuates other than economic causes of its failure. Brook Farm was opened in 1841. It was at first an aggregation of families and individuals which aimed at a common life in which work, study, and teaching were to be combined. The founders being religious and highly honourable

¹ *Le Socialisme devant le Vieux Monde, ou le Vivant devant les Morts*, 1849. His other works are: *Théorie de l'Éducation Naturelle et Attrayante: Manifeste de l'École Sociétaire fondée par Fourier*, *Exposition Abrégée du Système Phalanstérien de Fourier*, *Principes du Socialisme*, *Théorie du Droit de Propriété et du Droit au Travail*, *La Dernière Guerre et la Paix définitive de l'Europe*.

² See *Life of Orestes A. Brownson*, by his son, Henry F. Brownson, vol. i. p. 308.

people, the pagan tendencies of the phalanx were to be discouraged. Associated and attractive industry was to be developed in a manner consistent with American tastes, habits, and convictions, without the frivolous details and machinery common to other schemes. The capital came from contributions, donations, boarding money, and fees. Meals were had in common; but those who preferred to take them privately were indulged. The experiment was anything but a financial success, and at the end of a year there was a sad falling away in general comfort and respectability. One of the most distressing evidences of this decay is found in a letter written by Miss Georgiana Bruce, one of the six principal ladies at the Farm. In a short time their frocks became worn out and shabby, and worse still they had remaining only two bonnets between the six of them; and whenever one of them had to go in to Boston to the stores, she had to put on one of these bonnets, whether it suited her or not, and got fearfully stared at by the elegant Bostonians.¹ After three years' experiment and failure, Mr. Ripley found it necessary to change his methods.

In 1844 [writes Henry F. Brownson²] Ripley, with the approval of some of his associates, and the consent of them all, converted the establishment into a Fourierist Phalanx, on which plan it continued for two years, though without any improvement in its financial condition. The Phalanstery was destroyed by fire, and Ripley was left poor and discouraged; but he soon rallied and set out on the literary career which gained him a good income and high distinction.

It must be said that all such experiments were more or less hampered for capital at the outset, and were not started by any means in ideal conditions. But even had they been favoured in every respect it is scarcely a matter of doubt to anyone who understands human nature, and is not under the delusion of a dream, that they would steadily deteriorate

¹ *Life of Father Hecker*, by Rev. Walter Elliot, p. 49. Letter quoted from *Years of Experience*, p. 132, by Mrs. Kirby, formerly Miss Bruce.

² *Life of Orestes A. Brownson*, by his son, H. F. Brownson, vol. i. p. 306.

and ultimately die. Even if the rigid code of the Spartans were enforced, putting out of existence the old, the feeble, and the useless, there are still seeds in the organism which must impede its healthy development.

LOUIS BLANC (1811-1882)

The socialism of Louis Blanc was summarized in his own formula : *À chacun selon ses besoins ; à chacun selon ses facultés*. To each one according to his needs and to each according to his faculties. This is all very well. But what are needs and what are faculties ? If every man is to get according to his needs, it is pretty certain that the growth of the needs will be rapid and vigorous ; whilst if each one is to get according to his faculties there may be some trouble in satisfying each one's needs.

Louis Blanc was born at Madrid, where his father was financial agent to Joseph Bonaparte. At an early age he took to journalism, and established in Paris the *Revue du Progrès*, in which he wrote in a series of articles his famous work, *L'Organisation du Travail*, in which he expounded his socialist programme. Before socialism could be realized, however, he thought it necessary to modify the political conditions that then prevailed and to bring about a more democratic organization of the State. He accordingly conspired against the Monarchy of July, and had a good deal to do in pressing forward the Revolution of 1848, and the establishment of the Second Republic. If political power were not on the side of social reform, all socialist experiments would fail, as they had failed with Saint-Simon, Enfantin, Fourier, and Considérant. The franchise should be extended, and the will of the people should be supreme. He became a member of the Provisional Government with Lédru-Rollin and Lamartine, and had thus an opportunity of preparing the way for his Utopia until it was wrecked by the Man of December. Circumstances, however, were more favourable now than they had been ; and accordingly Louis Blanc pushed forward his schemes. The plans of Fourier were cumbrous and artificial, but the underlying

principle of his own was much the same. It was a question of killing competition by competition, and this he thought could best be done by a system of national workshops (*ateliers*) which should be fitted out by the State. These would gradually and inevitably supersede the workshops of individual capitalists. The State would supply the initial outlay, appoint the first officials, and draw up rules for the management, but would then leave the organization to work its own way. After the institution was set going the workmen could choose their own directors, and divide the profits according to whatever scale and method they wished. A share, however, should be set aside for the old, the feeble and the sick, and another share to furnish the instruments of labour to new comers. Anarchy, misery, vice, would disappear, as a result of this beneficent and enlightened policy. Genius would be repaid for its efforts to advance the race by the gratitude of the public. Exceptional gifts and services would be rewarded with exceptional admiration and thanks. This, indeed, would be impossible with the training men get now ; but a new system of education will make it possible. A notice-board would be erected in every district on which the names of the lazy members of society would be made public, and those of the meritorious ones set up for praise. This would be reward enough. Private property would not be directly interfered with, and private capitalists would be invited to lend money at a fixed rate of interest. But as the workshops expanded the opportunity for investing private capital would diminish and ultimately disappear. With it also all inequalities worth speaking of would vanish, and the millennium of socialism was realized.

Every member of the Workshop Association would be free to spend his salary when and where and how he pleased ; but the attractions of the life in common would be so great that in all probability he would not go to seek for distractions outside it. In a short time the State would become supreme as the general organizer of the associations, but State despotism would be averted by making the association a fortress between the individual and tyranny. A

common interest would be promoted amongst the workmen of the same category, the same trade, the same industry, and the State would help weak and struggling industries from the profits of the strong ones. The popularity of the 'workshops' would also induce the public to buy from them rather than from private producers, and this would hasten their progress towards monopoly.

In one way or another upwards of fifty of these 'National Workshops' were set up and tried, some of them under the supervision of Louis Blanc himself; but every one of them failed. Modern socialists say that the Government never intended them to succeed, and that is quite possible and can even be admitted; but the best authorities believe that the failure was intrinsic to the system; that individual interest, energy, and self-reliance are always more effective in industrial pursuits than dependence on government and on the altruistic tendencies of human nature.

Louis Blanc himself devoted a good part of his life to historical studies. His *Histoire des Dix Ans* (1830-1840), and his *Histoire de la Révolution*, are well known. Neither in these nor in his great socialist work, *L'Organisation du Travail*, does he spare the Catholic Church, which he regarded as the enemy of all progress. Certainly she is the enemy of such progress as he and his like wish to promote. I have shown already how he had apostrophized the Reformation and saluted it as the pioneer of socialism. The admiration, I fear, is not altogether mutual; but the share of it that goes from him is altogether deserved. His workshop experiments are interesting from an economic point of view; but the only interest Catholics have in them, beyond that of their religious complexion, which was dark, is the interest of the ordinary public, who are very closely affected by such things. Catholics have, like other men, to put them to the test of their reason, judgment, and common sense. By that test they fail. Thanks are very nice, but, like fair words, they are at a discount in the labour market and, though in a less degree, even in the mart of genius. The proposal to publish the names of the meritorious and the lazy would set up an inquisition which might be more irksome even than the old one, and a

great deal more costly. First, you have to set the man to work, then to get someone to see that he works, then you require an over-inspector to see that the inspector does his duty, then to get a new set of officials to classify all that, and publish it, and then someone to see that these officials are not lazy, and so on indefinitely. Such mechanical contrivances are bound to have much the same sort of success as *Volapuk* or *Esperanto*. They will not stand before fair, free and natural competition, guided and controlled by enlightened statesmanship, directed, restrained, illuminated, and soothed by the light of Christian faith and the grace of Christian charity.

PIERRE LEROUX (1798-1871)

We are not yet done with the theorizers and experimentalists. They abounded in those days. Pierre Leroux was not the greatest or the most original of them ; but still his specific does not quite square with any of the others. He was indeed a disciple of Saint-Simon, but differed from Enfantin on the question of the emancipation of women and the functions of the priest in the new society. He, therefore, withdrew from the Saint-Simonians, and started philosophizing on his own account. He accepted Saint-Simon's theory as a groundwork, but proceeded to modify it by the introduction of Grecian and Oriental details. He was a great admirer of Pythagoras, and attached great importance to figures. Of all numbers three was the most perfect, and should be found in the general outlines and details of all great designs. He took great pains to explain the mysterious and cabalistic significance of the *triade*. Although he says nothing of the *triangle* it is certain that he was also deeply versed in its powers. He was also a believer in *metempsychosis*. Man has already lived in other forms and he will live after death, perhaps as an insect or a butterfly, or it may be as an owl or a jack-daw, if he has not gone through these forms already, as, apparently, many have. Hell and heaven thus disappear, and nothing remains but earth and successive life upon

the earth. There is no real distinction, according to Leroux, between soul and body, no individuality of the human person. It is all a manifestation of the unique principle of life in nature, the Buddhist interpretation of which is nearest to the truth.¹ In his economic system various modifications are to be introduced into the tenure of property, the constitution of the family and of the State. Heredity will disappear. The relations of parents and children will be completely rearranged. There will be no more rulers and subjects, rich and poor. All will be equal. The produce of the earth will be utilized, as it should be, for the benefit of humanity. How all this is to be worked out, and how the renovated society is to be kept together, is not very clear, and M. Leroux would have got but little countenance for his theories had he not captivated the attention of a woman of genius, Madame Dudevant, better known as George Sand, who popularized his theories in her novels.²

Leroux, like his contemporaries, made an attempt to realize his humanitarian projects by the establishment of printing works at Baussac, in the department of the Creuse; but was no more successful than they. Moreover, the Revolution of 1848 was now at hand, and naturally his place was in Paris. He was elected a member of the 'Assemblée Constituante' of the Second Republic, where the most practical suggestion he made was that the cabalistic principle of the *triade* should be introduced into the preamble of the Constitution. After the *coup d'état* of December, Leroux had to take refuge in London, where he lived for some time. Finally, he settled down in the island of Jersey, into which he introduced a new kind of guano, the most practical thing he ever did. He died in Paris in 1871.

Leroux founded his Utopia on solidarity and love. How clear his ideas are about both may be judged from his definition of the latter: 'Love is the ideality of the reality of a part of the totality of the infinite being, joined to the

¹ This doctrine is expounded in his work, *De l'Humanité, de son Principe et de son Avenir*.

² *Le Compagnon du Tour de France, Consuelo*, etc.

opposition of the *ego* and the *non ego*.¹ After that, I think, middle-age scholastics may hide their heads. On such futilities it is needless to waste time. I need only mention his other works: *De l'Egalite, D'une Religion Nationale, Projet d'une Constitution démocratique et sociale, De la Plutocratie, ou du Gouvernement des Riches, Du Christianisme et de son Origine Démocratique, Malthus et les Economistes*. The religion of the nation should be, according to Leroux, in keeping with his philosophical theories, but need not on that account cease to be Christian. The essence of the Christian religion is love. He who accepts fraternity accepts all that is essential in Christianity. With such trifling did Leroux and George Sand beguile Jacques Bonhomme during a good part of last century.

ETIENNE CABET (1786-1856)

Another réformer of society in those days was Etienne Cabet, who was a native of Dijon. His father, a cooper, was poor, but managed to give the son a good education. In due course he was called to the Bar, but could make no headway at the law. He then turned to journalism, at which he was no more of a success. Having failed at practical occupations, he, like many another, turned to politics, and became a reformer of society. The secret of his failure naturally was in society, not in himself. He was deeply entangled in the Carbonari, a secret society then widely diffused in France, and took part in the Revolution of 1830. He was even appointed to an official position in Corsica, but owing to political indiscretions was soon dismissed. On his return to Paris he published a number of pamphlets, and a *History of the Revolution of 1830*, which was very badly written, and full of absurd exaggerations. Worse than this, it got him into political trouble. He was prosecuted and sentenced to two years' imprisonment and a fine. Not caring for a prison-cell he fled to London, where he lived for several years. Here he became acquainted

¹ *Dictionnaire de l'Economie Politique*, article entitled 'Socialisme.'

with the socialist *Utopia* of Lord Carrisdale, which he adapted to French democratic tastes, and published under the title of *Voyage en Icarie* (1842).

Icaria is a sort of compound of the Utopias of Sir Thomas More, Campanella, and of Fénelon's *Télémaque*. The life of *Icaria* is entirely communistic, with the result that perfect happiness prevails there. The State is butcher, baker, grocer, hotel-keeper, horse-trainer, chimney-sweep, and tinker. There are national cooks; national farmers and national shopkeepers; national lawyers, national doctors, national bankers. Women practise surgery and medicine there as well as men. There are no poor, because all are equal; no sick, because race-culture is so carefully promoted that all individuals are healthy. The law settles and arranges everything from sunrise to sunset.

The book is badly written, and made but little impression. However, a number of adventurers called upon Cabet to realize his Utopia. He asked them for the wherewith, which they supplied. He accordingly proceeded to London and purchased from a Dutchman named Peters a large tract of land on the banks of the Red River, in Texas, and organized a colony to go there. Before they started he bound them by contract to acknowledge his sovereign sway over the settlement. He was to have possession of all the funds, and was to pay all the expenses. The first batch of colonists started on February 2, 1848; but having no very definite idea of where the Red River was, the unfortunate emigrants lost their way and fell into the greatest misery. It was only in the following year Cabet himself, with a second batch, could start for America. Meanwhile the complaints of his first batch had reached Europe. He was prosecuted, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment for swindling.

On his arrival at Texas, however, he found his community there, but found them divided into two camps, and very dissatisfied. Some of them asked for their capital, and cleared out at once. The remainder decided to wait and try their luck under the prophet. They were all anxious to change to some other locality. A suitable oppor-

tunity for doing so soon presented itself. The Mormons had been driven by popular indignation from Noovoo, in Illinois, where they had put up large buildings for a settlement and erected a temple. This was just what Cabet and his friends wanted. They sold out their property in Texas and removed to Noovoo.

Cabet, however, was anxious to clear his character at home. He returned for a while to France, got his case brought again before the courts, and was acquitted. He then went back to his settlement at Noovoo.

The United States is scarcely the soil for patriarchal government. The spirit of independence and the spirit of subjection do not go well together. The members of the settlement soon began to find that they could do better for themselves in the open struggle. They gradually began to drop off. Cabet himself had a wonderful mastery over his colonists, and some of them clung to him to the last ; but on his death, at St. Louis, in 1856, they dispersed, and sought fortune on their own account.

PROUDHON (1809-1865)

I now come to the most vigorous and the most thorough-going of all these reformers and speculators. It is more difficult to deal with him than with any of the others ; for if I were to present a life-like portrait of him here, I should have to darken these pages with impieties and blasphemies which are best left on the shelves where they sleep and do no harm. Mr. Kirkup blandly tells us that the chief fault Proudhon had to find with the theories of his predecessors was the immorality on which they were based. One would scarcely suspect, on reading this mild and plausible socialist,¹ that the immorality consisted in the postulation, in some shape or other, of a supreme Being, even of the great Architect of the Universe or the *Être Suprême* of the Revolution. Proudhon would have none of it. The principle of morality is in man himself, and outside himself he should

¹*History of Socialism*, by Thomas Kirkup, p. 53.

not go either for its test or its sanction.¹ Morality is *immanent* and in no sense *transcendental*. That man is virtuous who respects his own dignity and the dignity of his nature and his race ; that man is vicious who thinks little of himself or of them. In combating the theories of his opponents, and especially the doctrines of the Church, he shows an ignorance which is in strange contrast with his dogmatic and oracular style. And yet his life-work, evil though it be, is the most potent influence in the life of modern France, at least in so far as it manifests itself in politics.

Pierre Joseph Proudhon was born at Besançon, in 1809. He was, therefore, a townsman of Fourier. His parents were poor, but made great sacrifices to give their boy a liberal education. Pierre Joseph, however, was soon able to make his own way. In France, even at that remote period, a poor boy who had anything in him got many facilities for advancement. In order to help himself, however, he became a working compositor for a while, and acted as proof-reader in a printing establishment. Meanwhile he carried away the highest prizes at the academy of Besançon, and became well grounded in Greek and Latin. He even obtained a smattering of Hebrew. Having obtained the Suard prize of 1,500 francs for three years at his college, he did what all penniless and ambitious young men do in France when they get their first windfall, viz., turned his face to Paris. Here he led a quiet and severe life, making but few acquaintances and pursuing his studies. He was impressed, however, with the eagerness of the public to discuss social questions and hear them discussed by people who had anything of value to say on them. This decided the turn of his thoughts, and in 1840 he published his first important work, *La Propriété, c'est le Vol*. A more important work followed, in 1846, viz., *Le Système des Contradictions Economiques, ou Philosophie de la Misère*. After a while Proudhon returned to Besançon, and set up a printing establishment there ; but it had the same fate as all the practical ventures of his predecessors.

¹ *La Justice dans la Révolution et dans l'Eglise.*

There is scarcely anyone who has gone a certain way through life who has not met people who could not manage the simplest business successfully, and yet who are ready to lay down rules and regulations for others, no matter what their special occupation may be. As manager of a business establishment in Lyons, the great reformer does not seem to have been any more successful than in his native town, and he finally gravitates to Paris once more. Such men have always a fascination for a class of journalists who are, in their own degree, in the same boat, and, of course, this sympathy helps them to a reputation. Proudhon's next literary venture was *De la Justice dans la Révolution et dans l'Eglise*, in which the Church and all its doctrines and practices were furiously attacked and denounced. Meanwhile he had made a further practical effort to teach the world how something could be done to advance equality. He founded a bank which was to lend money without charging any interest. He wanted five million francs for this venture; but shares were taken only to the extent of seventeen thousand. Its success can be imagined. The ridicule that its failure brought was reflected on the author's opinions generally. He became a member of the Assembly of the Second Republic, where he tried to get property taxed out of existence. Subsequently he was prosecuted for violent speeches, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. After the publication of his work *De la Justice*, etc., he was to be prosecuted a second time, but he fled to Brussels to escape the police. On his return to France his health gave way, and he died in Paris in 1865.

In many respects Proudhon may be regarded not only as the father of modern socialism in the peculiar shape it has assumed, but the father of modern anarchy as well. He was not only an enemy of Catholicism, but an enemy of Christianity and an enemy of God, and the very idea of God. Even the Deist conception of a supreme Being was repugnant to him.¹ The idea of God, and particularly the

¹ His attitude towards religion is chiefly expressed in *La Justice dans la Révolution et dans l'Eglise*.

Christian and Catholic idea of Him, should be eliminated from the world as a first condition of progress. It should be driven from the home, from the school, from the university, from society, from the State. And with the idea of God the idea of sovereignty, power, government, which were made to depend on Him, must vanish also. The morality that needs His sanction must disappear. Morality is *immanent*, not *transcendental*. The great crime against humanity has been the propagation of the myth of the primal fall and of original sin. It is only paralleled by the superstitions which have been invented to rectify the disaster. He scoffs at all the beliefs and practices of the Church—miracles, sacrifices, sacraments, prayers, confession, alms-giving, medals, rosaries, pious devotions. Man's nature is good, sound, healthy, if only it were not perverted by superstition. Left to itself it has an invincible repugnance to authority, power, government; and anybody who thinks that men require others to rule them are victims of theological hallucination. All these Christian legends must be swept away. No more governments, no armies, no police! The people and the people only. They suffice. The socialist, Hervé, who is now making so much noise in France, re-echoes this language. The anarchists of Barcelona have grasped the principle. Proudhon is their acknowledged philosopher and guide. M. Clemenceau himself has acknowledged his authority for the greater part of his programme, and for the tendency of the whole of it.¹

To the rights of God, for which you contend [he said] we oppose the rights of man. That is what separates us. . . . You have left us this glorious task; and if we are powerless to realize it in its fullness as we conceive it, the people of France, we are assured, will persevere in the noble enterprise, and our children will put the finishing touch to the work of their fathers. It is not in your power to turn us away from this work. However imperfect it may be, whatever difficulties we may have to face, unequal though we may be personally to the task, we feel confident that we are helping to elaborate a new order of things.

¹ Speech delivered in the Chamber of Deputies, June 23, 1883.

Through revolutions and reactions the Republican party pursues its work. It has had its hours of uncertainty, its moments of danger; it has met with signal defeats; but it has never despaired, never doubted of the genius of France and of the spirit of the Revolution.

No! The Republicans of the school of Clemenceau have steadily pursued the godless programme of Proudhon, who has advanced considerably on the 'Declaration of the Rights of Man.' They have banished from the public life of France, as far as they could, belief even in the *Être Suprême*, which was one of the most distinctive marks of the Revolution itself. They are not faithful even to the Revolution, but welcome every crazy philosopher who goes a step further on the road of destruction.

Proudhon's powerful literary style gave him, unfortunately, a considerable advantage over those who replied to him. Those who read *him* did not read *them*. But, then, it is easy enough to be powerful and original when a man questions everything and stops at no blasphemy, no paradox, no insult. I am, of course, chiefly concerned here with Proudhon's economic theories. I have alluded to the others merely to show the general attitude of the reformer towards the things which all Christians and Catholics hold most sacred. An excellent analysis of these theories and an excellent reply to them was published a few years ago by a distinguished French prelate, Mgr. Elie Méric.¹ To his work I must, for the present, refer the reader whilst I add a few words on Proudhon's theory of property. Thank heaven, in Ireland, and wherever Irish faith lives and reigns and moves the world, the mere mention of these abominations is refutation enough of them.

Qu' est-ce que la propriété ? La propriété, c'est le vol.²

These were the words that resounded through France in the year 1840, and were expected by their author to

¹*Les Erreurs Sociales du Temps Présent*, par Mgr. Elie Méric. Paris: Douliol. 1899.

²"What is Property? Property is theft." This was the full title of Proudhon's book on property.

reverberate through the ages. In a sense he has not been far mistaken.

This definition is my own [he said], and my whole ambition is to prove that I have understood the meaning and the extent of it. In a thousand years two words like these are not uttered. All I have in the world is this definition of property; but I regard it as more precious than the millions of the Rothschilds; and I make bold to say that its appearance will be the most important event in the reign of Louis Philippe.

The disciples of Saint-Simon and of Fourier had acknowledged property and its rights, and sought only to equalize it by their own methods of competition. They also acknowledged the natural inequalities of men. Proudhon will make none of these concessions. Property, even in the sense admitted by the Saint-Simonians, is robbery. And in social inequality the principle of property is implied. Mocking the style of the theologians, he says that the proposition of Saint-Simon is false, absurd, unjust, contradictory, hostile to liberty, a prop to anti-social tyranny, fatally conceived under the categorical influence of proprietary prejudice. With great power Proudhon endeavours to establish his thesis:—

If I had to answer the following question, '*What is slavery?*' and answered simply, '*Slavery is assassination,*' everybody would understand me. No need of a long speech to show that the power to take from a man his thought, his will, his personality, is a power of life and death, that to make a man a slave is to assassinate him. Why, then, should I not answer this other question, '*What is property?*' by replying, '*It is theft.*' And why should the answer be misunderstood, seeing that it is only the former transposed? Yes, all men believe and repeat within themselves that equality of right and equality of condition are identical, that property and robbery are synonymous.¹

He then proceeds to examine the bases of property, and to overturn them one by one. On what is property based? On occupation, on labour, on contract, on gift,

¹ *Qu' est-ce que la Propriété? La Propriété, c'est le Vol.*, chap. i. First Memoir.

on heredity. What right has any man to occupy what belongs to everyone? No man has a right to exact for his labour what the general body has not consented to give, and what in itself is an unequal distribution of the fruits that belong to all. It is an injustice done to others to monopolize what belongs to them. It is theft. The reward of labour should be independent of the merit, the zeal, the capacity of the workman. Rent for land, interest for capital, profit from industry; all such things are unjust and immoral, and must be swept out of existence. Heredity is the most absurd and pernicious of these crimes. Therefore heredity goes.

Of course, he admitted, all this cannot be done at once. It is an ideal to keep steadily in view. It will take fifty Montesquieus to bring the world up to it. It will require a new civic education, a new method of government, gradually but steadily leading to the perfection of no government at all. Order and anarchy are the highest attributes of civil life, and these will be secured by man's loyalty to himself, belief in his own rights, respect for his own dignity, his nature, his word, his honour, his thought, his life. Justice will give to each one what nature intended for him. There will be no longer any subordination of man to man, no hierarchy, no church, no dogma, no faith, no transcendental reason.

Such are the ravings of this madman, whom so many Frenchmen take for a genius and worship as a prophet. Anarchists of the school of Bakunin, who formed the advance guard of the socialism of Marx, and of the school of Hervé, who discharge a similar office to Jaures and Jules Guesde, are the natural offspring of Proudhon. Vaillant, Ravachol, Caserio, can even fairly claim him as their teacher. And if he was at liberty to propagate his doctrines, and has been so fortunate as to find admirers even amongst Englishmen, why restrict the liberty and the admiration to the master and deny it to the disciples? After all, they were only interpreting his maxims in the only practical way that offered. If assassination is bad, it is hard to see how the teaching that justifies it can be good.

If the master is admitted to the temple of genius, and hailed as a profound and original thinker, why send the disciples to the guillotine ?

RELIGION OF THE EARLY SOCIALISTS

M. Émile Vandervelde, the well-known Belgian socialist, reminds us that, on the whole, the reformers I have dealt with in this paper did not wish altogether and all at once to abolish Christianity.¹ Some of them even wished to represent socialism as the fulfilment of the Gospel. In most of the halls of the labour-socialists of the middle of the last century, a figure of Christ, working as a carpenter, was to be seen, with the inscription : ' Jesus Christ, premier représentant du peuple.' Instead of a gross banquet on Good Friday, by which the modern socialists of France celebrate the death of Christ, democratic feasts took place on Christmas Day to celebrate His birth. Even Proudhon was compelled to fall in with the custom. In his newspaper, *Le Peuple*, of April 25, 1848, he gives an account of a banquet held in the Salle Valentino in honour of Christ, ' the Father of Socialism,' where the Sermon on the Mountain was read and explained :—

Our friend, Pierre Leroux [writes Proudhon], who is always ready to answer the call of his friends and brothers, took up and explained the *Sermon on the Mountain* and hailed the advent of a new religion, based on the solidarity of the human race, winning at once the devotion of the heart and the sanction of science. This improvisation, delivered with warmth and enthusiasm, was received with deafening applause.

We ask ourselves, continues M. Vandervelde, what the radical and socialist papers would say if the socialists of to-day were to meet on Christmas Day and read the Sermon on the Mountain, and drink a toast to ' Christ the Father of Socialism.' French socialists have travelled a long way since then. It seems to me that many socialists of these

¹ *Essais Socialistes, L'Alcoolisme, la Religion l'Art*, par Émile Vandervelde, Professor a l'Université Nouvelle de Bruxelles, pp. 130, 131.

islands are still at the stage of development which the Frenchmen had reached in 1848. But they are advancing, and in due time will reach their natural development. Saint-Simon himself wound up his career with his *Nouveau Christianisme*, and he finds in the Gospel the principle of fraternity which is at the foundation of his own religion, summed up in these words: 'All men should work for the moral and physical amelioration of the poorest class. Society should be organized in the way best suited to attain this end.' Cabet, in his *Voyage en Icarie*, Louis Blanc in his *Histoire de la Révolution*, and Villegardelle, in his *Etude Approfondie sur les Idées Socialistes*, adopt a similar line. If Christianity were only properly understood in its grandeur and its simplicity, it would meet all the requirements of the human heart, and could leave the mind to take care of itself. Christianity, however, has not been committed to the care of such champions. It is in other hands; and in spite of their temporary triumphs it will see them and their systems buried and forgotten, and many more besides them, before the last word is said.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

My next paper will deal with Robert Owen and other early Socialists. After that the holidays. And after that I hope to deal with Socialism as it is.

J. F. H.

THE CATHOLIC PRESS IN FRANCE

WITH, perhaps, the exception of the school question, there is no subject of greater concern and solicitude to French Catholics to-day than that of the Press. The lever as well as the maker of public opinion in France, the Press has for nearly half a century powerfully inspired and assisted the anti-religious campaign. So true is this that contemporary events of the religious crisis—which, let us hope, represent the climax of some twenty-five or thirty years of more or less acute persecution—but too clearly verify the saying of the Jew, Cremieux, to his party in 1842: ‘Look on men as nothing, money as nothing; regard the Press as above and before all; let us hold the Press and we shall have everything else.’ It was a master-stroke on the part of the Jews and Freemasons, who between them make up the anti-clerical party, to subsidise and employ the Press as an offensive weapon against the Church.

The Catholics of France to-day recognize that one of their greatest mistakes was that they underrated the influence of a hostile Press. In reference to the election of 1906, François Veillot wrote:—

Right-minded men are victims of a sad delusion: they imagine that people are surprised and indignant at events at which they themselves are surprised and indignant; when those in power are convicted of some scandalous transaction they believe the public conscience is shocked thereat; they forget that between the Government and the conscience of the people there is an intermediary, namely, the Press.

Twenty years before this Leo XIII had urged on Catholics the duty of using the Press as a means of defence. ‘Amongst the means most suitable for the defence of religion there is not one to our mind more appropriate to the present time, nor more efficacious, than the Press.’¹ Yet the systematic organization of a great Catholic Press, which by its very *intransigence* would attract the attention of the people,

¹ Leo XIII to the Bishop of Anvers.

and inspire them with that combative energy so remarkable in the German Catholic party, did not apparently force itself as absolutely urgent on the French Catholics. No doubt the *Croix* by its outspoken tone, its popular form, and, considering its character, its really wonderful circulation, did excellent work. But much harm had already been done before the *Croix* appeared in the field, and besides, it was not sufficient to counteract the enormous forces against it.

No one can deny that the generosity of the French Catholics and their spirit of sacrifice and devotion to a great cause have ever been truly heroic; but they themselves are ready to admit to-day that, as it were, they put their money on the wrong horse. Had a fraction of the colossal sums invested in church building and the foundation of various institutes been invested in the work of Catholic journalism, the Catholics of France would have a solider ground to stand and build upon to-day. Cardinal Lavigerie's saying that 'the founding and maintaining of a good newspaper is as necessary and meritorious an act as the building of a church' is now seen to be almost an under statement. As a recent writer justly remarks:—

While the Catholics, allowing themselves to be deluded as to the strength and machinations of the enemy, founded at great expense, for the good of the people, churches, hospitals, schools, convents, and works of all kinds, newspapers spread in profusion were acting powerfully upon public opinion, perverting and blinding it. Now the day has come when this opinion, which rules everything in France, has bid adieu to religion, and has witnessed without being much moved the brutal and iniquitous liquidation of works which represented the efforts and sacrifices of Catholics. Those Catholics thought of everything save the securing of the ground on which they built; that is to say, of enlightening public opinion, of holding it well in hand, so as to be able to rest immovably on it when occasion required. The ground lost is to be won back by the Press. It is towards Catholic journalistic enterprise Catholics must now direct their energies and their sacrifices.

Considering the enormous disproportion between the comparatively *pusillus grex* of devout people instructed from the pulpits on Sundays, and the millions appealed to

every morning by the Press, the preacher of every day, the apostolate of the Press stands out as one of the great needs of the day.

Full of surprises as French history is, there are not many facts, in modern French history at least, as remarkable as the rapid development of the French Press in the second half of the nineteenth century. If a cause for this phenomenon is sought for, it may perhaps be found in the feverish conditions of modern life which have made the rapid reading of papers and reviews almost a passion of the people. This quick and desultory reading, far from stimulating thought and helping people to form sound judgments, rather prevents these processes, and effectually robs people of their common sense ; so much so that Edouard Drumont, who knows his countrymen well, does not hesitate to write of them : ‘ The French people think no longer ; they have no time to think ; they think no longer, save by means of their paper.’ Without taking this too literally the statistics of Press development in France leave no doubt as to the extraordinary power exercised by the modern Press.

In 1850 Paris possessed twenty-six papers, and the provinces still fewer ; in 1900 Paris could reckon upon as many as 2,709 papers and 185 reviews, while the provinces afforded circulation to 3,972 papers. The Catholic Press cannot yet lay claim to the eighteenth part of this gigantic mass of literature. While papers which do not defend, if they do not attack, the Catholic cause have a vast circulation, like that of the *Petit Parisien*, with its circulation of 1,250,000, and the *Petit Journal* with 850,000, papers openly hostile, like the *Matin*, have also a vast reading public at their command. The *Matin* has a circulation of 650,000 ; the *Journal*, considered specially dangerous by reason of its immoral tendencies, has a circulation of 600,000. Not only are Catholic papers, or those which are fair to the Catholic or we may say Christian view, numerically vastly less than those hostile to religion, but the circulation of the former is also comparatively restricted. The *Croix*, a militantly Catholic paper, is far ahead of all similar journals in the

number of its subscribers, yet its greatest circulation up to the present has not exceeded 160,000. The *Univers*, a more serious paper, has a much smaller reading public. The fact of this paper appearing in the evening, and being thereby late with its general news, not to mention that of its costing two sous, militates largely against the popularity which it richly deserves. Papers that are just to the claims of religion, such especially as the *Echo de Paris* and the *Eclair*, enjoy fair prosperity, the former having a circulation of more than 100,000.

The capital is a fair index of the state of affairs throughout the country. On the whole, the Catholic Press is rather better supported in the capital than elsewhere. The whole South swarms with anti-clerical journals. From Lyons fifteen departments are served with the *Lyons Republicain* and *Le Progrès*, both devoted *blocard* papers; against these indeed some stand is made by the *Nouvelliste de Lyon* and *Le Salut*. In the East the *blocard* journals predominate. The Catholic position is better in the West, especially in Brittany; yet even in Nantes there is no paper to contest the supremacy of the *Phare*. In the centre things are at their worst; as it is said, *tout est à faire*. The North presents a more hopeful aspect, the *Depêche de Lille* and the *Croix du Nord* having between them a circulation of 170,000. The energy of anti-clerical agencies may be judged from the fact that during the great pilgrimage to Lourdes last year, the *Depêche de Toulouse*, a strong anti-clerical organ, doubled its ordinary circulation.

Interesting statistics of the actual reading public of France were given at the recent diocesan congress held in Paris in March, 1900. Taking St. Sulpice as a specimen of a good parish, the number of anti-Christian journals in use there is simply astonishing. According to M. Lerolle there are sold daily within the parish of St. Sulpice 13,500 anti-Christian, and only 4,500 Christian, or Catholic, papers. M. Feron-Vrau, probably one of the best authorities in France on the subject, states that within the city of Paris the daily sale of anti-Christian papers amounts to 1,500,000; while not more than 200,000 Christian or neutral journals

are sold. In the provinces at present, according to the same authority, the sale of papers openly hostile to religion is five times in excess of that of those Christian or neutral in tone. These alarming figures speak volumes; they go a long way to explain the religious apathy that exists in France.

In reference to its influence on religion the Press may be divided into three classes: the neutral, the immoral, and the infidel or free-thinking Press. The neutral Press professes to ignore the subject of religion, and as a rule it does so. Now, a method of suppressing religion is to treat it as a negligible quantity. And so we find the Catholic Congress held a few years ago at Coblenz specially severe on this neutral aspect of journalism:—

Leave out of count papers and periodicals that have no religious colour, papers which are neither hot nor cold. They are the worst of all, for they leave their readers in a happy peace of mind, and prevent them turning to books and papers really Catholic. Without going so far as this, we may agree with Mgr. Gibier, the energetic Bishop of Versailles, when he says: 'If the neutral Press, called also conservative, can render us some service, and does render some in reality, it may also be said that, because of its condescension to free thought, loose morality, and Freemasonry, it perhaps loses more souls than it gains.'

If the merits or demerits of the neutral Press may be discussed, the ravages of the immoral Press are incontestable. A writer in the *Revue des deux Mondes* in a study of youthful criminality in France, while blaming both the School and the Press, declares that of the two the Press is the worse agent of corruption. 'It is the Press,' he says, 'the obscene and abominable Press, which degrades the youthful generation and blights the hope of the country in its flower.' In 1882 the Minister of Justice declared in the *Chambre* that 30,000 immoral *feuilletons* were distributed every day at the doors of the schools in Paris. A similar testimony was borne by M. Jarde to this vile traffic in 1897. Quite recently in a little book, entitled *L'Ouvrier libre*, M. Keller writes in the same strain:—

Watch the child leaving the school. He is met by hawkers

of hundreds of obscene publications, nearly all of them illustrated. Of some of these as many as 80,000 copies have been issued at a time ; they are by preference addressed to the youth to finish its moral education. The powers that exist grant full liberty to this infamous commerce, seeing that it prepares sympathetic electors.

By its *feuilleton* and sensational romances, by its chronicle of the law courts, by its horribly gross advertisements, the bad paper undermines the morality of the people ; for such literature is perused by the million. Let one such paper become popular in a parish or a district, and the work of the Church is so hampered as to become almost morally impossible. If the small sheets are dangerous for the poorer classes, the great journals, which command the services of fine literary artists, are not less so for the better educated and more comfortable classes. In these latter, gambling, duelling, suicide, divorce, adultery, robbery, homicide, are sometimes skilfully excused, other times positively glorified, and always presented with a certain dignified air. The King of Denmark having inquired from Voltaire the source of the corruption of the higher grades of French society in the eighteenth century, the *savant* replied : ' *C'est le livre qui a fait tout.*' If Voltaire were asked to-day a similar question, he might reply, answering for all classes : ' *C'est le journal qui a fait tout.*'

In a sense the infidel Press is worse than the immoral one : for the former, while openly attacking Christianity and all religious tenets, makes nothing of, where it does not sanction, immoral practices. If immorality, suggested or openly paraded, is bad, the sanction or excuse of it by authority is worse ; and the corruption of a nation remains incurable as long as its ideas are consistently perverted. The infidel Press does immeasurable damage in popularizing the doctrine of the so-called *penseurs*. In this demoniacal temple there is a succession of gods, Rousseau and Voltaire yielding their niches to Renan and Zola. This Press is full of sophisms and historical lies, which tend to turn the people more and more adrift from all religious sentiment. Ridicule, a Voltarian weapon, is used with terrible effect against all

that is most sacred. The hearts of the people are filled with hatred of God as the author of the ills of life, and of all authority which makes profession of upholding His honour. The wounds of the body politic are probed, and while yet angry and green, the vinegar of anarchical and socialist principles is poured upon them. And so at election times a sullen rage pervades the masses. George Eliot describes well how the navvy who strikes down his gaffer represents by his stroke an accumulation of real or imaginary wrongs. The voting at a French election is a corporate act like to this, inasmuch as it represents the rage against clericalism and Christianity, skilfully fostered by a Press directed to this end. As if the ordinary papers were not enough, and to make sure of the victory, the anti-clerical candidates, MM. Thalamas, Nicol, and Chauvelon, previous to the election of 1906, announced in the *Action*

the foundation of a *librairie de propagande* which will be devoted to the popularising of ideas and the struggle against clerical equivocation, by means of tracts, brochures of a few pages, pictures, caricatures, leaflets, in order to reach the peasant and the workman, who read but little, and who will profit more by a good page than by a volume.

Since the modern French Press is, then, for the most part, antagonistic to Christianity, and at the same time so prosperous, commanding, as it does, great resources of both talent and money, it is easy to imagine what a gigantic task lies before the Catholics in this work of journalism. Yet the Catholics, far from despairing, are determined to throw themselves with vigour into this great enterprise of using the Press to win back the people. Already indeed some encouragement comes from the signs of the times. Even amongst the *libre penseurs* are found men honest enough to speak plainly of the corrupting influence of the modern Press. The increase of criminality, the decadence of national spirit and virility, and, above all, the decreasing population, are making the *penseurs* think of some other enemy besides clericalism. The very tone of the Press and its *intransigent* attitude to religion are evoking comment from unexpected quarters ; so that Balzac's saying,

'On tuera la presse comme on tue un peuple en lui donnant la liberté,' is beginning to be realized. What above all inspires French Catholics with zeal for journalistic work is the magnificent history of the Catholic Press in Germany. A writer in the *Guide de l'Action populaire* for 1908 describes the works of the Volksverein in terms of admiration, and concludes: '*Le secretariat du Volksverein s'est transformé sans le vouloir en une école de journalistes.*'

Ketteler, Windhorst, and Reichensberger were each of them consistent upholders of the doctrine that the Press can and ought be made an apostolate. If that were true in the 'fifties of the last century, how much more so is it to-day. Windhorst's great fight for Catholic liberty, the founding of the Centre party, and the defeat of Bismarck's plan of making Germany a religious unity, as it was to be politically one, are to the credit of German Catholic journalism. From the start Windhorst had the whole-hearted sympathy and co-operation of an intelligent and devoted clergy; the work of the *Presskaplan*, which brought the Catholic journals to the homes of the people, aided wonderfully in the religious education of the people, and had its fruits in the breakdown of the Kulturkampf. Windhorst's timely sowing is yielding its harvest ever since: the number of Catholic papers and periodicals is yearly growing. In 1880 there were 180 militantly Catholic papers in Germany; in 1890, 272; in 1900, 419; in 1907, over 500, with more than three million and a half subscribers. Nor are these journals confined to places of densest Catholic population; the Rhine provinces have 140; Westphalia, 70; Bavaria, 86; Baden, 28; Wurtembourg, 20. Taking into account the number of Catholic voters, and the numbers who subscribe to Catholic papers, the triumph of the Centre party in Germany is as intelligible as that of the socialists and anti-clericals in France.

Of the Catholic daily papers, the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* is the most influential; it is the best *documenté* and best-organized Catholic journal, perhaps, in the world; it is taken into 4,000 hotels and restaurants in Germany. Next to the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* is the *Germania*, a solid paper

more controversial in tone than the *Volkszeitung*. A salient feature of German Catholic journalism which specially commends itself to the French is the system of conveying correct and detailed information to different Catholic papers throughout Germany; thus the Bureau of the *Volksverein* in the town of M. Gladbach furnishes gratuitously matter for articles to 410 papers. This is but a small part of the work accomplished by the *Volksverein*; according to last year's bulletin it distributed tracts on social and political questions, as well as those dealing with apologetics, to the number of 11,763,800. Before the last elections there were issued by the *Volksverein* 951,000 proclamations, 41,994 circulars to electors, 1,597 projects of conferences for popular meetings, and 1,748,405 documents of other kinds in the shape of exhortations to voters, plans of campaign for Catholic candidates, etc. These figures give some idea of the activity and organization of the German Catholic Press.

Though not so remarkable, the Catholic Press of Belgium and Switzerland is also worthy of imitation. It is the dream of some French Catholics to reproduce in France an organization similar to that of the *Volksverein*, a sort of central agency of information on Catholic topics, capable of supplying reliable and useful matter to journals throughout France, and thus giving the answer to objection and cavils and exploding the absurd sophistry of anti-clerical papers, and by its means securing a simultaneous defence of the Catholic party in several centres throughout the country.

So far the Catholic party have taken at least one leaf from the book of the *Volksverein*, and already reduced it to practice. Since 1904 they have held, in a different city each year, a *Semaine Sociale*, wherein the Catholic clergy and laity meet and read papers on social subjects. Held in the summer, these congresses have been so far a conspicuous success, and the publications resulting from them have been widely diffused. The *Semaine Sociale* this year, 1909, is fixed for Bordeaux.

The *Guide de l'Action populaire*, also evidently suggested by the tactics of the *Volksverein*, is an excellent publication. This volume, appearing each year, is invaluable for journal-

istic work that is needed at the present hour. It gives a conspectus of all the Catholic social work done or projected in France and neighbouring countries, and supplies an excellent bibliography.

The difficulties, however, of starting any great Catholic paper like the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* seems for the present, at least, insurmountable. First, of course, comes the financial difficulty of such an undertaking ; to produce a really great paper would mean the combination and hearty co-operation of rich Catholics. There are, no doubt, solid grounds for believing that such an enterprise would be a safe and even lucrative speculation. The signs of the times and the traditions of the country point to the conclusion that Catholics would be well advised in founding and supporting a paper which, precisely because it would defend religion, would have in the long run a better chance of becoming prosperous than any journal that would pin its faith to a political party, however triumphant that party may be for the moment. Besides the financial difficulty, however, there is the still greater one arising out of political differences. If the politics of those in power are despicable, there are also highly respectable politics in France as well ; and these latter have the effect of dividing up the Catholic party, and so of making them too often a prey to their enemies. If the Catholics would form a *bloc*, and thus learn a lesson from their enemies, they would soon make their power felt in the country. There seems no immediate prospect of this ; a paper without at least a political flavour seems an impossibility in this country.

Meantime, with the awful odds against Catholic journalism, the case is not hopeless. Catholics are awakened to the need of this apostolate. That in itself is a great step forward. Both clergy and laity are determined to maintain what they have, and when and where they can to break new ground. In this connexion the words of the present Pope, uttered by him to some representatives of the *Defesa*, a Catholic paper of Venice, are often quoted. When the then Patriarch of Venice heard of the probable failure of the journal from want of resources, he said : ' If I had to sell

my pectoral cross, give the ornaments of the church and my own furniture to save the *Defesa*, I would do so willingly.'

Encouragement comes from the high position maintained by such a review as the *Correspondant* amongst the really intellectual classes of Paris, as well as from the success of new ventures.

The appetite for the discussion of religious questions was keenly whetted by the Separation and the incidents attending it. 'Never,' says a writer in the *Revue des Idées*, by no means a clerical organ, 'within the memory of men of the present day has such interest been aroused concerning religious questions.' This was written in October, 1907. Shortly before this an admirable review was started under the auspices of the professors and friends of the Catholic Institute of Paris, *La Revue Pratique d'Apologetique*, and the success attending its issue has exceeded expectation. It has already over 6,000 subscribers, a large proportion of whom are laity of the intellectual classes.

Welcome surprises of this kind are not of rare occurrence, nor are they confined to Paris. Hence there is reason to hope that in journalism as in other departments better days are dawning for the Catholics of France.

J. E. N.

GLIMPSES OF THE PENAL TIMES—VII

IN the second last article the name of a Father Randall Felix MacDowell, O.P., casually occurred. He, with his brother Dominican, Father Egan, suffered imprisonment for the faith in Dublin. Hence, as we saw,¹ their names occur together in one of the Newgate² Calendars. For the sake of convenience, this is quoted again. Readers will kindly pardon the jailer's bad spelling. If they saw his badly-written Calendar, they would say that in another respect his education was defective. And if they compared the writing of the signature to that Calendar with that of the signature to the Concordatum receipt for the money paid on account of discovering Father John Keating,³ they would perceive a remarkable resemblance, and be led to think that the name 'John Morrison' scrawled on both documents was the name of the same individual. This is the relevant part of the Calendar just referred to:—

(Record Office, Ireland. Queen's Bench Indictments. Hil. 1706. 2F.16.15.)

A Callendr of the Prisoners in her Maties Goale of Newgate this present Terme being the 23rd of this Inst. Jan^y, 1706.

DOMINIC EAGAN	} Fryars tryed and convicted at Queen's Bench.
GEORGE MARTIN	
FFELEX <i>alias</i> RANDLE DOWLE	

Father Randall Felix MacDowell belonged to St. Patrick's Priory, Tulsk, Co. Roscommon, which was founded in 1448 by the good old family of which he was a worthy scion. At present there is scarcely a vestige of the ancient Dominican house, and but few persons are acquainted

¹ I. E. RECORD, April, 1909, p. 405.

² The city prison owed its name to its adjoining the New Gate, of which there is mention so early as A.D. 1188. This gate stood where now Francis Street joins Thomas Street. A part of Newgate Prison is said to be visible at the corner of Lamb Alley.

³ I. E. RECORD, Sept., 1907, p. 258.

with the history of the spot on which its crumbling walls remain. Of all that ever lived within them even De Burgo mentions only two, namely, Father Ambrose MacDermott (subsequently Bishop of Elphin) and Father MacDowell. He studied in Valladolid, and must have distinguished himself, for he was selected to teach philosophy in a college of his Order in Sardinia. After spending some time there in the discharge of his duties as professor he was called to Rome, and was one of the seven Irish Dominicans present on August 20, 1667, when Father John O'Connor took possession of the united Priories of St. Sixt's and St. Clement's. They were given for the purpose of supplying Dominican priests to the Irish Mission by the General of the Order, Antonio de Monroy, and the grant was confirmed by Clement IX.¹

Immediately after his arrival in Rome, as it would seem, Father Felix was appointed to teach theology to the Dominican students of the English Province, who were then residing in the neighbouring house of SS. John and Paul. In 1680 he was made Prior of St. Clement's, where, as we read, his holiness and fervour edified everyone. He was the second superior of the community. This is stated in a document published by Cardinal Moran in his *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, iii., page 359. The words are: '2. Fr. Felix Dowell, Prior, 1680-1683.' So passed his days, divided between prayer and study, in his peaceful home in the Eternal City, till at length he was selected by his superiors for a scene of active labour. After an absence of many years he returned to Ireland in the capacity of Missionary Apostolic. At that time, owing to the severity of the laws, which made it almost impossible to say Mass and to administer the Sacraments, extraordinary powers were granted by the Pope to the regular priests that went to Ireland at the risk of their lives. For even though the persecuting spirit had abated somewhat in the reign of Charles II, the missionaries were exposed to great danger. A contemporary list of the Dominicans (*Liber Provinciae*),

¹ See *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 371.

still preserved in Galway, mentions Father Felix MacDowell as being in Roscommon Abbey in 1689.

In that same year he was appointed chaplain to a regiment in the army of the ill-fated James II, and if he remained so to the end was probably present at the battle of the Boyne.¹ In the MS. Army List of James II, now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, the names of the chaplains are not given. In Dalton's printed copy of King James's Army List the name MacDowell does not occur; but in two places it is stated that the Rev. — McDonnell was chaplain to Henry Luttrell's² regiment of horse. Perhaps it should be Rev. — McDowell. Certainly the name of the chaplain of Luttrell's dragoons, as written in the list of the French Ambassador, Comte d'Avaux,³ according to a friend that is competent to judge, may be read either 'McDonnell' or 'McDowell.' Then

¹ The following letter of King James to Père Antonin Cloche, General of the Dominicans, will be read with interest. We transcribe it from the copy inserted by Father Edmund De Burgo into his MS. *Dissertationucula* :—

'MON RD PÈRE,

'Les avantages que la Religion a retiré dans notre Royaume d'Irlande de la piété et du zèle des Missionnaires Irlandais de votre Ordre qui dans les temps des persecutions les plus rigoureuses ont preferé le bien des âmes, dont le soin leur était commis a toutes les considerations de crainte et de danger qui pouvait les empêcher de travailler dans la vigne du Seigneur, et la satisfaction particulière que nous avons eu de leur conduite en general nous oblige de vous écrire cette lettre pour vous recommander leur interests et pour vous prier de contribuer de votre parte a tout ce qui peut faire fleurir et augmenter la Province Irlandaise de cette Ordre, en lui continuant les memes graces et les memes privileges que vos Predecesseurs lui ont accordé. Outre l'edification qui en resultera pour le bien commun de l'Eglise, nous en prendrons sur nous la principale obligation et nous ne manquerons point de vous dans toutes les occasions qui pourront presenter des marques d'estime que nous faisons de votre personne en particulier et de votre Ordre en general. Ainsi nous prions Dieu, qu'il vous aie, mon R^e Père, en sainte garde. Donné a S. Germain en l'age de 23 jour de Decembre 1694.'

On the letter Father De Burgo makes this remark: 'Quod Serenus Rex hic testatur, experientia (dum in Hibernia fuerat) didicit et observavit; ut enim erat oculatus et exactus rerum observator vidit quanta industria causam Dei et suam promovere satagebant Dominicani Hiberni, unde illos precipue elegit pro Legionum fere omnium Capellanis in exercitu, & Primatem Hiberniae fr. Dominicum Maguire Vicarium gen. exercitus, & Episcopos Elphinensem & Clonfertensem, Fr. Dominicum de Burgo & Fr. Thaddaeum Keoghy, Dominicanos, singulari semper in pretio habuit.'

² One of the Luttrells, of Luttrellstown, near Lucan. Their demesne is at present called Woodlands.

³ British Museum Add. MSS., 9,763.

we may add that the spelling in the list (*which is in French*) can hardly be relied on to decide the point against us, for in it we find such pardonable inaccuracies as 'Calanane.'

Speaking of Father MacDowell, O'Heyne calls him 'Sacellanus legionis Dychamorum,' whatever 'Dychamorum' may mean. If it be not a territorial name, the word may be coined from the Greek *δυο χαμαι* = *two (on the) ground*, and thus may mean foot-soldiers. But in speaking of foot-soldiers the author of the *Epilogus Chronologicus* would, we think, use the ordinary word *peditum*. Besides, in the above-mentioned lists, among the names of the chaplains to the infantry regiments, there is not one that resembles 'MacDowell.' The question, therefore, respecting the particular nature of the chaplaincy cannot be solved at present. Happily, however, it is of little or no importance to know whether he was attached to a cavalry or to an infantry regiment. But in default of further information we may suppose that the Dominican had the spiritual care of Luttrell's dragoons

As regards the *fact* of the chaplaincy, fortunately it did not transpire in 1706, when Father MacDowell was interrogated in the Court of Queen's Bench, for it might now, perhaps, create a difficulty in the cause of beatification, because it might be objected that he was condemned for political reasons, and not on account of religion.

As we learn from a MS. preserved in the archives of St. Clement's ('Brevis Notitia Provinciae Hiberniae ab anno 1600-1736,' a Rev. Patre Edmundo Burke), Father MacDowell was taken prisoner at Ballimor, then tied to a horse's tail and made walk forty miles to Dublin. This distance Father Burke would certainly measure by Irish miles. The present writer is, however, unable to identify with certainty the place he refers to. Ballimor in Co. Westmeath, and Ballimor in Co. Longford, which topographically seem to have the best claims, are each fifty Irish (or sixty-four English) miles from the metropolis, while the only other town of the same name, the one in Co. Roscommon, is seventy-eight Irish (or a hundred English) miles, if even we measure in a straight line, and

not by road. Ballymore-Eustace, in Co. Kildare, though not thirty English miles distant, is, perhaps, the spot meant. Here, we may provisionally conjecture, soon after the battle of the Boyne, the Williamite soldiers in pursuit of the fugitives came up with the Jacobite chaplain, and, continuing their search for some time, brought him by a circuitous route back to Dublin. He subsequently escaped to England, but was arrested there. However, he was liberated through the influence of the Spanish Ambassador, whose chaplain he had been, and as a favour was allowed to betake himself to the Continent.

Don Pedro Ronquillo, Count of Granedo, was the Spanish Ambassador in England from 1690 to 1693, and was succeeded by the Marquis of Canales, who remained in office till 1700, when diplomatic relations were broken off between the two countries on account of the disputes ensuing on the Treaty of the Hague. The Dominican, who had been educated in Spain, was chaplain to one or other of these ambassadors. We cannot guess how he was discovered in London, nor say what was the occasion of his arrest, but probably he was recognized as one who had escaped from Dublin.

The *Hibernia Dominicana* states that Father MacDowell left the country on the accession of William of Orange, or soon after.¹ The circumstances of his arrest at Ballinor have indeed a military rather than a legal appearance, even as the law was administered in the penal times. And he himself stated in his examination, as we shall presently see, that he 'went from this kingdom about the year ninety-one.' Subsequently, after his forced departure from England, he remained abroad for a time, and was then recalled by the Dominican Provincial in Ireland, Father Ambrose O'Connor (1700-1709), who feared that in this country, owing to the long persecution, his Order would die out, and that consequently the faithful would to some extent be deprived of instruction, of the Sacraments, etc., at a time when there were comparatively few priests to

¹ 'Devicto autem regno Anno, 1691,' p. 586.

take care of them. In a memorial addressed in 1704 to Pope Clement XI, which is still to be seen in the Vatican Archives, Father O'Connor states that there were then about ninety Dominicans in Ireland actively engaged in preaching, etc., besides five who had been thrown into prison, and of whose release there was no hope. Two years afterwards Father MacDowell came, but no sooner had he arrived than he was arrested and put into Newgate Prison, Dublin.

His career was a chequered one, but this brief sketch of its chief events will afford our readers a glimpse at the vicissitudes of a Dominican's life in the penal times. It is a fair sample of what a devoted clergy endured for centuries. There were dangers and difficulties on every side, yet the faith triumphed over every obstacle, and persecution only served to unite the priests and people in Ireland more closely than in any other land under the sun. The laity and the clergy alike suffered for their religion, and Father MacDowell was only one among a band of glorious servants of Christ.

This was the extent of our knowledge regarding the circumstances of his arrest, till recently in the Record Office, Ireland, the legal documents of his indictment were providentially brought to light. All were discovered among the dusty bundles of documents that appear never to have been opened since the Clerk of the Court tied them up in the reign of Queen Anne. There is an Index Book in the Crown Office, but otherwise the bundles have no clue to their contents but this, that those of each term are kept separate. In general the indictments are of little utility, and of less interest, being the dismal records of offences, great and small, committed in Dublin from 1702 to 1714; but these referring to the Dominican are of priceless worth.

As our readers have already seen specimens of indictments, there is no necessity for giving Father MacDowell's one in full. The heading is: '*Cognovit Indictamentum* (i.e., *He pleaded guilty*), to be transported.' And the final clause is: 'Peruse the annexed examination for prooffe of this bill. Tempore Paschali quinti anni, Comitatus Civitatis Dublinensis. Billa vera cum sociis. James Barlow.'

(Indictments, Queen's Bench, 1706, Easter Term, No. 25.)
The examination, or rather the examinations referred to are these :—

The examination of William Rowan, of Ring's End, Surveyor,
who being sworn saith :—

That upon fryday, the 19 instant Aprill, this Exam^t being on duty on board the Charlott yatch, Captain George Breholt, Comander, which then arrived in this port of Dublin (as the Cap^t said) from Chester this Exam^t then found a man on board the s^d ship who called himself Randall Dowell, & the s^d Dowell being very solicitous to get leave to go on Shoar from the s^d ship with his cloak, bagg, and Leather Portmant in another Boat than which this Exam^t intended to carry the Passengers things, which gave this Exam^t cause to suspect the s^d Dowell for being an officer from France,¹ or some Popish Bishop or Fryer or Preist, & thereupon this Exam^t ordered the s^d Dowell's cloak, bagg, and Portmant into the Queen's Boat, and examining the s^d Dowell in the presence of severall gentlemen who were then on board, the s^d Dowell at first declared he came from London, but this Exam^t suspecting the truth of what he said of himself offered to search him the s^d Dowell who seemed unwilling to be searcht and resisted, but being compelled to submitt, & this Exam^t found in his the s^d Dowell's Letter Case severall papers which shewed the s^d Dowell's name to be Phelix, & denoted him to be a Popish Preist or Fryar, & then the s^d Dowell declared he was a Preist, then this Exam^t sent the s^d Dowell in custody of Peter Vavesor and James Bradley, Tide waiter and Supernumerary, to the Secretary of State or next Justice of the Peace together with the s^d papers, and understands they carryed the s^d Dowell and his papers to Alderman Quin, who committed him to prison, and there this Examinant saw him since, & saith the s^d Dowell being this day brought before the judges of the Queen's Bench confessed in open court he the s^d Dowell is a Dominican Fryer.

Juratum coram me

WILLIAM ROWAN.

April 24, 1706.

THOMAS QUIN,

Comitatus Civitatis Dublini.

¹ All such persons were by Act of Parliament forbidden to return. To prevent their coming back to Ireland was almost as meritorious as to hinder the coming back of a regular priest.

The Vice-Treasurer's Ledger (1701, p. 109) has this entry : 'Paid Alexander Irwyn for taking two of the late King James' Captaines who lately arrived into Ireland as by Warrant dated the 27th of June 1701, with Acquittance appears.

The Examcon of Peter Vavesor, of Ring's End, Custome House Officer, who, being sworn, saith:—

That this day there came into the Bay of Dublin the Charlett yatch, & among other passengers there was a man who appeared to be a Popish Preist, and confesses himself to be of the Dominican Order, and calls himself Randall Dowell, who pretends to come here for his health, and has divers papers found about him by which he seems to be a Popish Missionary, ag^t whose coming here this Examinant understands there is a late Act of Parliament made, & therefore, the s^d Randall Dowell is brought to justice.

P. VAVESOR,
JAMES BRADLEY &
PETER VAVESOR,
Recognoverunt, £20 each.

Juratam coram me
April 19^o, 1706.

THOMAS QUIN,
Comitatus Civitatis Dublini.

The Examination of Randall, *als* Felix Dowell, who saith:—

That he is a native of the Kingdom of Ireland, was educated at Valedolid in Spain, was ordained in the City of Dublin a Preist of the Dominican Order, between thirty and forty years since, that he went from this Kingdom about the year ninety-one, and has since been travelling in England and Holland, & came into England about three years since and dwelt there ever since, lodging in severall places in London, and last at the house of one Mr. Dean, a cook, near Little Queen's Street, near Holborn, at the sign of the Goat, but being indisposed in health for half a year past was advised by some eminent Physitians in London to return to his own Native country for the recovery of his health, & saith he came over here from Chester in the ship called the 'Charlotte' yacht, Captain Breholt Comander, & was this day seized because it appears he is one of the Romish Clergy.

*Randell als Felix
Dowell*

Capta coram me
April, 19 1706.
THOMAS QUIN.

Of this Thomas Quin nothing further seems to be known than that he was an Alderman, and that he rented from the Corporation a plot of land, part of which is at present North Strand Street.

For at least two hundred years the port, or as it was commonly called the Packet Station, of Dublin was at Ringsend, the promontory between the Liffey and the Dodder. It was here in 1649 that, as Lord Lieutenant, Oliver Cromwell landed with an army of 12,000 men, and in 1805 that Sir Charles Hoare experienced the inconveniences and difficulties in getting through the Custom House which he so pathetically recounts. But although Ringsend was the ordinary place of debarkation, in Father MacDowell's case the chance of escaping detection was exceedingly small. The revenue officers were numerous and were not wanting in vigilance. We can only surmise that as he had crossed in the government vessel, he hoped neither to be asked what he was nor to be obliged to let his pockets be searched, but on the contrary to pass unnoticed, provided his luggage was submitted to the ordinary examination. He certainly was not prepared to see his things put into the Queen's boat by the Custom House officials. But little as he may have dreamt of it, while coming over by the Charlotte yacht, he was in imminent danger of arrest. Her commander, Captain Breholt, was as authorized and presumably as eager to seize a priest as the Ringsend men could be. He had taken the Test Oath as a matter of course, was a trusty servant of the Williamite Government, and is occasionally mentioned in official correspondence. For instance :—

(British Departmental Correspondence, 1683 to 1714. Record Tower, Dublin Castle, Vol. I.)

ADMIRALTY OFFICE, 30 Dec. 1701.

I have received your letter of the 22nd inst. together with a certificate & Test signed by Cap^t Breholt & Cap^t Markes of their having done the Duty required before their commissions & acquainted my Lords of the Admiralty therewith, who have signed an Order empowering you to administer the Oathes &

Test to the Boatswaine of the Charlotte Yacht which comes inclosed.

I remain, Sir

Your most humble servant,

J. BURCHETT.

Mr. Dawson at
Dublin Castle.

[*Address*]

For His Majesties Service.

To Mr. Dawson at^t Dublin Castle,
Admiralty Office, Ireland.

30 Dec. 1701.

J. BURCHETT.

No. 39.

By the Commission for executing the office of Lord High Admirall of England, Ireland, &c.

To Mr. Dawson.

In vertue of the Power and authority to us given by an Act of Parliament made in the first yeare of his Majesty's reigne, entitled an act for abrogating the oathes of Supremacy and Allegiance, and appointing other Oathes, Wee do hereby empower, direct, and depute you to administer and tender the Oathes and Tests appointed by Act of Parliament unto Josias Moor appointed Boatswain of the Charlot Yacht, and see that he take the said Oathes and subscribe the Test before you deliver him his Warrant, and returne to this Board his subscription of the said Test, together with a certificate under your hand and seal of his having taken the said oathes, Given under our hand and the sale of the office of the Admiralty this thirtieth day of December, 1701.

PEMBROKE.

[*Also*]

Edward Southwell to Joshua Dawson¹ :—

LONDON, 23 Feb., 170²/₃.

My Lord Lieutenant has given Capt. Breholt permission upon his earnest request to make a trip extra to Dublin for some necessarys he says he stands in need of, but pray take care that both he and the ship appointed for our convoy may be in Chester river at least by the time I have mentioned.

¹ Dawson, from whom Dawson Street, Dublin, is called, was Clerk of the Paper Office in Dublin Castle, Under Secretary for Ireland, and Secretary to the Lords Justices; and Southwell was Secretary of State.

Same to same:—

LONDON, 15th June, 1706.

Pray tell Capt. Breholt I received his letter from Chester. I suppose he will make haste back again, because here is company going over that will want him.

Same to same:—

LONDON 15th April, 1707.

Tell Capt. Breholt I had his letter of the 28 from Chester wherein he tells me he was then going to sail for Dublin with Mrs. Meredyth. I think he need not return again till further direction. There is also another reason which is that if he stays till 3 weeks or a month I may then perhaps have my own young man over at y^e same time.

DUBLIN. (Vice Treasurer's Ledger. 1704. p. 79.)

Paid Cap^t George Breholt for furnishing her Maj^{ties} yacht the Charlotte with men and Provisions in her Passage with several Persons of Quallity from Dublin to Chester as by Warrant dated 16 March, 1703 and Acquittance appears. 53.7.0.

The Test Oath referred to above, which had to be taken before a person was appointed to any office, whether military, civil, legal, etc., is known to many of our readers. It, nevertheless, deserves to be quoted in an account of the penal times, for it shows more clearly than a description could the spirit which animated our rulers and which caused them to persecute Catholics:—

(4 William & Mary, c. ii., 1692.)

I, A.B., do solemnly and sincerely in the presence of God, profess, testify and declare, that I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any Transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at, or after the Consecration thereof by any person whatsoever, and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass as they are now used in the Church of Rome are superstitious and idolatrous. And I do solemnly in the presence of God, profess, testify and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they are commonly understood by Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted me for

this purpose by the Pope, or by any other authority or person whatsoever, or without believing that I am, or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any person or persons, or power whatsoever should dispense with, or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.

When Mass was thus attacked, it can cause no surprise to find that to men who hated all Catholics a minister of the altar should be the object of special detestation. Hence a price was set upon the priest's head during the penal times. Under Queen Elizabeth, Cromwell, etc., this was *literally* true, but in the reigns of William III and Queen Anne executions had ceased, and imprisonment as bad as death, in some instances followed by transportation after a year, was the legal punishment. In either case the informer got what was known as 'blood-money.' The amount was fixed by Act of Parliament, as much being bestowed for taking a priest as for taking a highway robber. The Dominican whose fate we are considering was an outlaw. By virtue of the Act of Banishment, Ireland, 1698, he was guilty of high treason. The words are: 'And if any person so transported shall return into this kingdom, they and every of them shall be guilty of high treason, and every person so offending shall for his offence be adjudged a traitor and shall suffer loss and forfeit as in case of high treason.' Father MacDowell might have been put to death at any moment. In the eyes of the law it would not have been a crime for any person that met him to kill him. Hence the Custom House official that arrested him had no difficulty in getting the 'blood-money.' The two Lords Justices, who took the place of the Lord Lieutenant (the Duke of Ormond) during his absence from Dublin Castle, gave this order for it on the Treasury:—

By the Lords Justices and Council, RICH^d. COX, Canc. CUTTS.¹

We think fitt and do so conclude, condescende, and agree by these our Letters of Concordatum, to grant that Capt. William

¹ Sir Richard Cox was Lord Chancellor of Ireland. The other Lord Justice was John, Lord Cutts of Gowran. Both were sworn in on June

Rowan shall have & receive the sume of thirteene pounds five shillings for discovering and takeing Randal, *als* Felix MacDowell, a Dominican friar. These are therefore to will and require you out of such Her Maj^{ties} Treasury as now remaines under your charge or shall next come to your hands, to pay the said William Rowan or his Assigns the said sume of thirteene pounds five shillings, and for your so doing, these our letters of Concordatum together with his acquittance or the acquittance of his Assigns shall be as well unto you as to the Com^{rs}. of your Acc^{ts} and all other persons concerned therein a sufficient Warrant & Discharge in that behalf.

Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin, the 22nd day of August 1706.

To the Receivor or Receivors Gen^l of Her Maj^{ties} Revenue in this Kingdom their Deputy or Deputies.

R. SAVAGE.
ROBT. DOYNE.

WILL. DUBLIN,
SHELBURNE,
CHA. FIELDING,
W. ROBINSON,
CHA. DERING,
THO. KEIGHTLEY,
R. SAVAGE,
ROBT. DOYNE.

Capt. Wm. Rowan, £13 5s. 0d.

[On Reverse side] Received the contents, £13 5s. 0d.

WILL. ROWAN.

[Endorsed] 22 Aug., 1706.

Concordatum

Capt. William Rowan for takeing Randal, *als* Felix MacDowel, a Dominican Fryer.

		£13	5	0		
Poundage	..	..	..	0	6	1½
Pells	..	..	..	0	1	2½
Ballance	..	..	..	12	17	7½

£13 5 0

Record Office. I.Q.45.1.

Concordatum Warrant. No. 8052.

25th, 1705. The names appended to this order on the Irish Treasury are those of Privy Councillors (Protestant bishops, judges, etc.). We may add that General Cutts had been an officer under the Duke of Marlborough. He was created Baron Cutts of Gowran in 1690. He died in Ireland, 26th January, 1706.

In the course of this description of the penal times, exactly similar warrants issued to the captors of other priests were or will be quoted. The nature of the larger class to which they belong, i.e., 'Concordatum Warrants,' may not be known to every reader. The following particulars respecting these warrants and the various officials mentioned in them are therefore taken from G. E. Howard's work, *A Treatise of the Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland*, Dublin, 1756. In explanation of the name 'Concordatum' as applied to the fund he says: 'This is an annual sum of £5,000, limited in the civil establishment, to be paid as shall be *agreed* (from whence it has its name), that is to say, by *Concordatums* of the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, Lord Justices, or other Chief Governor or Governors and Council.' And he says: 'Payments on the head of the Concordatum in the Civil List are to be on warrants,¹ to

¹ The first of the Warrant Books, or office-transcripts made for reference, now extant, is that for 1711. Those of an earlier date were all consumed by the great fire that raged for three days (April 15, 16, 17, 1711) in the muniment rooms of the Privy Council, in Essex Street. Fortunately the Vice-Treasurer's Ledgers were at that time kept in the Custom House. All the Concordatum entries from 1700 to 1706 have been examined, and in these articles all the entries relevant to their subject are given. To those quoted already the two remaining ones may here be appended. The first belongs to the class of which we have had several instances, viz., rewards for having arrested regular priests. The Vice-Treasurer's Ledger for 1707 (Press mark 18.10.160) contains the following on p. 127:—'Paid Richard Huddy for apprehending William Henesy, a fryer, as by Warrant dated 14th July 1707 and Acquittance appears, £11 3s. 0d.' The Concordatum Warrant itself is also preserved; it is signed by Earl Pembroke, the Lord Lieutenant, with several Privy Councillors, and it resembles word for word the Warrant given to William Rowan for arresting Randal Felix MacDowell. Also it should be mentioned that as some persons in retaliation burned Richard Huddy's house in Ballynoe, Co. Cork, the Lords Justices (Narcissus Marsh, Richard Freeman) by a Proclamation issued on December 10, 1707, 'to the end such person or persons may be known and discovered, and such good services in apprehending Popish regulars no way discouraged by such wicked persons escaping and going unpunished,' declared that anyone giving such evidence as shall lead to conviction, 'shall not only have Her Majesty's full and free pardon for the same, and all felonies and other offences except murder, but shall also have the sum of twenty pounds.' A Concordatum Warrant such as this when discovered in the Record Office is indirectly a cause of pleasure, in so far as it testifies to a priest's fidelity and constancy in the time of persecution. The other Warrant is of a directly opposite nature: 'Concordatum Warrant. 12th Jan. 1699. Dominic Langton, Clerke, as of her Mat^y Bounty £30 *per annum* (payable quarterly) from 1 Dec. 1703 to the 1st June 1704. £15. Poundage 0.7.6. Pells 0.1.6. Ballance 14.11.6.' We know that any priest who turned Protestant received an annuity of £30 (8 Anne, c. iii., 6, and perhaps by an earlier

be moved for and granted at the Council Board, and these warrants are to be signed by the Lord Lieutenant, or by the other Chief Governors, and a quorum of the Council.' Then with regard to the Vice-Treasurer he explains: 'He is a principal officer of this part of the court, under the several appellations of Vice-Treasurer, Receiver General, Pay-Master General, and Treasurer at War;' and with regard to the Clerk of the Pells: 'He enters all the teller's bills into a book or parchment roll, called *pellis receptorum*. . . . With him are also entered all warrants or debentures, upon which the Vice-Treasurer or Receiver General makes any payment.' And again: 'We find that the Clerk of the Pells has constantly received one penny and one-fifth per pound, upon all payments issued out of the Exchequer.'

Lastly: 'The fee of sixpence, English money, to be by them (i.e., *Vice-Treasurers*) and their deputy taken and received out of every twenty shillings of like money, which they shall issue and pay to any person on his Majesty's establishment, for salary, entertainment, pay, subsistence, pensions, or other cause whatsoever, by virtue

Act). And if we mistake not this Warrant was granted to an apostate Dominican.

It must be in reference to him that O'Heyne (*Epilogus*, p. 38), when speaking of the Killenny Dominicans whom he had known, utters these pathetic words: 'Alter est Pater Langton, filius perditionis, qui heresim quam interiorius concepit explicuit aperte, apostatans a fide vera et a suis votis, factusque est infamis prædicator in suis paucis et multorum damnationem. Deus per Jesu Christi adorandum sanguinem reducat eum ad veritatis agnitionem et ad dignos poenitentiae salutaris fructus! Amen! Amen! Hujus filii prodigi facio mentionem ut omnes visuri has notulas orent pro eo.' It would, however, seem that he died impenitent. At any rate, many years ago, an old list of members of the Irish Province was seen, in which one entry was: 'Dominicus Langton, infelix apostata mente captus obiit' (or a sentence to that effect). It was the only one of the kind we ever saw, and if we remember aright the list mentioned that he was the only apostate. At present we cannot recollect where we saw the list, or even to what period it belonged; but the painful surprise that the fact of apostasy caused impressed the man's name indelibly on memory. Since then a great many documents referring to the penal times have been examined. It is satisfactory to be able to state that in them only one other case of apostasy has turned up, that of a Franciscan, namely, a Father Egan.

A Viceregal Proclamation referring to him is still to be seen in the Record Office. (Proclamations. 1661-1684, lib. 2, fol. 140.—IE. 14.91.)

By the Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland.
ESSEX.

Whereas we are informed, that Anthony Egan, Clerk, the last Sabbath Day, and several other times, hath been assaulted, abused and disturbed

of the said offices, or any of them.' These are dry details, but a knowledge of them is necessary to understand the technicalities of this warrant.

On its presentation, the money due for the arrest of the Dominican was given, as appears from this entry in the 'Receiver-General's Account,' 1707, page 114 :—

Paid Captain William Rowan for taking Felix McDowell a Dominican Fryer as by Warrant dated 22 August 1706 and Acquittance appears £13 5s. *od.*

Record Office, Dublin.

Father Felix had not to remain long in Newgate. At his advanced age and in his weak state of health it was impossible to withstand the effects of confinement and ill-usage, and he

in the street, and other places, by boys, and other disorderly, loose, and idle persons, to his great discouragement in the performance of his Function and contrary to His Majesty's Laws, and all good order and government. For prevention of the like disorders in future, We do hereby strictly charge, require and command all Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs and their Officers, Constables, and all other His Majesties Officers and loving subjects whomsoever, not only to permit the said Anthony Egan and his servant, quietly and peaceably to pass from place to place, as they or either of them shall have occasion, within this city and suburbs or elsewhere, in this kingdom ; but in case they or either of them shall hereafter be assaulted, abused or disturbed or any manner of violence or of injury offered unto them, or either of them, openly, or privately (they behaving themselves civilly, as becometh loyal subjects) to take, apprehend, and secure all such person or persons of what age, condition, or sort soever they are, that shall be found offending, as aforesaid, in any kind, and carry them before the Lord Mayor of this City, or the next Justice of the Peace, to the place where they shall be taken to be punished according to Law.

Given at His Majesties Castle in Dublin, the 4th day of February, 1672.

HENRY FORDE.

These are to certify all whom it may concern, that Mr. Anthony Egan, Batchelor of Divinity, lately a Franciscan Fryer in Ireland, but now of the Reformed Religion, hath for the time of his abode in the University of Oxford, behaved himself soberly, discreetly, and studiously and thereby hath been a happy means to reduce some persons to the Church of England, who had been formerly perverted. In Witness whereof I have hereunto put my Hand and Seal, in such causes usual, this twenty-ninth day of August, in the year of our Lord, 1673.

P. BOTHAND WILLS, Vice-Chan.
Oxon.

Idem Testor THO. BARLOW, Coll.
Reginae, Praepositus.

RA. BATHURST, President of
Trinity Colledge.

THO. TULLIE, Aulæ St. Edmundi,
Principalis.

JOHN WALLIS, Geo. Professor
Oxon.

THO. YATES, President of Brazen
Nose.

AB. KAMPION PROUT, Senior.

Copia Vera.

succumbed to it in less than two years. Let us hope that he was visited and consoled by his brother-priests, the five other confessors of the faith then in Newgate, and still more frequently as his end drew near. De Burgo says it came on February 3, 1707. When at last that bright morning dawned, Father Felix hailed it as the day of his deliverance from an earthly prison, and of his entrance into the eternal freedom and joys of the children of God. His name and that of his companion, Father Dominic Egan, are amongst those of the 'Irish Martyrs' whose cause is being introduced in Rome. The passage in Father Edmund de Burgo's *Dissertationuncula* referring to them both may be quoted :—

Illius tempore (Patris Ambrosii O'Connor) nonnulli recepti sunt in Conacia juvenes ad habitum et multi per ipsum in patriam revocati, ne Ordo ibidem omnino periret, et fideles spirituali alimonia carerent : ex quibus P. Dominicus Egan Traliensis in Momonia, captus Dublinii, post annos novem in carcere obiit ; P. Praesentatus Felix MacDoyle, Tulskiensis, captus prius Ballinor, et ad equi caudam ligatus Dublinium ad 40 milliaria ductus, evasit inde, et in Angliam fugit, ubi captus, favore Legati Hispanici (cujus capellanum egit) bis exulari pro favore obtinuit ; sed in Hiberniam redux anno 1706, captus fuit in ipso portu Dubliniensi et interrogatus quis esset, libere respondit 'Dominicanus sum, facite de me quod vultis, quia mori non vereor.' Unde ad carcerem de Blackdog ductus, ibidem ad mortem detentus est.

It is a pleasure to be enabled to add that, according to information just received, there is reason to think that the cause of Father MacDowell will be brought before the Congregation of Rites next month, i.e., July, 1909.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

[To be continued.]

‘ST. RICHARD OF DUNDALK’

IT is now almost forty-four years since an interesting study of Richard FitzRalph, or Richard of Dundalk, appeared in the pages of this magazine. Some of the arguments used to prove the English nationality of FitzRalph were not very convincing, and an attempt was made to claim him as a native of Staveley, in Derbyshire, whose father was a certain John de Hibernia, an Irishman. Let it be at once said that the future Primate could not possibly have been the son of John de Hibernia, nor of his brother Ralph. He was unquestionably the son of Ralph of Dundalk, one of the Peppard family, but he dropped the surname and adopted that of FitzRalph, just as did the FitzGerald, FitzSimons, etc.

The writer of the above-mentioned paper gives a high eulogy of FitzRalph, of which I quote as follows :—

A variety of great qualities, rarely united in one individual, gives a singular attractiveness to the history of Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh. Extraordinary holiness of life, of which proof remains in a popular couplet, and in the appellation of St. Richard of Dundalk, by which he was known for centuries, but in the stronger evidence of a Pontifical Commission issued by Boniface IX to examine into his miracles with a view to his canonization ;—rare intellectual power, exhibited in every branch of theology—erudition both various and profound—eloquence of a high order, to which his sermons still extant bear testimony ; all these are qualities which, especially when exercised under the trying vicissitudes of a great controversy within the Church, could not fail to constitute a remarkable career. Of this career we now propose to lay before our readers an outline as perfect as the materials within our reach will allow us to sketch. We do so with the hope that others, in whom better skill is backed by richer materials, may be led to supplement from their store our shorter contribution to the history of an illustrious successor of St. Patrick.

Returning to the subject of FitzRalph's birthplace, it is

strange that Stuart's *History of Armagh* (edited by Father Coleman, O.P.) makes the statement that 'probably he was a native of Devonshire.' The Devonshire legend is based on a guess by Prince in his *Worthies of Devon*, and is entirely unsupported by any evidence. FitzRalph's provenance is aptly described in a couplet quoted by Rev. Paul Harris, in 1629, which must date from the fifteenth century :—

Many a mile have I gone and many did I walk,
But never saw a holier man than Richard of Dundalk.

Father Mooney, O.F.M., in 1618, calls FitzRalph 'a native of Dundalk.' But there is ample evidence to show that the FitzRalphs had settled in County Louth in 1210, and we find Ralph FitzRalph one of a jury in 1276, whose son Richard was born about the year 1295 in Dundalk. Like so many others of the Anglo-Irish—and not a few of the native Irish—young FitzRalph was sent to study at Oxford University, in 1315. Already many scholars from Ireland had distinguished themselves at Oxford, e.g., William of Drogheda (1245), John Walsh (1258), Duns Scotus, Thomas Keating, Walter White, Daniel O'Brien Malachy, O.F.M. (1310), David O'Buggy (1320), Gilbert of Louth (1330), and others of less note. After a brilliant course at Balliol College, he took out his M.A., and then studied theology under the great Carmelite theologian, John of Baconthorpe, graduating in Divinity at University College in 1331. Two years later (July 6, 1333) he was made Chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral, and in the same year was appointed Chancellor of Oxford University. Further preferment was heaped on him, and in 1336 he was collated to the deanery of Lichfield. Wood relates that the first window in the north bay of the choir of St. Chad's Cathedral depicted Richard FitzRalph in his sacerdotal dress, with the inscription : 'Richardus Radulphi filius, Armachanus, hujus ecclesiae Decanus.'

Probably what gave rise to the idea that FitzRalph was a native of Devonshire was the fact that in 1331 (5 Kal. Oct.) Pope John XXII assigned him a canonry and prebend

in the diocese of Exeter, but in the Papal Brief he is distinctly styled as 'of the diocese of Armagh.' Three years later he was given a canonry and prebend in Armagh, his native diocese.

Abbot Gasquet tells us that FitzRalph was certainly born at Dundalk, Co. Louth, and that he 'spent some of his early life in the household of that learned lover of books, Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham.' His discourses were written in Latin, but were preached in English, of which many were delivered in the choir of Lichfield Cathedral:—

It may seem somewhat strange, perhaps, that the sermons of so well known a man as FitzRalph have never been printed, but such is the case. I note that on more than one occasion FitzRalph, preaching about the year 1340, is said to have commenced his sermon by reading the whole Gospel in English—an interesting and significant fact.¹

We learn from the *Calendar of Papal Petitions* (1342-1419) that FitzRalph went to Avignon in the spring of the year 1344, and was favourably received by Pope Clement VI. Under date of 8 Id. May, he obtained for his nephew, Richard FitzRalph, *of the diocese of Armagh*, a benefice in the gift of the Bishop of Meath, notwithstanding that he was likely to obtain another in the diocese of Lichfield, in the gift of the Archbishop of Dublin (Alexander de Bicknor). This nephew is described as a B.A. of Oxford. FitzRalph also got preferment for two other nephews, Edmund FitzRalph of the diocese of Armagh, and John Brisbane of the same diocese, and he obtained the office of notaries public for his two secretaries, Robert Burley and William Constable, both of his native diocese. Those entries—which were only accessible within recent years—incontestably prove that FitzRalph was a native of the archdiocese of Armagh.

At length in June, 1346, the chapter of Armagh elected the Dean of Lichfield as Archbishop, in succession to David

¹ *The Old English Bible and other Essays.* By Francis Aidan Gasquet. 1908.

MacGeraghty, and the election was ratified by Pope Clement VI on July 31. Accordingly, on July 8, 1347, Richard FitzRalph was consecrated to the see of St. Patrick, the ceremony being performed at Exeter by Bishop de Grandison and three other prelates, and he received the pallium at the hands of the Bishops of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise in the following September. Two years later, at the request of Richard, 'Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of All Ireland,' Pope Clement VI appointed William Napton, perpetual vicar of St. Nicholas, Dundalk, to the arch-deaconry of Meath, vacant by the promotion of William St. Leger (7 Id. Nov., 1349).

Archbishop FitzRalph continued in high favour with Pope Clement VI, who granted an indulgence, at his request, to all penitents who visited the church of Armagh on St. Patrick's Day, and a further indulgence of 'two years of enjoined penance' to penitents who subscribed towards the fabric of the cathedral. Evidently the Primate obtained these concessions personally, as he was in Rome in 1349-1350, and assisted at the Jubilee celebrations. On the 3rd of the Ides of January, 1351, he was privileged to appropriate four churches in his diocese to his episcopal *mensa* to the amount of 100 marks, as his rents did not amount to £400, and he was also licensed to exchange certain lands in the dioceses of Armagh, Meath, Clogher, Tuam, Elphin, Annadown, and Clonfert—belonging to the see of Armagh—for other lands, rents, and goods more convenient. A few months later his nephew, Richard FitzRalph, M.A., Rector of Trim, was given the prebends of Oola, in Emly, of Kilmacdonagh, in Cloyne, and of Clone, in Ferns, and these preferments were confirmed by Pope Innocent VI in February, 1353.

During the years 1347 to 1356—save the year when he was in Rome for the Jubilee of 1350—Primate FitzRalph attended sedulously to the work of his diocese, and made several visitations. In 1348 he received from King Edward III full powers to treat for peace between the Irish and the Palesmen, as Hugh the Stout, King of Ulster, had marched on Co. Louth, and exacted tribute. A similar

commission to treat with the same king, Hugh O'Neill, was issued by King Edward III, dated April 28, 1355. In the following year the Primate was on a visitation, and he consecrated Matthew MacCasey, as Bishop of Clogher, at Dromiskin Church, Dromiskin being one of the episcopal manors of the see of Armagh. The assistant bishops on this occasion were Richard Calf, Bishop of Down, and Owen O'Ferrall, Bishop of Ardagh.

But a more serious matter than compassing peace between the English and the Irish arose about the year 1355, namely, a fierce controversy with the Mendicant Friars, who at that period, by reason of their influence in the diocese of Armagh, had occasioned much worry to the saintly Archbishop. In particular the Franciscan Friars had considerably diminished the revenues of the parish churches, and had quested so sedulously that the secular clergy were sorely impoverished. A similar state of affairs obtained in England, and at length the English Bishops urged the Primate to come over to London and preach on the subject at St. Paul's Cross. FitzRalph accepted the invitation, and departed from his native diocese in June, 1356—never to return—leaving the administration of his see to Christopher O'Friel, Dean of Armagh.

Abbot Gasquet writes :—

In the eight English sermons he preached at the Cross in St. Paul's Churchyard, in 1356, at the request of the English Bishops, he attacked the privileges of the Friars in bold and vigorous language. We cannot but be astonished at the way the Archbishop, speaking on behalf of the Bishops of England, could possibly have addressed himself to so burning a question in the public pulpit at St. Paul's. We judge, however, that he was not entirely free from interruption, for he tells us himself that in reply to an objection raised by a friend of the Friars in one of these celebrated sermons, he replied : ' If you will prove that our Lord ever really begged His bread, *I will give you this Bible I hold in my hand.*' His propositions gave great offence to the Minorites, and he was summoned to Rome to answer their accusations.

Incidentally I may observe that the reference quoted

by Abbot Gasquet from FitzRalph's own words testify to the fact of the Bible being used by an Irish Archbishop, and gives colour to the tradition of his having translated the Bible into Irish. Foxe, in his *Acts and Monuments*, tells us that 'a copy of the entire Bible, translated into Irish by Archbishop FitzRalph, was found, many years after his death, walled up in his cathedral.' Abstracting from Foxe's absurdity as to the Irish Bible having been 'walled up,' implying, of course, that the Bible in the vernacular was a sealed book in the fourteenth century, it is certain that FitzRalph preached whole sermons in the Irish language, just as he was in the habit of reading the Gospel text in English when preaching to English audiences, or among the English of the Pale.

Towards the close of the year 1356 the Friars culled a number of statements, or propositions, from FitzRalph's English sermons, and forwarded them to Avignon, with the result that the Primate was summoned to the Papal Court to explain his views. Accordingly, in the summer of the following year, we find him at Avignon, where, on November 8, he had the honour of preaching before Pope Innocent VI, taking for his text: 'Nolite judicam secundum precium sed justum judicium judicate.' During 1357 and 1358 the controversy between FitzRalph and the Mendicant Friars occupied the attention of the Holy See, and on October 1, 1358, the Pope wrote to the Archbishops and Bishops of England, ordering them, whilst the suit is pending, not to molest the Friars. Evidently the Archbishop was able to justify his propositions, for, in November, 1358, he again had the honour of delivering a discourse in presence of the Pope.

None of FitzRalph's biographers have hitherto been able to throw any light on the last two years of his life, 1359-60, and Wadding relates that the Primate, seeing it was not likely he could succeed against the Friars, withdrew to Belgium, and there died 'in the mountains of Hannonia.' The real facts are that FitzRalph remained till his death at Avignon, and continued to receive fresh favours from the Pope. Thus we learn from the *Calendar of Papal*

Petitions that in September, 1360, he obtained for his kinsman, Walter Dowdall (who had accompanied him to Avignon), provision of the canonry and prebend of Taghmon, in Ferns, over which litigation had been going on. Again, John Keenan and Thomas de Bronwoen, clerks of the Archbishop, were given important preferments, while another of his clerks was given the church of Leven, in York (September 19, 1360), and a fourth, John Galtrim, was made Canon of Dublin.

FitzRalph died at Avignon, on December 16, 1360, and was reputed in the odour of sanctity. His friend, Stephen Wall (de Valle), Bishop of Limerick, was at Avignon at this time, and probably attended the Primate in his last moments. So highly did Pope Innocent VI consider FitzRalph that, a few months later, he gave the treasurership of Dublin to John Colton, 'chamberlain of the late Archbishop of Armagh.'

In 1369 Bishop Wall of Limerick was again at Avignon, and Pope Urban V, the successor of Innocent VI, approved of his desire to translate the remains of the great Primate FitzRalph from Avignon to Dundalk. Accordingly, Bishop Wall, who had just been promoted from Limerick to the see of Meath, deposited the Primate's remains in the parish church of St. Nicholas, Dundalk, on June 27, 1370, and this date was afterwards observed as the feast of 'St. Richard.'

From 1366 to 1378 a steady cult had sprung up in regard to the heroic virtues of Richard FitzRalph, and Bishop Wall was most anxious to have the cause of his friend duly brought forward at the Holy See. With this object he went to Oxford University to take down the necessary materials for the *Articuli*, but died in that city in 1379, and was buried in the church of the Dominican Friars. At length, on the death of Archbishop Sweetman, on August 11, 1380, John Colton, who had been chamberlain of Primate FitzRalph, was given the custody of the temporalities of Armagh, and was confirmed by Pope Urban VI in 1381. The Pope not long afterwards issued a Commission to inquire into the life and miracles of Archbishop FitzRalph, who was at this date by common usage

known as 'St. Richard of Dundalk.' This Commission of cardinals, including Peter Tomacelli, afterwards Pope Boniface IX, delegated the examination of the cause to Archbishop Colton, of Armagh, Alexander Petit, Bishop of Meath, and Peter Curragh, Bishop of Limerick, in 1388. Nothing seems to have come of this Commission, and Pope Urban VI died on October 15, 1389. However, Pope Boniface IX did not lose sight of the matter, and Archbishop Colton urged the hearing of the cause. As the Bishop of Limerick begged to be examined, the Archbishop and Bishop Petit examined numerous witnesses, and presented their report in 1397. Owing to the distance and expense, the two prelates were unable to hold an inquiry of witnesses in England, and hence they petitioned the Pope to name others to hold a court of inquiry in Lichfield, Oxford, and London, 'where,' as is stated in the Papal mandate, 'many witnesses can testify to the merits and miracles of Richard, Archbishop of Armagh.' Accordingly, on February 5, 1399, the Holy Father issued a mandate to Archbishop Colton, Richard Young, Bishop-elect of Bangor, and the Abbot of St. Mary's, Oseney—or any two of them—to examine witnesses in England.

We cannot trace the result of this second Apostolic Process, but certain it is that the Church was then in a very disturbed state owing to the anti-Popes (Clement VII and Benedict XIII). Anyhow Pope Boniface IX died at Rome on October 1, 1404, previous to which (April, 1404) Primate Colton had died at Drogheda, and had been succeeded by Nicholas Fleming (1404-1439), who was consecrated at Rome on May 1, 1404. At the same time, Richard Young, Bishop of Bangor, was translated to Rochester.

By an Act of Parliament passed at Trim, in June, 1485, a chantry was confirmed in the parish church of St. Nicholas, Dundalk, 'in honour of God, St. Mary, St. Nicholas, and *St. Richard of Dundalk*.' At a Synod held by George Dowdall, schismatical Archbishop of Armagh, at Drogheda, on June 20, 1545, it was decreed, *inter alia*, 'that the festival of St. Richard, Archbishop of Armagh, shall be

celebrated with nine lessons on the morrow of the Feast of SS. John and Paul—that is, on June 27.’ These two items serve to show the veneration in which Primate FitzRalph was held, and seem to point to the fact that the Holy See had really approved of the *Articuli* in the cause of the great Archbishop. It is to be noted that, though Dowdall was a schismatic for nine years (1543-1552), he was forgiven by the Pope, owing to his great zeal for the Catholic faith, and was appointed Primate on January 23, 1553, being formally installed on March 12, 1554. He held a Provincial Synod at Drogheda in the same year, and another in 1557, and died in London on the Feast of the Assumption, 1558.

The writings of FitzRalph are numerous, but most of them remain in manuscript. Copies of his printed works are rare, but are to be found in Armagh Public Library and in Trinity College, as well as in the British Museum. They are in Latin, but one of them had been translated into English by John Trevisa in 1385. Some of the manuscripts are in Trinity College, Dublin, while others are at Oxford, Cambridge, London, Lincoln, and elsewhere. In philosophy he was a Realist of the school of St. Thomas Aquinas, and his reading was most extensive. We join in the hope that his works will at no distant date be published, in an English translation, and we also echo the wish of Abbot Gasquet that his English sermons will soon be available. Mayhap, too, his Irish translation of the Bible, mentioned by Foxe, Bale, and Archbishop Usher, may yet be disinterred. But even a greater triumph would await the name of FitzRalph if the *Articuli* of his beatification process could be discovered. Should this come to pass, a future generation may be destined to celebrate the memory of ‘St. Richard of Dundalk’ as one of the glorious confessors who presided over the see of St. Patrick—one of that line of illustrious primates which included St. Benignus, St. Jarlath, St. David, St. Cairlan, St. Tommine, St. Celsus, St. Gelasius, St. Malachy, and St. Cornelius.

W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

DISPENSATION FROM BANNS

REV. DEAR SIR,—It is well known that in many dioceses in Ireland the banns are never published, but a dispensation is sought for, and granted generally by the Vicar of the district. Some Vicars think that it is necessary for a priest to mention a *cause* when asking for a dispensation, if not for validity, at least, they say, for lawfulness, and they are contented with an old stereotyped formula, such as *propter periculum in mora*, or *propter rationes consuetas*, etc., which seem to be only meaningless expletives, having no foundation in fact.

I believe that in any diocese where the banns are never proclaimed, the Bishop has satisfied himself beforehand about the cause, and that cause, it seems to me, is the *mulct given as alms to the Bishop*, or rather the cause is, *utilitas ecclesiae* to which the mulct is applied. Some think that the cause is *concordato*, which view does not commend itself to me, as it is hard to conceive a Bishop acting *through custom* against his diocesan law, or the law of the Church. Now I would wish to ask:—

1. Is it necessary for the validity or even for the lawfulness of the dispensation in banns that these old and foundationless forms should be used in the petition?

2. Do you think there is any room for distinction between dioceses such as I have mentioned and others where the banns, one or more, are usually proclaimed? And if so, do you consider that, in these latter dioceses, the cause or causes should be mentioned in the petition, and that they should be some of the canonical causes laid down, v.g., by Lehmkuhl (ii. 676), or St. Liguori (vi. n. 1006); and not those trite, empty formulas I have alluded to?

A SUBSCRIBER.

1. To the first question, as proposed by my correspondent, only one answer is possible. 'Old and foundationless forms' are not necessary either for the validity or for the lawfulness of the dispensation. On the contrary,

it would be unlawful to allege causes which have no foundation in fact ; and the validity of the dispensation should be questioned if the only causes were of such a nature. Whether any particular form is ' old and foundationless ' is another question. The cause stated as *periculum in mora* evidently is without foundation if universally applied, but in some cases it holds good. The phrase *propter rationes consuetas* at times would be meaningless, and at times would be quite intelligible. When, for instance, it is the practice of a diocese not to have the banns proclaimed, *rationes consuetas* would be sufficiently expressive ; the Ordinary, who has already made up his mind that there are reasons why the banns should not be proclaimed in his diocese, would understand the meaning of the phrase.

It is difficult to admit that ' the *mulct* given as alms to the Bishop, or rather . . . *utilitas ecclesiae*, to which the *mulct* is applied,' constitutes a sufficient reason for the concession of a dispensation from the banns. To quote Rosset¹ : ' Non licet dispensare ob pecuniam etiam pauperibus vel piis operibus erogandam.' It seems, however, that ' custom ' is very efficacious in supplying a reason on which the Bishop can act, since it would be invidious to publish the banns in a particular case so long as the custom of not publishing them obtains in the diocese. The Bishop could, indeed, change the custom by introducing the general rule of having the banns proclaimed, but until he has done so the custom supplies a cause for dispensation in particular cases.

Naturally, the question arises : If the Ordinary already understands the customary reasons for granting a dispensation, what is the need for express mention of a cause in the letter asking the dispensation ? There seems to be no strict necessity either for the validity or for the lawfulness of the dispensation. The matter is rather of form than of necessity ; in connexion with secular, as well as ecclesiastical, tribunals formalities of various kinds are

¹ *De Matrimonio*, ii., n. 1185 ; cf. Sanchez, l. iii., d. 10, n. 8, 9, 10 ; Ferraris, v., *Denuntiationes*, n. 42.

rightly considered proper, even though they may not be, strictly speaking, necessary.

2. There is a marked distinction between dioceses in which the banns are usually proclaimed and dioceses in which it is customary not to proclaim them. In the former there is no general reason which justifies the concession of a dispensation, but in the latter there happens to be such a reason. Consequently, in the former case the Ordinary already knows the motive of the dispensation, while in the latter he needs to be informed of it in particular cases. The causes to be alleged can be found in the text-books of Moral Theology, but a person is not bound to confine himself to the reasons expressly enumerated in these treatises; similar causes, when available, can be put forward.

What has been stated does not imply that the dispensation is necessarily invalid if the Ordinary grants it, even though no specific cause has been alleged in the petition. If he knows from any source that there is sufficient motive in the case, he can act on the reason of which he has information, and the dispensation is quite valid. If an Ordinary does concede a dispensation, when a motive has not been mentioned in the *supplex libellus*, the presumption holds that he is aware of the existence of sufficient reason for the exercise of his dispensing power. Seeing that he cannot even validly dispense without a cause, since his power is merely delegated, any other presumption would be usually unwarranted.

RESERVATION OF PERJURY

REV. DEAR SIR, — Suppose perjury (in a court of law) is a reserved sin: a witness feigns or pretends to swear, but really excludes oath by explicit intention. He then gives lying evidence? Does he incur reservation?

For negative answer there is the principle *odiosa sunt restringenda*: here there is no strict perjury for there is no real oath.

For affirmative answer:—

1. The reservation would be rendered futile if not incurred in such cases.

2. Reservation seems to have been specially designed to

meet such cases. Witnesses who perjure themselves *in foro externo* generally imagine that they avoid the oath when they manage to avoid kissing the book ; they say they took no oath at all. This seems to be the abuse that the reservation is aimed at. There is perjury *in foro externo* for which witnesses are punishable by civil law. Moreover, the Bishops who have made this reservation admit that they are aiming at an abuse of which lawyers, magistrates, and judges complain ; now this abuse is perjury *in foro externo*, i.e., abuse of God's name and authority in support of falsehood, irrespective of *intention of swearing*.

3. A candidate for Holy Orders takes a vow of chastity, no matter how explicitly he tries to exclude it by his intention. How do you account for this ? Either by the principle of *predominant intention*, i.e., his predominant intention is to take Holy Orders subject to all obligations imposed by the Church, among such obligations being that of a vow ; or else the Church by some sort of *dominium altum* over his will over-rides and overrules his opposition, and imposes this obligation. In a similar way could not the State over-rule the will of witnesses ? Has not the civil authority power to demand evidence *on oath* ? Has it not power to require a real oath ? Of course, it may be said that the State cannot touch conscience ; but still, in matters of justice, like wills and contracts, State can over-ride all mental reservations and fictions, and transfer rights, not only *in foro externo*, but also *in foro interno*, and *coram Deo*. The public weal demands this. Does it not also require that State be able to impose obligation of a strict oath upon him who tries to swear *fictionally* ? On the other hand is not predominant intention of witness to have his evidence accepted with the full and solemn value that civil authority attributes to formality of swearing ? And is not that value the value gained by *real oath* ?

Above argumentation is reported as accurately as deponent could take it down from disputants who thought the matter really practical, and desire the decision of an impartial tribunal.

NON-JUROR.

There seems to be insufficient ground for maintaining that the reservation is incurred in the case described by 'Non-Juror.' There can be no perjury in the strict sense unless an oath has been violated, and there is no oath unless there be the intention of calling on God to witness the truth. This intention was absent in the case stated.

Hence, since reservations must be strictly interpreted, the negative answer to the question is correct.

The witness sinned gravely in feigning to swear, and in giving false testimony, but he did not commit the specific sin to which the reservation is attached. *In foro externo*, he could be punished as a perjurer, but *in foro interno*, to which the reservation belongs, he is not strictly a perjurer, and therefore can be absolved by an ordinary confessor.

The reasons given for an affirmative answer seem inconclusive:—

1. The reservation would not be rendered futile if it be not incurred in the case. Though some would evade the reservation by taking a fictitious oath, people for the most part would intend to take an oath, and would incur the reservation if they swore falsely. By adopting the method of a fictitious oath people would evade, indeed, the ecclesiastical punishment of reservation, but they would commit two mortal sins—the one against religion by gravely irreverent abuse of God's name, the other by giving false testimony when they are bound *sub gravi* by law to tell the truth.

2. Evidently the abuse at which the reservation aims is perjury itself. If it was the legislator's intention to aim at other abuses he would have said so. If he intended to punish external as well as real perjury, it would have been easy for him to do so by expressly including the former in his law. Lawyers, magistrates, and judges do not confine their complaints to external perjury; they complain also of real perjury. We have only to learn by the ordinary rules of interpretation which complaint is met by ecclesiastical legislation.

3. There is an analogy between the fictitious oath and the fictitious vow. A person receiving Major Orders and at the same time excluding a vow of chastity by express intention, is bound to chastity, not in virtue of a vow, but in virtue of ecclesiastical legislation consecrating him to the service of God. Of course, except in the rarest of cases, it cannot be admitted that a person who received Major Orders with his eyes open had not at least a prevalent

intention of taking a vow. But if a case were really to occur, in which a person by a prevalent intention excluded the vow, his obligation to observe chastity would arise simply from the ecclesiastical law. In fact, the ecclesiastical law cannot make a person be bound by a vow against his will, freedom being an essential element of the necessary intention ; but it can bind him to external chastity.

Similarly, if a person really intends to exclude an oath, he does not take an oath, although he may be and in the case stated is bound *sub gravi* to tell the truth. This obligation arises from the civil law just as the analogous obligation of chastity arises from the ecclesiastical law.

The argument urged from the *altum dominium* of the State is not valid, because when there is question of a vow or of an oath, there is a necessary element which no *altum dominium* can supply. This element is the intention. Just as no *altum dominium* of Church or State can supply the consent which is absolutely necessary for a valid marriage, so no power of Church or State can supply the intention which is essentially requisite for a valid oath or a valid vow. Hence the only way in which an obligation can arise is through an exercise of ordinary jurisdiction by which the Church commands external chastity when the ordination vow was excluded by express intention and by which the State commands truthfulness notwithstanding the express exclusion of an oath by a witness.

J. M. HARTY.

CANON LAW

ROMAN ECCLESIASTICAL TRIBUNALS AND OFFICES

OWING especially to the limited space apportioned to the canonical department of this journal we were unable to complete, in the April number, our exposition of the reform of the Roman Curia. We outlined there the principal features of the reform, and dealt with the specific powers of the Roman Congregations. It remains

now to explain the other ramifications of the Roman Curia, notably, with regard to their competency, which we shall try to accomplish by making a few remarks on the special line of business committed to the charge of the Roman ecclesiastical Tribunals and Offices.

V

ROMAN ECCLESIASTICAL TRIBUNALS

The Tribunals of the Roman Curia are three: the Sacred Penitentiary, which is exclusively entrusted with matters of the forum of conscience; and the two Tribunals of the Sacred Roman Rota and of the Apostolic Signatura, which are solely devoted to the decision of contentious cases in the external forum and with all solemnities of ecclesiastical judicature.

1. *The Sacred Penitentiary*.—Its origin is to be traced to the first centuries of the Church, when a number of priests used to be specially commissioned by the Pope to hear confessions and absolve Christians, who in time of persecution left the Church, and wanted, afterwards, to be again admitted into its bosom. The necessity of these confessors was more felt in the Middle Ages, when multitudes of pilgrims visited the Eternal City and sought for dispensations and absolutions, especially from sins and censures reserved to the Pope. The Apostolic Confessors, called Minor Penitentiaries, who, up to the present, are appointed by the Roman Pontiff to hear confessions in the three principal Roman Basilicas of St. Peter, St. John Lateran and St. Mary Major, are said to continue this practice of the Church which prevailed in bygone centuries.

In process of time, however, in addition to these confessors, for the transaction of matters of the forum of conscience, a properly organized board was constituted with a Cardinal at its head, named the Major Penitentiary, to whom the Holy Father gave, and gives at present, all the faculties that the Sacred Penitentiary usually possesses, and which he exercises even during the vacancy of the Apostolic See. The Major Penitentiary is assisted in the

discharge of his duties by a prelate (called Regent) who acts as Secretary, by the Procurators or Adjutors of the Regent, by a Canonist, by a Theologian (who, as a rule, is a Jesuit Father), by a Datary for the registering of the date of the Rescripts, by the Corrector of these documents, by the Sealer and other writers. They are all bound by the strictest secrecy, and follow the regulations of the personnel of the Congregations with regard to their appointment, advancement, salary and other organic provisions.

Originally, therefore, the Sacred Penitentiary was established for the expedition of matters of the internal forum, whether penitential or otherwise, but from the time of its institution down to the sixteenth century its jurisdiction was greatly increased and extended to cases of the external forum. Pius IV first, and Pius V afterwards, restricted its powers, and, subsequently, Benedict XIV in the Bull *Pastor Bonus*, April 13, 1744, restored its competency to the original limits and scope, but still some matrimonial dispensations continued to be granted by the Penitentiary in the external forum for poor persons. Now, however, these exceptional and extraordinary powers have been withdrawn, and the Penitentiary is at present, as it was at the beginning, solely competent in matters relative to the forum of conscience.

Accordingly, it grants dispensations from occult matrimonial impediments, irregularities and vows; it absolves from sins and censures reserved to the Holy See; it accords commutations of vows and sanations of invalid acts or titles of benefices; it remits, under special conditions and circumstances, fruits of benefices unlawfully acquired and condones unlawfully acquired properties; it, finally, decides questions and doubts of conscience when submitted to it or *ex officio*.

To prevent disclosure of secret cases of the forum of conscience, and to avoid, especially in some instances, infringement of the seal of the Sacrament of Penance, this Tribunal allows communication with it in any form and manner, no matter how private and informal. Hence, as we remarked elsewhere, recourse may be had to the

Penitentiary by private letter, written in any language, and even for matters which could be transacted by local superiors. Care is to be taken, however, that cases of such a delicate character be sent to the Penitentiary by registered letter, or, if through an agent, in a sealed envelope. No charge is made for the concession of favours of any kind.

2. *Tribunal of the Sacred Rota*.—This is a Tribunal in the strict sense of the word, since it is competent to try cases in the external forum with all solemnities of law in the strictest judicial form. We outlined already its origin when describing the three different sections of the Roman Curia, and showed that it owes its existence to the fact that Cardinals in the Consistory were not always in a position to decide contentious cases accurately and carefully after the information of the circumstances of fact supplied to them by the Papal Chaplains. These officials, called also Auditors on account of their office of hearing and referring cases to the Cardinals, eventually acquired jurisdiction of trying and deciding contentious matters, and thus they formed the famous Tribunal of the Sacred Rota, preserving the former name of Auditors.

According to some this Tribunal was denominated Rota because of cases being settled by groups of judges in rotation, or because of the round table at which they used to gather when sitting *pro tribunali* to discuss and decide cases. Father P. Ehrle, S.J., the present learned custodian of the Vatican Archives, maintains in his work *Historia Bibliothecae Rom. Pontif. tum Bonifacianae tum Avenionensis*, page 696, that this appellation is due to an instrument in the shape of and serving as a bookstand, called Rota, which, on account of the small wheels with which it was provided under the pedestal, could be gently pushed round to the judges for the inspection of documents placed on it.

¶ The Auditors of the Rota, who have been lending their services to the different Congregations, and notably to that of the Rites, owing to the fact that their Tribunal was for a good many years inoperative, have resumed their former work as Judges of the Rota, as this Court has again

been called into operation and restored to its ancient splendour and importance. Formerly these judges were twelve in number, now they are only ten. One of them is the Superior called Dean. They are all nominated by the Pope and selected from different nations. Each of them can select an Adjutor with the consent of the Pope, and on reaching the respectable age of seventy-five they are bound to retire and make room for more youthful and energetic judges.

Other members of this Tribunal are a prosecutor of justice, who always stands by and defends the law, a defender of the marriage tie, of the religious profession and sacred ordination, some notaries and other minor officials. All of them take the oath of secrecy, and if by their revelations they cause an injury, either *ex officio* or at the petition of the injured party they are prosecuted and condemned to the payment of damages. Advocates in order to be allowed to plead before the Tribunal of the Rota must be Doctors, at least, in Canon Law, must practise for three years as assistants of a Rotal Advocate or of one of the Auditors, and must pass a qualifying examination. These lawyers must be prepared, at the order of the Dean of the Rota, to undertake to defend or assist gratuitously poor persons who cannot pay professional fees.

We have noted elsewhere that the Judges of the Rota administer the law by groups of three Auditors, at least, and in rotation; that if a second sentence is required in the appeal, the cause is handed over to the next group of Auditors, and that by two uniform sentences the case is finally settled and becomes *res iudicata*. We believe, however, that two uniform sentences become *res iudicata* only in case that at least one of them be delivered by the Tribunal of the Rota, as this regulation is made specially for that Court; hence if two uniform sentences have been passed by two inferior local Tribunals, an appeal is still open to the Tribunal of the Rota.

From the competency of this Tribunal are excluded major causes—*causae majores*—causes which are grave either

on account of the subject-matter, such as causes of canonization of saints, or on account of the persons involved in the trial, such as grave criminal cases of bishops. Being a court of appeal, the Sacred Rota cannot try cases in the first instance without special commission from the Pope. Ordinarily, it is competent only in cases of appeal from sentences of inferior Tribunals when sentences are still liable to be reformed.

It accepts also recourses for reinstatement—*restitutio in integrum*—not against its own sentences, but against those of inferior Tribunals; and although in the special regulations for the Tribunal of the Rota no mention occurs of the competency of this Court with regard to complaints of nullity of sentences of inferior local judges, yet we believe that the power of dealing with them must be attributed to it, seeing that the Apostolic Signatura, in dealing with appeals against certain sentences of its inferior Tribunal of the Sacred Rota, can also try cases of reinstatement as well as causes of complaint of nullity of Rotal sentences.

As to the mode of procedure used by the Rota, we have already mentioned the main rules for the trying of cases and passing of sentences in this court of appeal. We stated that litigants are allowed, if they wish, to conduct their cases personally, or they may more conveniently employ an approved advocate either as a pleader or as an assistant; that the proceedings are to be conducted in writing either in Latin or in French or in Italian, and that oral information to the judges or a moderate disputation before them may be occasionally allowed for the elucidation of doubtful points; and, finally, that all the legal solemnities of ecclesiastical trials must be strictly adhered to and carried out, especially with regard to the document of indictment, the citation and plea of the accused, the production of the various judicial proofs, and the observance of the determined periods of time—*fatalia*—for the handing in of documents, for the publication of sentences and lodging of appeals.

We noted also that sentences must be written in Latin

and supported, for their validity, by reasons of law and fact, that the cause in the appeal is treated by the next group of Auditors, and, lastly, that charges are made for different judicial acts, and that poor persons enjoy exemption from costs and taxes and are entitled to gratuitous legal assistance. It remains to be said that all documents to be presented to the Tribunal of the Rota, with the exception of the petition for the introduction of the case, as well as all judicial acts, must be written on special sheets of paper marked with the Papal Seal, and sold in Rome at the price of one lira per sheet. The defence, however, of advocates and the answer to the opponent's argument must be printed, provided they be printed by the printing establishment approved of by the College of the Sacred Rota and the number of pages assigned for those documents be not exceeded without special permission.

3. *Tribunal of the Apostolic Signatura*.—This Tribunal is as ancient in its origin as that of the Rota. When Papal Chaplains, who acted as referees in cases to be decided in the Consistory of Cardinals, obtained power to try cases and form the Tribunal of the Rota, some other clerics remained in the Papal Court, who were solely engaged in examining petitions and reporting to the Pope especially on matters of extraordinary character addressed to the Holy See. On perusal of the documents they used to give the Pope their opinion as to the merits of the case, and thereupon the Pope signed these documents, thus granting the favour requested or giving commission to the Tribunal of the Rota to try some case with the usual solemnities of law if it happened to be of contentious character. From the office of these officials of preparing petitions and documents for the Pope's signature, their college was called *Signatura*, and they were styled *Referendarii* on account of their reporting to the Holy Father on matters submitted to their examination.

From the time of Innocent VIII affairs of favour to be examined by the officials of the Signatura were separated from those of justice, and thus two different boards were

constituted, one named Signatura of Grace, the other Signatura of Justice. The former board remained, as it was, a consulting body for the Sovereign Pontiff in the decision or concession of matters of favour, while the latter developed, in course of time, into a regular court, where petitions for contentious matters were dealt with in formal, judicial way, and eventually it became a supreme Tribunal, superior to that of the Rota and a Court of Cassation for civil cases in the Papal States. When, however, the Roman Congregations acquired power of trying cases of appeal and the Pope was deprived of his temporal power, this Tribunal shared the fate of that of the Rota. It remained inactive for want of work, and it has since existed only in name.

In the new reform of the Roman Curia these two boards were suppressed and a new one was established with the name of Apostolic Signatura. Unlike the former Signatura of Justice, which was composed of simple clerics with a Cardinal as a Prefect, the new Signatura is composed of six judges who are all Cardinals, nominated by the Pope and assisted by a prelate acting as secretary and by other minor officials. It is a supreme tribunal, only competent in a few determined cases concerning the Auditors of the Rota or Rotal sentences.

The supreme Tribunal of the Apostolic Signatura, therefore, has to decide controversies about the recusation of Rotal Auditors as suspected judges; cases of violation of secrecy by Auditors of Rota; questions of damages caused by Rotal Judges for having performed an invalid or unjust act during a trial; complaints of nullity against Rotal sentences and petitions of reinstatement against irreformable decisions of the Tribunal of the Rota.

Needless to add that cases tried by the Apostolic Signatura in strict judicial form are to be conducted according to the rules laid down by the general law of the Church for ecclesiastical trials, as well as those specially framed for the Sacred Roman Rota, *congrua congruis referendo*.

VI

OFFICES OR BOARDS OF EXPEDITION IN THE ROMAN CURIA

Offices in the Papal Curia are chiefly charged with the expedition of letters and documents emanating from the Holy See, and, as a rule, they do not hold ecclesiastical jurisdiction; hence intercourse with them on the part of private individuals or local superiors is not so frequent as in the case of Congregations and Tribunals. It will be sufficient, therefore, to present here only a brief and summary account of their organization and labours.

I. *The Apostolic Chancery*.—Since the remotest centuries of the Church the Pope used to avail himself of the services of some clerics for the writing of the official correspondence and the expedition of other important documents. These clerics were called notaries or regionaries, but in the ninth century the name 'Chancellor' was introduced to indicate a notary or a regionary. Some say this word was derived from *cancellare*, as the Chancellor used to cancel every letter by drawing a line through it, or from the word *cancellum*, because the Chancellor was wont to sit behind a grate when giving audiences.

The title and the office of Chancellor were, at the beginning, entrusted to a prelate; but when Boniface VIII gave them to a Cardinal, he changed that title into that of Vice-Chancellor. Hereafter, however, the Cardinal who holds that office will be simply called Chancellor.

The Apostolic Chancery is composed of the Cardinal Chancellor, the Regent or Secretary, the Summist and other officials. Formerly Bulls issued by the Chancery were countersigned by some officials called Abbreviators, now their College is abolished and superseded by the College of Protonotaries *de numero*, on whom the duty of signing Bulls devolves.

It is the work of this office to expedite in the proper form Apostolic Letters, and Pontifical Bulls with regard to consistorial and other important Church matters, such as appointments to bishoprics, erections, unions or divisions

of dioceses, institutions of new chapters, etc. This work is done according to certain rules, seventy-two in number, established by John XXII, and called *Regulae Cancellariae Apostolicae*.

There were various ways of expediting Bulls, now they must be expedited only in the way called *Per viam Cancellariae*, and a number of Cardinals were appointed to reform the tenor of the rules of the Chancery and to recast the *formulae* of Bulls for consistorial affairs, and especially for benefices conferred within or without the consistory. Finally, it is worthy of note that henceforth the beginning of the year for the expedition and dating of Apostolic Letters, Briefs and Bulls is not to be reckoned from the 25th of March as before, but from the 1st of January.

2. *The Apostolic Datary*.—This bureau is presided over by a Cardinal, who will in future be called the Cardinal Datary. In the past he was named Pro-Datary for the same reason as the Chancellor was formerly styled Vice-Chancellor. This office was called Datary because of the date being duly registered by a special official on the Papal concessions or favours as soon as they were granted by the Holy Father. Besides the Cardinal Datary, the Sub-Datary, the Prefect, the Adjutors and other minor officials constitute this office.

Its work and competency are now restricted (1) to the conferring of non-consistorial benefices reserved to the Holy See, benefices which, as a rule, are conferred by Bulls expedited in the same office or, sometimes, *per decretum simplicis signaturae*; (2) to the drawing up and forwarding of letters for the conferring of those benefices; (3) to the looking after pensions and charges imposed by the Pope on the aforesaid benefices; (4) to the exemption of conditions necessary for the concession of benefices. Moreover, it must impose and collect pensions and charges on the benefices of Rome belonging to the so-called *Cassa-pensionum*; and it has been entirely deprived of the power of conceding dispensations from matrimonial impediments.

In the transaction of these affairs the Datary will

proceed according to its own rules, which must be put in harmony with the dispositions of the Constitution *Sapienti Consilio* until the new rules of the Apostolic Chancery be reformed.

3. *The Apostolic Camera or Treasury*.—This office is presided over by a Cardinal Chamberlain, who is assisted by nine officials called *Clerici de Camera*, by the Vice-Chamberlain, who was Governor of the City of Rome, by the Treasurer and the Auditor-General. The Cardinal Chamberlain had the administration of the public treasury, and subsequently acquired extensive powers in civil and criminal cases in connexion with fiscal matters. In course of time, however, much of his jurisdiction was transferred to the Auditor-General, and eventually the whole treasury department became a tribunal independent of the Chamberlain with the power of trying cases of appeal in financial affairs.

As the competency of this office was, in process of time, almost exclusively confined to the temporal government of the Papal States, it was put out of work by the events of 1870. Now this office has again been called into activity, and has been charged with the care and administration of temporal goods and rights of the Holy See, especially during the time of vacancy, when the Cardinal Chamberlain in fulfilling his duties has to follow the norms laid down for him in the recent Constitution *Vacante sede Apostolica*, December 25, 1904.

4. *The Secretariate of State*.—The beginning of the Secretariate of State, as a properly organized office, is to be traced back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when embassies at princely courts were established and the political importance of the Papal States increased. With the loss of the temporal power much prestige has been taken from this office, but it remains, nevertheless, up to the present, as one of the most important departments of the Roman Curia.

According to the new reform the Secretariate of State is divided into three sections. The first deals with extraordinary ecclesiastical affairs, and is the Congregation of

that name. The other is concerned with ordinary State affairs, and is what hitherto has been known as the Secretariate of State. It expedites the daily personal correspondence of the Pope, conducts civil and ecclesiastical affairs through diplomatic representatives of nations or of the Church, appoints and recalls Apostolic Nuncios, and through it the Pope makes the most important appointments in the Roman Curia and bestows titles and distinctions. The third section is the Secretariate of Briefs which ceased to be a separate office of the Curia. As before, the Secretariate of Briefs is in charge of the expedition of apostolic letters in form of Brief and seals them with the fisherman's ring—*anulus piscatoris*—which is the private seal of the Pope as compared with the official lead seal called *Bullum*, and used in the letters in form of a Bull. By Brief are conceded perpetual indulgences, indults of private oratory *more nobilium*, permissions of preserving the Blessed Sacrament, etc.

These three branches of this office are presided over by the Cardinal Secretary of State, but they have for their immediate superior a prelate called Secretary in the first section, Substitute in the second, and Chancellor in the last. A Commission of Cardinals has been appointed to look after the amendment of the formularies of Apostolic Briefs in order to bring them into line with the requirements of the new regulations of the Roman Curia.

Lastly, there are two other minor offices which are considered as subsidiary to the Secretariate of State. They are the Secretariates of Briefs to Princes and Latin Letters, with a Secretary in charge of each of them helped by Adjutors.

We conclude this brief exposition of the Decrees regarding the reform of the Papal Curia by expressing our admiration for the wisdom and profound juridical knowledge displayed by their compilers, and our satisfaction for the sound and needed innovations introduced in the Roman Curia, all adapted to the altered condition of times and the requirements of the new generation. This reform is a piece of canonical jurisprudence of which it is hard to over-

rate the value and far-reaching importance, and it is sure to be attended with the best results and to yield the beneficial effects intended by the reformer. And if this is a specimen and prelude of the far more important work of the codification of the whole ecclesiastical legislation, the coming code of Canon Law bids fair to prove a masterpiece of its kind, a perennial monument of the wisdom of the Church, and an epoch-making production worthy of the Catholic Church and of the illustrious Pontiff to whom its destinies are entrusted.

ON THE RACING LAW ONCE MORE

REV. DEAR SIR,—An answer to the following questions in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD will greatly oblige :—

(1) I have heard it stated that priests who have got permission from their Bishops to take part in public hunts may also attend point-to-point races, usually held by each hunt club on the last day of the hunting season. Is there any foundation for that statement?

(2) Again, after the enactment of the Maynooth Synod Decrees of 1900 clerics discontinued the practice of assisting at public horse-races from the vicinity, as this was expressly forbidden in the said Decrees, but I understand that in some parts of Ireland ecclesiastics, who used to assist at those races from the race-course, continued their practice on the ground that it was not expressly interdicted by the prohibitive racing law of the Maynooth Synod. Is the contention for the continuance of such a practice correct? Is it based on any law or juridical principle?

SACERDOS.

1. As to the first question, there seems to be no reason why priests in Ireland, who get permission to take part in public hunts, should be allowed, in virtue of that permission, to assist at a public race. The hunting and the racing law of the Maynooth Synod Decrees are two different enactments of different nature, which require two different dispensations on the part of the superior to relax them. No doubt, in some instances, when laws are intimately connected with one another, or necessarily included in one another, a dispensation made in one of them might

be sufficient for, and necessarily effect a dispensation in, the other ; but evidently this is not the case with the laws we are dealing with.

Of course, there is a point of contact between the two sports, namely, that the race in the case is held by the same club with which priests get permission to hunt ; but this fact does not prove that licence to take part in hunts means permission to associate with the same hunting club in all sorts of sports ; nor does it make a race assume the nature of a hunt for which alone permission was granted.

In connexion with point-to-point-races we have to mention also that some are inclined to believe that assistance at them does not, perhaps, require any special permission from the superior ; for these races are regarded as more or less private ones, not coming within the limits of the prohibition of assisting at public races. To our mind there is no such thing as a private horse-race once it is held in public and the public at large can assist at it. The fact that point-to-point races are not held with great solemnity and are not attended by great crowds of people does not make them more or less *private*, but only more or less *public*, and in the prohibition of the law there is no distinction between more or less public horse-races, so that *Ubi lex non distinguit neque nos distinguere debemus*.

2. With regard to the other question relative to the practice of assisting at public horse-races from the race-course, we are convinced that there is no plausible reason for its continuance. Undoubtedly, the correctness of the canonical doctrine that a general law of the Church does not abolish particular laws or customs without mention cannot be called in question ; it was established in the Ch. *Licet De Constitutionibus* in VI.¹ But it must be noted that this doctrine and law regards only Papal Constitutions

¹ This Constitution states : 'Licet S. Pontifex qui iura omnia in scrinio sui pectoris censetur habere, constitutionem condendo, priorem, quamvis de ea mentionem non faciat, revocare censetur ; tamen quia locarum specialium et personarum singularum consuetudines et statuta, cum in facto constant, potest probabiliter ignorare, ipsas, dum tamen sint rationabiles, per constitutionem a se noviter editam, nisi expresse caveatur in ipsa, non intelligitur in aliquo derogare.'

for the reason therein assigned, and we do not know of any other ecclesiastical law extending the canonical principle laid down for Papal laws to statutes made by National Councils.

We admit, however, that a few Canonists might think it reasonable to make such an extension by loosely interpreting the Constitution quoted above; but is there any reliable ground for that interpretation and extension, and, therefore, is there any solid probability for their opinion?

They extend the doctrine established for general Papal laws to national decrees on the belief that the same reason for its introduction holds good in both cases: 'Sic enim etiam militat eadem ratio et iurisdictio,' says Suarez in his work *De Legibus*,¹ where he is supposed to share this opinion; so that they apply the rule of law 'Ubi eadem est ratio eadem esse debet iuris dispositio.'

Now, the reason assigned in the Constitution quoted above why the Pope by enacting a general law does not derogate special laws and customs, is that, while he is supposed to know general laws which he keeps *in scrinio pectoris sui*, he is not expected to be acquainted with special facts and particular customs prevailing throughout the Church; so he cannot by a general contrary law abolish special customs which he does not know unless he makes special mention of their abolition.

This reason, we contend, cannot be adapted to the case of superiors legislating in a National Council, as they are expected—if they take any care at all of the administration of their small districts—and, therefore, they are supposed to know all particular practices of their more or less limited territories: practices lawfully introduced or maintained with their consent. It appears, therefore, that in a national ecclesiastical law made by Bishops in a Council, if any mention of contrary particular customs is needed, it is required for the purpose of keeping them rather than for the effect of their abolition. If that be so,

¹ Lib. vii., c. 20, nn. 6, 7, 8, 9.

it seems clear that the opinion we are dealing with, founded on such an erroneous notion, cannot be regarded as reliable and solidly probable.

However, we do not deny solid probability to the opinion of those who extend the aforesaid canonical doctrine for general Papal Constitutions to a *certain* class of national laws, that is, to national laws made by one individual as superior of a nation. For, in this case, it is perfectly reasonable to suppose that such a superior be not aware of particular customs prevailing throughout the nation, customs introduced without his knowledge or consent, and which he is not expected and bound to know. By enacting a general national law, therefore, he has no intention of abolishing special contrary practices which he is reasonably supposed not to know.

And this seems to be Suarez's opinion in the place already quoted. In fact, he wants to apply the principle established in the case of Papal Constitutions to the *same* case of national laws, if only difference of proportion between them be taken into consideration. Again, in expressing his views, he never mentions national laws made by Councils, but he invariably refers to laws enacted by a Prince of a Nation, because he holds that only such a superior is not supposed to know particular customs of his country, and that he must be made aware of them if he wants in a general contrary law to abolish them without mention. '*Aliter Princeps,*' he writes, *loc. cit.*, '*non posset consentire in revocationem consuetudinis cum non praesumatur scire consuetudinem privatam.*'

But apart from the question whether the custom under consideration was abolished or not in virtue of the canonical doctrine that general laws do not abolish special practices without mention, does it not seem reasonable to say that if the Fathers of the Maynooth Council prohibited ecclesiastics to assist at public horse-races from the vicinity, *a fortiori* they wanted to interdict assistance at that sport from the race-course? Of course it might be said against this that prohibitive and penal laws, such as the one we are dealing with, are of strict interpretation and cannot be

extended to cases not expressed in the words of the law. Quite so, and therefore they cannot be extended to similar cases; but they never exclude what is necessarily and reasonably included in them. In other words, it is well known that odious and penal laws are of *strict* but not of *restrictive* interpretation.

Moreover, it is an elementary rule of interpretation of laws that prohibitive laws must be explained with some latitude, if a strict interpretation leads to a queer conclusion and renders the provision of the law futile. And in our case a rigorous interpretation would frustrate, in a great measure, the effect of the law and lead to the strange conclusion that the Bishops who wished the prohibitive racing law thoroughly observed by the clergy, and abolished even the practice of assisting at races from the neighbourhood, would, at the same time, tolerate the more objectionable custom of seeing that sport from the race-course. It would look as if the Fathers of the Council made the prohibition of assisting at horse-races more stringent by dislodging ecclesiastics even from the vicinity, only to make them flock into those parts of the country where they can have an opportunity of witnessing that spectacle with greater advantage and satisfaction from the race-course.

S. LUZIO.

LITURGY

**MASSES FOR DECEASED PRIEST WHO MADE HEROIC ACT ;
PARTIAL INDULGENCES OF LONG PERIODS; NATURE OF
CROZIER INDULGENCES; INTENTION REQUIRED FOR
GAINING INDULGENCES; ENROLMENT IN CONFRATER-
NITY OF BROWN SCAPULAR**

REV. DEAR SIR,—I°. A certain priest made the Heroic Act. He died. By diocesan regulation he is entitled to Masses from each of his brother-priests. Now, under the Heroic Act, these Masses do not go to him but to the Holy Souls, to whom he allocated them. But these priests do not intend that, and, having learned the facts, consider themselves absolved from their obligation (if, indeed, it is an obligation, seeing that it

only arises *ex caritate* and not *ex justitia*). Are they justified in this?

2°. It is Catholic teaching that partial indulgences of 'years,' 'days,' etc., merely represent the *same period* of canonical penance in ancient times. How, then, justify and explain indulgences of 100 and 200 *years*, seeing that no individual could live long enough to undergo such a penance?

3°. Kindly explain the 'Crozier' Indulgence. It is said to confer 500 days for each *Pater* and *Ave*. Does this mean every time one says an *Our Father* and *Hail Mary* on these beads, apart from the Rosary? Whence the name 'Crozier'?

4°. To gain the indulgences *in articulo mortis* must the dying person say the name 'Jesus' *with that intention*, or will it suffice if he utter it, with other aspirations, during the anointing?

5°. To gain indulgence of Brown Scapular it is said to be necessary to have your name inscribed in register of nearest Carmelite Convent. But there is none such in my diocese, and very likely if I sent the names to some distant house they would, *and rightly too*, reply: 'It is no affair of ours; it is enough for us to enrol our own members.'

A word on each of these points in your next issue, will oblige
JOSEPH.

1°. The obligation which the priests of a diocese are under of offering Masses for a deceased brother-priest does not, as it is rightly said, arise *ex justitia*, but comes from diocesan or provincial legislation. In many cases it is not imposed *sub gravi*, the regulation merely containing an exhortation to priests to bind themselves to discharge this duty of charity.¹ But no matter whence its source or what its nature, all priests feel themselves bound by some obligation to say a certain number of Masses for a departed brother, and the question is whether they may feel at full liberty to shirk this onus if they know in a particular instance that the deceased has made the Heroic Act of Charity. This act consists in the voluntary offering to God, in favour of the suffering souls, of all the works of satisfaction done by one during life and of all the suffrages he may be entitled to after death. It is not essential that

¹ Cf. *Acta et Decreta*, Conc. Prov. Tuamensis, 1908, n. 88.

the disposal of these satisfactions should be placed in the hands of the Blessed Virgin, to be allocated among the souls in Purgatory according to her good pleasure. Neither does the act imply the surrender of all the fruits of merit and impetration which one gains by his good deeds. A person still retains complete control over both these actions, so that a priest who has made the Heroic Offering may say Mass for others as well as enhance his own store of personal merits. It is only the individual *fruits of satisfaction* that he sacrifices. These accrue from his own works during life and from suffrages after death. Does, then, the knowledge that Masses for a deceased priest will not benefit his soul, but rather that they will go to succour the suffering souls to whom they have been surrendered, justify one in omitting to say them? A little reasoning on the matter will be enough to show that the making of the Heroic Act should not alter the circumstances in the least. This act is very meritorious. It has been enriched by the Church with numerous privileges. Priests, for instance, who make it enjoy a Privileged Altar every time they say a Requiem Mass, while the faithful can gain Plenary Indulgences as often as they receive Communion, and on every Monday they assist at Mass, in behalf of the souls in Purgatory. Now, the denial of Masses because of the Heroic Act inflicts indirectly a wrong on the soul of the priest. For when he made the promise, the longer the share of personal satisfactions forfeited, the greater, the more pleasing and meritorious was his sacrifice before God. If, then, suffrages are withheld from him so that it is not in his power to make them over to the suffering souls, his sacrifice will be the poorer and the merit of his heroic action by so much the less. Thus will an indirect wrong be done him. Again, in the case of Masses offered for every deceased priest it is only reasonable to believe that a large share of their satisfactory efficacy should go to the souls of persons to whom he may have been under some kind of obligation, or have failed in giving strict due by his ministrations. This sentiment is present to the minds of most priests who arrange for Masses to be said for them after death. Further, it

would appear very strange and inconsistent with the principles of the higher perfection if the effect of the Heroic Act of Charity, which is so highly prized by Heaven, is to make one's spiritual position, so to speak, worse than before. This would happen if the making of the vow deprived a person of a claim to benefits he possessed before he made it. For these reasons, then, apart altogether from its undoubted ungenerosity and selfishness, the action of those who would rely on the fact that a deceased brother-priest had made the Heroic Act as an excuse for declining to offer the customary Masses for his soul, cannot be justified.

2°. A *partial* indulgence means the remission of so much of the temporal punishment due to sin as would be expiated by the performance of the ancient Canonical penance of a similar period. For the crime of adultery, for instance, a rigorous penance of seven or ten years' duration was imposed. Taking the Church's standard, therefore, as representing the normal state of things, it may be said that an indulgence of seven or ten years is calculated to free a sinner from the punishment due to the committal of this crime. Similarly an indulgence of a hundred years might be regarded as representing a remission of the punishment due to ten such crimes, or to an equivalent number of less grave offences. There can, then, be no difficulty about conceiving a partial indulgence of longer duration than the span of a person's life, since the Church does not look to what this or that individual could perform in the shape of Canonical penances, but to the amount of satisfactory efficacy which the normal and average performance of these penitential exercises was supposed to have. The objection raised would militate against the gaining of *plenary* indulgences by those whose crimes were so enormous that they could not be expiated on the scale mentioned in a whole life-time. It would also tell against the gaining within a short space of time of several partial indulgences corresponding to periods of Canonical penance that, taken together, would far more than exceed the term of an ordinary life. At the same time, the Church is slow to grant partial indulgences of long periods. Usually she confines herself

to three, five, seven, but sometimes grants fifteen, twenty, or thirty, and very rarely forty, years. So true is this, that indulgences for longer periods are to be looked on with suspicion until their genuineness is fully attested. Before the twelfth century plenary indulgences were extremely rare, and partial indulgences seldom exceeded a year. Nicholas IV (✠ 1290) speaks of an indulgence of seven years and seven quarantines as a great and unusual favour. After the fourteenth century the former kind became common while the latter were largely amplified. The present discipline shows a laudable tendency to revert to the original conservatism.¹

3°. The Crozier Indulgences are so called because they are annexed to rosaries blessed by the Crozier Fathers, or, to give them their full title, the Canons Regular of St. Augustine of the Order of the Holy Cross. The privilege was granted to these Fathers by Pope Leo X, in the Brief *Regularem vitam*, and for a long time remained the exclusive prerogative of the Order. At first the rosaries should be blessed by the Master-General, but Gregory XVI and Pius IX, by rescripts of Propaganda, dated July, 1845, and January, 1848, permitted him to delegate this faculty to other members of the same Order. In 1884 the Congregation of Indulgences, by a Decree approved by Leo XIII, definitely recognized this indulgence as pertaining to the Crozier Canons only.² As to their nature, one gains an indulgence of *five hundred days* for every *Pater* and for every *Ave* recited on a rosary blessed by the Fathers. It is not necessary to say the entire rosary, neither is it required to meditate on any mystery. The same beads, too, may be enriched with other indulgences, such as the Dominican and the Brigittine, as well as the Crozier, but only one set can be gained by each recital, and one must fulfil on each occasion all the requisite conditions.³

4°. The intention required for gaining any indulgence is

¹ Cf. Decr. de Ind. apud *Appendix to Maynooth Statutes*, pp. 357, etc.

² Cf. *Raccolta*, p. 217.

³ The Master-General of the Croziers at the present time is R. P. Abbé Dom Henri Hallman, Dieste, Belgium.

what theologians describe as *habitual*. It is enough if he proposes to himself generally to gain all the indulgences attached to the works he performs. This intention perseveres as long as it is not revoked. A general purpose of this kind may well be considered to operate especially at the approach of death, and hence the mention of the Sacred Name in any of the circumstances described seems sufficient. But since at this critical moment everything ought to be made doubly sure, the priest should suggest to the dying person to elicit the Sacred Name for the purpose of gaining the indulgence. The *Raccolta* recommends persons to form each morning a general intention of gaining all the indulgences possible during the day, and of applying to the souls in Purgatory those available for this end.¹

5°. There seems to be an erroneous impression regarding the nature of the enrolment required for the Brown Scapular. The indulgences for wearing this scapular cannot be gained except through membership of the Confraternity of the Scapular of Mount Carmel, and for this membership the inscription of the names is essential. Wherever there is a *canonically-erected* branch of the Society there should be a register, and it is on this that the names are to be inscribed. Moreover, wherever a priest has power to affiliate members, it is assumed that in that place there is a properly-constituted branch and hence a register. If, however, there is no *canonically-erected* branch, and consequently no register where persons are enrolled, then the names should be sent on periodically, either to some neighbouring place where there is a register, or to some house of the Carmelite Order. All that is required is that the names should be entered in the register of *some* properly-constituted branch.

Decrees of *revalidation*, making good the defect arising from omission to inscribe the names, are issued from time to time by the Congregation of Indulgences. In June, 1905, there was issued a *Decretum Sanationis* of this kind.

P. MORRISROE.

CORRESPONDENCE

PRIESTS' EUCHARISTIC LEAGUE

REV. DEAR SIR,—In your correspondence columns for April, there appeared a letter inviting Priests to join the 'Eucharistic League,' and asking that communications be addressed to the 'Rev. Director, Blackrock, Dublin.'

Imagining—it appears that several others imagined the same—that the Secretary was one of the C.S.Sp., I wrote to Blackrock College, asking to have my name enrolled. What was my surprise on receiving a letter from one of the Fathers there to say that none of them was the Director, and not only this, but that though he had made enquiries he had failed to discover who he was!

Although 'those who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones,' and though I am adopting the anonymous style myself, I yet think that anonymity is to be deprecated in one who is acting for a religious association and appealing to serious-minded priests to join it.

At all events the whole affair is very unbusinesslike, for here am I, after a delay of over a month, still

A POSTULANT.

[If our correspondent had not *imagined* anything, but had followed the directions given, his letter would have gone directly to its destination. It is not safe to follow one's imagination in such matters. If there has been anything unbusinesslike it is on the side of those who trust too much to the imagination. The Secretary is a modest person who does not wish to trumpet his virtues to the world, but is none the less fitted for the work he has undertaken on that account.—ED. I. E. R.]

DOCUMENTS

CONSECRATION OF AN ALTAR

ANDRIEN

DE CONSECRATIONE ALTARIS PER SE STANTIS ET CUM MENSA A
QUATUOR COLUMNELLIS SUSTENTATA

Rmus. Dnus. Sebastianus Giorgio, caeremoniarius Rmi. Dni. Episcopi dioeceseos Andriensis, de eiusdem consensu, Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi sequentia dubia, pro opportuna solutione, humiliter exposuit ; nimirum :

In Ecclesia Matrice S. Sabini, civitatis Canosae, dioeceseos Andrien. nuper erectum est Altare quod undequaque per se stat, ad formam Altaris Papalis, et cuius mensa marmorea sustentatur a quatuor columellis item marmoreis, subtus vero est omnino vacuum, nec destinatur, prout in casu decreti n. 3741 *Tridentina*, 20 Decembris 1899, ad recipiendam arcam ligneam paramentis asservandis. Hinc quaeritur :

I. An supradescriptum Altare consecrari possit ?

II. Et quatenus affirmative ad primum, ubi facienda sit unctio Chrismatis praescripta in fronte Altaris ?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, audito Commissionis liturgicae suffragio, omnibusque sedulo perpensis, ita respondendum censuit :

Ad I. Affirmative, iuxta plura decreta.

Ad II. Unctio Chrismatis, in modum consue. fiat in fronte, seu in medio spissitudinis anterioris mensae.

Atque ita rescripsit, die 6 Novembris 1908.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praef.*

✠ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secretarius.*

VICARIATE OF HONG-KONG

VICARIATUS APOSTOLICI HONG-KONG

DE MODO SE GERENDI IN CANENDIS HYMNIS CORAM SSMO.
SACRAMENTO EXPOSITO

Rmus. Dnus. Dominicus Pozzoni, Episcopus tit. Tavian. et Vicarius Apostolicus missionis Hong-Kong, a Sacrorum Rituum a Congregatione sequentis dubii, ob maiorem perspicuitatem aliquantulum reformati, authenticam solutionem reverenter expostulavit ; nimirum :

Utrum in functione quae coram Sanctissimo Eucharistico Sacramento publice exposito peragitur, dum, ante Hymnum *Tantum ergo*, cantantur alii Hymni, vel Antiphona *Regina Coeli*, tempore paschali, vel canticum *Magnificat*, per anni decursum, sacerdos celebrans et ministri stare debeant aut manere genuflexi?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisita Commissionis Liturgicae sententia, re sedulo perpensa rescribendum censuit: Affirmative ad primam partem, negative ad secundam.

Atque ita rescripsit die 6 Novembris 1908.

S. Card. CRETONI, S.R.C. *Praefectus*.

✠ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secretarius*.

QUESTION RELATING TO ALTAR STONES

CONCORDIEN

UTRUM USUS CELEBRANDI SUPER ALTARIBUS QUORUM MENSA EX PLURIBUS LAPIDIBUS CONSTAT CONTINUARI POSSIT

Rmus. Dnus. Franciscus Isola, Episcopus Concordien. in visitatione pastorali reperiit quaedam altaria consecrata uti fixa, quorum mensa ex pluribus lapidibus simul iunctis constat, aliqua vero similia cum mensa item et pluribus partibus composita, sed in cuius medio extat lapis quadratus in quo reconditae sunt sacrae reliquiae, vulgo *pietra sacra*; alia demum consecrata uti fixa quorum mensa in medio nititur super basi ex muro, vel ex coctis lateribus quae in centro continet sacras reliquias. Quare idem Rmus. Episcopus a Sacra Rituum Congregatione reverenter expostulavit:

An continuari possit usus celebrandi super dictis altaribus?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti secretarii, exquisito Commissionis liturgicae suffragio, re sedulo perpensa ita rescribendum censuit.

I. Quoad altaria priora pro gratia sanationis dummodo sepulchrum sit integrum ex lapide.

II. Quoad altaria secundo loco descripta Orator acquiescat.

III. Quoad postrema, infra tempus iudicio ipsius Episcopi determinandum eadem ad normam iuris reducantur, vel per parvum lapidem consecratum, vel (si nullum in ecclesia consecrata sit altare fixum), per totius mensae cum stipitibus consecrationem. Atque ita rescripsit, declaravit atque indulsit. Die 13 Novembris 1908.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praef.*

✠ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secretarius*.

CERTAIN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

COMPOSTELLANA

NONNULLA SOLVUNTUR DUBIA CIRCA ALIQUORUM INSTRUMENTORUM IN MUSICA SACRA USUM

Hodiernus Rmus. Praeses Commissionis dioecesanæ de Musica sacra ab Emo. e Rmo. dno Cardinali Iosepho M. de Herrera y de la Iglesia, Archiepiscopo Compostellano constitutæ, a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione reverenter expostulavit.

I. An in musica sacra organica admitti possint instrumenta oboës, clarinetes, trombones, nuncupata?

II. An instrumenta vulgo timbales seu tympanos sint habenda uti fragorosa et strepitantia?

III. An eadem permitti possint in musica et orchestra religiosa?

Et sacra eadem Congregatio ad relationem subscripti secretarii, exquisita specialis Commissionis de Musica et cantu sacro sententia, ita respondendum censuit:

Ad I. Possunt tolerari instrumenta musicae *Oboës* et *Clarinetes*, dummodo moderate, et obtenta pro quovis opere ab Ordinario licentia, adhibeantur.

Ad II. Provisum est in art. 19 instructionis Pontificiæ de *musica sacra*, 22 Novembris 1903; et omnino servetur art. 16 eiusdem instructionis.

Ad III. Negative.

Atque ita rescipsit die 13 Novembris 1908.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praef.*

✠ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secretarius.*

UNIFORMITY IN CHURCH MUSIC

INSTRUCTIO PRO EDITORIEBUS LIBRORUM LITURGICORUM CUM CANTU GREGORIANO

Quo testius pleniusque possit obtineri in sacra liturgia etiam quoad cantum optanda uniformitas, merito statutum est ut, in iis etiam quæ ad singula Ecclesiarum Propria pertinent eidem Officio vel Missæ eadem regulariter adoptetur melodia, ac proinde ut ante approbationem a Sacra Rituum Congregatione rite petendam, iisdem revisoribus cuncta subiciantur, quatenus illi testari possint non tantum de servatis artis gregorianæ regulis sed etiam de constante melodiarum ea, quæ requiritur, unitate.

Die 27 Novembris 1908.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praef.*

✠ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secretarius.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

CNUASACHT TRAGHA : FROM THE FORESHORE. With Notes and Vocabulary. By Rev. M. Sheehan, M.A., D.Ph. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd. Price, 10*d.* net.

THE great Irish renaissance, heralded into existence by the Gaelic League some seventeen years ago, has attracted to its standard some of the great literary men and some of the most profound thinkers of the day. It is well for it that it reckoned among its followers, though not from the very outset, but yet in its infancy, a man of such well-attested literary attainments and such thorough classical scholarship as Dr. Sheehan. Ever since the day of his initiation into the Gaelic League, Dr. Sheehan has devoted all his spare time and energy to the study and spread of the Irish language, so that even now the abundant fruits of his labours are well known to the Irish world.

His latest work is *Cnuasacht Tragha*. It is simply a volume of Irish tales accurately taken down from native speakers of the district of the Desies. Some of them are concerned with heroes of ancient history, but the majority of them are the evolution of modern times apparently, and pertain to modern history. I have read them all with great interest and great pleasure. In these stories, taken down as they fell from the lips of the people, we have the truest record of the lives, the ideals, the philosophy, and the theology of the peasantry of this district. The author has gone to great pains to commit them to writing accurately, and to make emendations and suggestions when necessary. Thus they bear the stamp of his own genius and originality in their reported form, which brings them as nigh to the literary standard as the reported speech of a people can possibly be. Much thought and labour has been expended in their editing, which I must say is excellently done. There are copious notes appended, and it, moreover, has a very complete vocabulary. It is a work which cannot fail to be of great benefit to students of Irish. It is absolutely necessary that such or similar works should be in the hands of every child in Ireland, if we really and efficaciously desire the restoration of the Irish language as the living speech of Ireland.

A. O. C.

COULD BACON HAVE WRITTEN THE PLAYS? By Rev. George O'Neill, S.J. Dublin: Ponsonby. Price, 6d.

THIS pamphlet paves the way for the Baconian theory without adopting it. As the philosophers say, *Ducit ad Baconismum*. Father O'Neill has some scathing rebukes for those who use strong language on the other side. He seems justified indeed in his rebukes; but the sharpness of them sometimes indicate a little heat on his own side. This is natural where there is conviction to enkindle it; and Father O'Neill seems quite convinced. For our part we fear we should require some more serious issue to excite us. This one leaves us quite unmoved, probably because we have an intimate feeling that it is impossible to dislodge the immortal poacher. It is strange that mankind is more willing to attribute these plays to the poacher and player rather than to the philosopher, not but that the philosopher could do a little poaching as well as the bard of Stratford, only on a much greater scale. For our part, we are quite indifferent. There was nothing to prevent Bacon from writing these or similar plays if he had the peculiar gifts required to produce them. That is where the arguments come short, even in this pamphlet, clear and cogent though it is otherwise.

J. F. H.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND: PROCEEDINGS FOR 1908. With Rules and List of Members. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, Ltd.

THIS is a very interesting record of the proceedings of the young Classical Association recently established in Dublin. Anything that helps to popularize the classics and to bring home to the public mind a due appreciation of them must be a national benefit. There are two things the study of the classics gives which can rarely be secured without it, viz., clearness of expression and beauty of form. These are things much needed in a country where the flamboyant style so largely prevails, and where slovenly forms of expression are so common. Profusion of imagery and abundance of detail are often cut down with advantage, and there is nothing better calculated to give a true sense of perspective than a close acquaintance with classical models:—

‘vos exemplaria Graeca
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna,’

said Horace to his countrymen. We can now add the *exemplaria Latina*. It is wonderful what a civilizing effect these Greek and Latin models have had on the literature of France, England, and Germany.

The Society is fortunate in having as its president one of the most kindly and cultivated men in this kingdom—Mr. Justice Madden—and amongst its members such distinguished Greek scholars as Mr. S. H. Butcher, Rev. Henry Browne, S.J., Professor Semple, and Rev. P. J. O'Neill. The 'Record' of their proceedings is well worth reading and must prove a help and a stimulus to all young climbers of Parnassus. A good draught at the Castalian fountain is the most refreshing and invigorating of beverages. There is still plenty of honey in Hymettus; there are plenty of laurels on Mount Helicon; and who so well entitled to take them as the youth of the new Greece. We wish the Classical Association all success.

J. F. H.

TRUE DEVOTION TO MARY. By Mrs. Mary Maher. Dublin : Catholic Truth Society. 1909.

THIS is an excellent little pamphlet, the fruit of real Irish devotion to the Blessed Virgin, the work of an Irish lady who has done wonders for the Catholic Truth Society, and a great deal in other ways for Irish Catholic literature. This pamphlet is highly commended in an introductory letter by His Grace the Archbishop of Tuam, whose name is a guarantee of its sound and solid worth. The chief advantages of devotion to the Blessed Virgin are strongly urged in the paper with which the pamphlet opens, and the example of piety to the Blessed Virgin of the greatest Popes and Doctors in history is held up for imitation. In the end the Irish Litany to *A Mhuirne mór* is given in Irish and English, preceded by Blessed Grignon de Montfort's 'Act of Consecration,' and followed by most suitable extracts from the works of St. Liguori, St. Francis of Assisi, St. Bernard, Father Faber, and the Curé of Ars. Congratulations to Mrs. Maher.

J. F. H.

AMES JUIVES. Par Stephen Conbé. Paris : Lethielleux. 1909. Price, 3 fr. 50 c.

I CONFESS I have no great welcome for a work of this kind. I do not see what good it can do; and I do see that it can do some harm. What advantage is to be gained by stirring up rancour

against the Jews in the present condition of things in France is more than I can understand. We are told that they are doing great harm to the Christian religion, that they are corrupt, wicked, ferocious in their hostility to all that we hold sacred, and more intolerant and oppressive in the power of their *shekels* than the worst tyrants of any former age. If that be so, it seems to me that there are more practical and dignified and manly ways of coping with them than by indulging in impotent complaints, and reviving stories and scandals and prejudices that do more harm to those who circulate them than to the Jews themselves. It is well known that there is no more sensitive race on earth than the Jews; but they manage to disguise their feelings when they are hurt, and to strike only when they feel they have the power to retaliate. It is surely foolish to irritate them needlessly; and for my part I confess I have no sympathy with the methods adopted by the author of this volume. What we wish to hear of from France is some intelligent and organized resistance to the persecution of the Church, such as we were proud to witness in Germany under Windhorst, and as we witness now in Austria under Lueger. We have had enough of Jeremiads and of complaints of the Jews. If the worst things that could be raked up against ourselves, even though they were true, were to be constantly hurled at us, we should not be slow to use whatever power we wield to repel the attack. I think it is high time to have recourse to methods of defence in France more effective than those adopted in this volume. They are out of date, and were never the ideal of Catholic and Christian peoples. The Jews are only following their own ideals. Why should not Catholics follow theirs?

J. F. H.

BREVIARIUM SACRARUM VIRGINUM ORDINIS SANCTISSIMI
SALVATORIS VULGO SANCTAE BRIGITTAE, Horas Deiparae
Virginis per Ferias distributas Continens. Romae,
Parisiis, Tornaci: Typis, Societatis Sancti Joannis
Evangel. 1908.

WE gladly bring under the notice of our readers this splendid volume, which has just been published by Desclée of Tournai. In many ways it has a special interest for Irish readers. Here is what its discoverer, Dom Gatard, says about it, in a letter to the Superior of Syon Abbey, Chudleigh, South Devon:—

‘The Bridgettine MS., which I found in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, bearing press mark, L. I. 13, probably belongs to the fifteenth century, but might be of the fourteenth. It

contains the Masses and Office according to the Bridgettine rite, with the Plain Chant throughout. There does not seem to be any difference for the Office between this MS. and your printed books, which Mr. Worth lent me. As for the Masses, they are, for the most part, taken from the Roman Missal. I copied out the first words of the pieces missing in your Missal, which I subjoin. . . . The chant is practically the same as in the Graduals in use everywhere at that time, and which is reproduced in the Solesmes Gradual. There is also a *Gloria in excelsis* with *tropes* which I had not seen before. . . I am going to write an article on your chant in a French periodical. . . . I do not think it possible to know to which convent this MS. belonged. There is an inscription in old Dutch at the beginning on a piece of parchment pasted inside the cover. So far as I could understand it says that the book was given at the death of a certain Joffer Jutta by Marie Wygaert in honour of God and our Lady—and the donor seems to ask for the help of the foundress of the Order and of this cloister. The MS. must also have been used in Germany, as I found German names added in some parts. It was also corrected according to the modern system of heaping up the notes on the accented syllables, and cutting off all the long notes, as in one of the books which you sent to Mr. Worth; but it is very easy to see the original notation.'

The work is edited by Abbot Bergh and splendidly printed by the great Tournai firm. Unbound copies, £1; bound, £1 15s., and £1 10s.

J. F. H.

PLACE NAMES OF THE COUNTY LONGFORD. Correctly spelled in Irish and fully explained in English, with Notes and Illustrations. By Rev. Joseph MacGivney. Dublin: James Duffy & Co., Ltd. 1908. Price, 3s. net.

WITH the decay of the Irish language much of the significance of our topographical names was lost, for they formed but a section of the vast amount of mythological, heroic, and Christian lore which was the common property of the Irish people down to the middle of the last century. The loss would not have been so great had any care been taken to communicate at least a portion of our pagan and Christian history to the young people of Ireland. Ignorant of the great body of Irish tradition, they could not be expected to have a keen appreciation of the meaning of the personal and place names which presupposed it in order to be under-

stood. The book under notice is intended to educate the young and it is admirably suited for the purpose. The English names are given in alphabetical order, and the Irish form and its meaning is added after each. At the same time a good deal of local history is got in at many points, and this is not the least fascinating and instructive part of the author's work. Father MacGivney has consulted many authorities in the preparation of his book. He has laid the works and letters of John O'Donovan under contribution, as every worker in the same field must. We think, however, there has been some guess-work. *Ác a' Solair* (page 23), for instance, being ungrammatical, cannot have documentary support. The Irish form of 'Forgney' is *Forgnair*, the old dative of which occurs in the *Book of Armagh* and the *Tripartite*—*in Fognair*. Many of the etymologies given or quoted from others are not reliable, but such blemishes will not deprive the book of its value for those for whom it is intended, the young men and women of Co. Longford. It would be well if there were a Father MacGivney in every county in Ireland.

H. T.

A SHORT DEFENCE OF RELIGION. By the Rev. Joseph Ballerini; translated from the Italian by the Rev. William M'Loughlin, Mount Melleray Abbey. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd. Price, 3s. 6d.

IN these days an answer to the infidel literature, scattered freely even in our own cities, is much needed. It was a happy thought, almost an inspiration, to set about supplying the want through this publication of Father Ballerini's. Father M'Loughlin deserves high praise for his valuable English translation. We have heard much about the need of such a work, and now that people have got it we hope that it will be fully appreciated. It will be a voice crying in the wilderness of infidelity, crying for the rights of faith, but we hope it will be the voice of a lion.

We have seen no better examination of the false science of the day. We see traced the relationship of Positivism, Agnosticism, Kantism, and Modernism. We see the attempts of all those systems to reduce science to the sensible, and to make reason abdicate her throne in favour of sense. The mean catch-cries of present-day science, the appeal to 'higher criticism,' to the 'modern spirit,' to 'progress,' to 'liberty of thought,' are thoroughly exposed in their true colours. When these fine words are thrown in a man's face instead of argument, they may hypnotize him into tame assent. Not only the unlearned, but

the learned take the majority of their views on faith, and it is well for them to look to their guides. Constantly hearing beautiful words like 'criticism' and 'modern science,' does produce an influence. It is right for a Catholic to stand up to his opponents who use these polished catch-cries, and show them little reverence. Father Ballerini does it in the present volume; he shows what Catholic science can give; in answer to opponents he explains the true meaning of words like 'progress,' 'civilization,' 'liberty.' We doubt if his opponents have as clear notions behind these glibly uttered shibboleths. They talk of the Church being opposed to liberty. Strange irony! Almost alone the Catholic Church fights for the belief in individual liberty, while the dogma of Determinism reigns supreme among her calumniators.

As is natural, we cannot be expected to agree with everything in this excellent volume. Here is an invalid argument for the existence of the human soul: 'All that is corporeal changes. Whereas the soul always remains the same in the midst of all changes, as is proved by the consciousness of *I myself*, which we preserve all through our life. Therefore the soul is not corporeal' (page 34). But there is a conservation of the same amount of energy. There is a conservation of the same amount of matter all through the ages. In a very true sense it is the same corner-stone which is in this building to-day as was there a hundred years ago. Are we to say that the stone is immaterial? If not, how can we prove the existence of a spiritual soul from its sameness and permanency, a permanency, too, which God might, absolutely speaking, destroy?

G. P.

MINIATURE MEDITATIONS FOR FIRST FRIDAYS. By Rev Joseph M'Donnell, S.J. Dublin: *Irish Messenger* Office. Great Denmark Street.

THESE two pamphlets are excellent pennyworths, well calculated to spread devotion and piety amongst the people. One of them goes out in the interest of the 'Apostleship of Prayer,' explaining its purpose and illustrating its spirit; the other is devoted entirely to the 'Sacred Heart.' Both are full of instruction and exhortation, and cannot be too widely disseminated.

J. F. H.

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